Arkansas.

Labor— 1923
Agents and Agencies.

NORTHERN LABOR AGT. FLEECES FARM NEGRO

'Prosperity Done Failed' When Special Does Not Come.

PINE BLUFF, Ark., May 1[illegible]—Among the negro population around Grady, plantation center, 25 miles south of Pine Bluff, the burning question of the hour today was "How come?" More than 500 negroes who paid a labor agent from $2 to $10 for a ticket on the promised land special promised by a northern colored agent, waited at the depot at Grady from 9 o'clock in the morning until nightfall for the special which was to have taken them to the northern lands of promise and which never arrived. More than a thousand others who drove as far as 20 miles to the excursion stood with them throughout the day in warm spring sunshine and waited in vain. Like silly many cattle herded together on the[illegible] the negroes waited, their ranks in fact, until well afternoon, their faces solemn and anxious.

With the noon hour came first deflection from the ranks and the first humor of the day. By nightfall the ranks had dwindled to a score or more [illegible] back to the distant and nearby plantations from whence they came.

Today these same negroes were back on the farms again. They ate their lunches from shoe boxes which they had prepared, fried chicken, boiled potatoes, jellies and jams the women folks had put up in days gone by. Those who came in their Sunday best had laid their good clothes away until the next ball game or barbecue. Others who came in freshly starched denims had put these denims away for the old ones and were back at work. "Prosperity done failed us," they said.

Today the planters and merchants of Grady who desisted from interference while there was still hope of the promised land special were helping them answer the riddle "How come?" The labor agent who worked among them worked fast and got away in a hurry. He charged two dollars according to the negroes, for "a free pass to somewhere." The ten dollar charge was exacted for a free pass and "guaranteed job up north."

In Lincoln and Jefferson counties none knew exactly what was expected of them or where they were going. "He jes sos big money and light work," said one, "and took my two dollars. I think he was a meanin' Dee-troit."

Questioning by white planters and merchants today failed to get a closer line on the labor agent. Many of the negroes had seen him. None knew his name. Others merely heard that some were going and so they came along, too.

It was a motley crowd at the cotton platform, a serious-faced, timorous crowd. They came garbed in their best, a garb in denims, and prepared to go to work, carrying their lunches, holding tightly to paper suitcases and bandanas filled with clothing. Many took blankets and quilts for comforts on the train. Ancient bed covering that an itinerant peddler sold broadcast in Grady a few years ago lent high colors to the black crowd. Red quilts with the words "Irish Chain" in white script upon them, green quilts with the words "Sweet Dreams" in great yellow letters upon their surface, enlarged and colored photographs in great gilt frames, "God Bless Our Home" signs were heaped miscellaneously around the platform or were held tightly in dusky hands.

From Cummins State Farm nearby came Casper Miller, convict trusty, to see the departure. It was Miller who first broke the conversational ice shortly after noon and after three hours of solemn and whispered conversation.

"Is you all goin', Charlie?" some negro unaware of his social status asked the convict. "I isn't and neither is you," he said, and the crowd around them laughed. After that they became reconciled and were in a more or less good humor until dark. It was not so much the good jobs in the north that they missed, nor the $2 or $10 they spent.

The day off and the novelty of the experience compensated for that. The fact that they had missed a ride on a train, than which there is no greater holiday for Grady negroes, was the thing that rankled.

"Ah sho did want dat ride," said Morehead Hawkins, another plantation negro. Hawkins is a night negro. He looks after the gin until midnight in ginning time. In the spring and summer he keeps watch until the early morning hours to see that the stock doesn't get into the fields.

South Tries to Pin Graft Badge on Labor Agents

Pine Bluff, Ark., May 25.—Southern newspapers are engaging in a new form of propaganda calculated to weaken the confidence of restless plantation workers in labor agents from the North.

Recently 1,800 migrants from various parts of this state gathered at Grady and waited for a special train which was expected to take them North. Unfortunately, and to their great inconvenience, a mistake in orders caused the train to be sent to the wrong place and it was 36 hours before the error could be remedied.

White papers claimed that nearly 2,000 men and women had paid a labor agent from $2 to $10 each for getting them jobs and the service of the special train and that he had deserted them. The fact of the matter, as stated before, was that the train was delayed through an error. When it did come, all who had waited, left.

LABOR AGENT IS FINED FOR ENTICING NEGROES

Fails to Pay Fines and Languishes in Jail.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, Ark., July 8. Crittenden County authorities are assisting S. B. Jefferson, negro, of Kensington, Ill., in forming an empire for negroes in Africa, so far as providing him with a nice, quiet, place where he will not be molested in working on his plans.

Jefferson is in the county jail at Marion in default of payment of three $100 fines on the charge of enticing labor away from farms in this vicinity.

The defendant claims he is working for an organization which is planning to establish an empire for the negroes in Africa. A flowery decorated paper purporting to be a membership parchment taken from the negro's baggage shows that Jefferson is an active member of the "Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Committee, Imperial League Organization." The "parchment" is headed, "To the Beloved and Scattered Millions of the Negro Race." Jefferson's membership sets out that the organization is striving for freedom and to hand down to posterity a flag of empire.

While the paper does not show the headquarters of the organization, it is signed as follows:

"Wm. White, president; W. G. Green, general secretary; W. J. McNeal, treasurer; Sarah White, president of the ladies' division, and Lula Parmon, secretary of the ladies' division."

The negro was also selling cheap signet rings which, according to testimonials found in his baggage, would aid one in getting positions, having better luck in all undertakings, including the drawing of good hands in poker games.

Following the negro's arrest he was given a hearing before Justice of the Peace Joe Mosby and fined $100 each on three charges. Testimony was introduced to show that several negroes in the community had been prevailed on to leave their crops on the promises of Jefferson.

FAKE "LABOR AGENT" SWINDLES NEGROES

Little Rock, Ark., July 3.—Scores of negroes reported to the local police [illegible] they had paid "a stranger negro" $2 to $4 each today and yesterday after hearing the stranger tell of jobs at big pay which he could get them in Pittsburgh, Pa., together with passes to the Pennsylvania city. When they reported at various railway stations, expecting to accompany the "labor agent" north, he was not to be found. The visitor is believed to have realized more than $200.

FAKE LABOR AGENT AGAIN CHEATS NEGROES

Scores Report Paying Fee for Northern Jobs.

(LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 3.—Scores of negroes reported to the local police tonight that they had paid a strange negro $2 to $4 each today and yesterday after hearing the stranger tell of jobs at big pay which he could get them in Pittsburgh, Pa., together with passes to the Pennsylvania city, but that when they reported at various railway stations, expecting to accompany the "labor agent" north he was not to be found. The visiting negro is believed to have realized more than $200 by the swindle.

LABOR AGENT SAID TO HAVE SWINDLED NEGROES AT LITTLE ROCK ARK.

Victims Paid From $2 To $5 To Secure Passes On Railroad. Were Promised From $7.80 a Day Up, In Wages

Preston News Service.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 4.—It is claimed that more than 100 Negroes called at police headquarters last Thursday night and reported the activities of Robert Brown, said to be a labor agent. The police say that no check-up was made on the amount he obtained from the unsuspecting and gullible Negroes; but the victims reported that he had received from $2 to $5 from each of them as evidence that they would report at the specified time to be carried to the North. The police believe that Brown fleeced them out of more than $300.

The first report was made to the police by John Ware, of Conway, who gave the police a description of Brown. It is said following the report made by Mr. Ware, that Negroes fairly swarmed the city hall.

Ware told the police that he met Brown last Sunday and the agent interested him in a job in Pittsburgh, Pa. The work was in one of the Carnegie Steel Company mills and that the pay to start was 60c an hour on a 10-hour basis. He said that workmen often worked double time and frequently made from $12 to $14 a day. In fact they work 12 hours at all the mills in Pittsburgh with time-and-half over 10 hours. So that a laborer never made less than $7.80 a day.

Other features of the proposition were that all of Ware's expenses to Pittsburgh would be paid and in addition to the $7.80 a day, board and room would be furnished free; or he could find lodging in private boarding houses at a nominal sum. Brown told him that it was customary for the labor agent to receive $4 to secure the pass on the railroad.

The police say that all victims were instructed to report to Brown at various railroad stations in the city and at different hours. The police say that there were more than two scores of Negroes at the Missouri Pacific Station on Monday night waiting for Brown and their passes.

Ware said that he waited in the Rock Island station for several hours and when Brown failed to appear, he decided to report the matter to the police. One Negro is said to have told the police sergeant that if we meet Brown on the street somthing is going to happen, and if he gets the worst of the deal it won't be his fault, because he's got something coming to him and we are going to see that he gets it.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. GAZETTE
JUN[illegible]

SAYS SOUTHERNERS MUST AID NEGROES

Should Warn Them of Unscrupulous Labor Agents, Declares Memphian.

R. R. Ellis of Memphis, president of the Hessig-Ellis Drug Company of Little Rock and Memphis, was the principal speaker at the weekly luncheon of the Rotary Club at the Hotel Marion yesterday.

Mr. Ellis discussed the exodus of negroes from the South. He said that unscrupulous labor agents are coming into the South with false promises and many times with money, and attempt to lure the negroes away with flattering promises of the fine opportunities and social equality which may be found in the North. The Southern people must solve this problem, he said. Mr. Ellis said the negro is easily susceptible to the false promises of the Northern labor agent because he has been taught to depend upon the white man and to rely upon him for guidance.

The speaker declared it the duty of every Southerner to inform the negro as to the truth of the situation and to warn him of the false promises of the labor agent. Unless the negro is rightly informed, the South will face a serious labor condition, he said.

Much of Mr. Ellis' address was devoted to the relationship existing be-

tween Little Rock and Memphis and to the trade relations of the two cities, and their opportunities to help one another. He said there is no conflict in the trade territory of the two cities, basing his statement on personal experiences since the Little Rock branch of the Hessig-Ellis Company was established a year ago. Mr. Ellis declared that Little Rock and Memphis have much in common and because of this fact should work co-operatively.

NEGROES ARE FLEECED.

Labor Agent Collects $50 From Cotton Belt Laborers.

PIGGOTT, Ark., July 27.—The Cotton Belt Railway Company is replacing its rails with heavier steel, and has had for some time a considerable crew of negro laborers located here with their construction train and boarding cars. A number of these darkies, ever looking for a better job, readily listened to the story of one Mr. Mallard, a party having a former prison history, who pretended that he was representing a big concern in St. Louis, and that he was authorized to offer them $8 per day and free transportation to that city, but required a deposit of $50 from each one he would obtain passes for. After obtaining $50 from his victims he immediately disappeared. Cotton Belt special agents have been here trying to locate Mallard, and looking up evidence against him, and it is thought he will soon be apprehended and given his just dues.

WOULD INDUCE RACE TO LIVE IN SWAMPS

Pine Bluff, Ark., March 9.—Henry Williams, employed by the Delta Pine Land company of Scotts, Mass., was fined $100 and costs on a charge of enticing labor.

Williams was arrested on complaint made by John M. Gracie (white), well-known planter, who said that he had induced families to leave the Gracie plantation for the Mississippi planting district.

The Delta company has been sending agents throughout the South, according to reports, since it failed in the attempt to entice labor from the North on rosy promises. Williams was severely criticized by his Race for inducing people to go to the Mississippi swamps to labor for a low wage.

MISSISSIPPIAN HELD AS ENTICER OF LABOR

Persuading Negroes to Leave Arkansas, Charge.

PINE BLUFF, Ark., Jan. 4.—P. B. Griffin, representative of the Delta and Pine Land Company of Scott, Miss., was arrested here today on a charge of enticing labor. This is the first time that an arrest has been made here on this charge. Planters claim that a large number of negro families recently have been induced to leave here and a facie labor shortage is feared. Griffin was released under $500 bond for appearance in municipal court for trial Monday morning. His arrest followed complaint filed by S. C. Alexander and J. D. Cox, of this city. Griffin admits that he was negotiating with families of the Cox place, but says they wrote to him in Mississippi and expressed a desire to move.

Labor— 1923.
Agents and Agencies.

Alabama.

ALABAMA MANUFACTURERS WILL SEEK TO DOUBLE LICENSES FOR LABOR AGENTS

Association Will Ask Legislature For Action to Check Migration of Labor From State

The Alabama Manufacturers Association hopes to secure increase in county and state license for labor agents at the next session of the Alabama legislature, according to information from the local Chamber of Commerce Thursday. Effort will be made to secure legislation double the present state license, it was stated, which would make the county license $2500 and the state license $5000.

W. F. Black, secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce said Thursday that the civic body deplores the exodus of negro labor from this section which is affecting both industrial and farming operations. He declared that the migration of the negro laborer from Montgomery is serious although the city has an ordinance against the solicitation of labor. Mr. Black said Anniston, Gadsden, Bessemer and a number of Alabama cities have taken up this question of labor for serious consideration.

The Chamber of Commerce is in receipt of a communication from an official of the North Carolina Pine Association at Norfolk, Va., giving statistics on the negro exodus in various Southern states.

According to these statistics, Georgia, approximately 32,000 or 13 per cent have migrated during the past twelve month. The result is said to have been a large abandonment of acreage and acute shortage of labor in manufacturing enterprises.

In South Carolina, about 23,000 have migrated in twelve months, or 3 per cent of the total population. The exodus in Florida is estimated at 2 per cent of the total colored population; in Alabama, approximately 3 1-2 per cent; in Arkansas 15,000 or 3 1-2 per cent; in Louisiana, about 1 per cent.

There were no definite figures for Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and North Carolina. The hope of the situation, the communication goes on to say, is an early change in the present immigration laws.

The Montgomery Advertiser

5-11-23

Montgomery, Ala.

ALABAMA OFFERS A LARGER REWARD FOR LIMB THAN FOR LIFE

The New York News.

By JESSE O. THOMAS

Field Secretary National Urban League

According to the newspapers the Alabama Legislature, now in session, has enacted a law, to which Governor Brannon has affixed his signature, making it a felony for labor agents to operate in the State of Alabama for any other State. Governor Brannon pledges to keep vigil over the police force of the State, in order to see that this law is enforced to the limit as it affects the State of Alabama and its Negro citizens.

The law is designed primarily to prevent persons from enticing Negroes to leave Alabama by putting a heavy penalty upon all persons operating in the State in such a manner as can be construed to be causing Negro labor to leave Alabama. Each agent is to pay $5,000 bond in each county and an additional $5,000 for each county through which the labor travels from original point of contact to the borders of the State.

The present Legislature has not enacted any laws calculated to protect and safeguard the Negro against mob violence and lynch law. Between 1885 and 1919 there have been 253 Negroes lynched in Alabama (that is the number the outside world heard about). No county or individual, nor the State itself, received $5,000 for the lives of these victims. Aside from the question of violating laws and the commandment "Thou shalt not kill," the economic and productive power of the State was very materially reduced by the murdering of these 253 people, so that if the present Legislature is concerned primarily with the economic phase of the Negroes' limbs, its attention also may be called to the economic phase of the Negro life since there seems to be no possibility of making an appeal on any higher grounds.

In her sister State, Georgia, the Legislature that has just adjourned during the present week, gave considerable attention to the need of laws affecting labor agents inducing Negroes to leave Georgia. Between 1885 and 1919, 419 Negroes were lynched in Georgia (that is the number the outside world heard about), and in addition to these that have been lynched from 1919 to 1923 that have already been recorded, two more who were lynched near Macon last night may be added. Still there is no penalty inflicted to compensate for the taking of the Negro's life.

It is reasonable to suppose that the lynching of these 253 people in Alabama and 419 people in Georgia between the dates mentioned infinitely had more influence on the Negro migration than all the labor agents and boll weevils combined. When the State Legislature becomes more concerned and legislates more in behalf of the protection of the Negro's life and the pursuit of happiness, the operation of labor agents will be rendered very largely non-effective.

Alabama Offers Larger Reward For Limb Than Life.

The New York News

According to the newspapers, the Alabama legislature now in session, has enacted a law, to which Governor Brannon has affixed his signature, making it a felony for labor agents to operate in the State of Alabama, enticing or in any wise inducing labor to leave Alabama to any other state. Governor Brannon pledges to keep vigil over the police force of the state, in order to see that this law is enforced to the limit, as it affects the state of Alabama and its Negro citizens.

The law is designed primarily to prevent persons from enticing Negroes to leave Alabama by putting a heavy penalty upon all persons operating in the state in such a manner as can be construed to be causing Negro labor to leave Alabama. Each agent is to pay $5,000 bond in each county, and an additional $5,000 for each county through which the labor travels, from original point of contact to the borders of the state.

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BRANDON WILL AID LABOR AGENT FIGHT

The Montgomery News

Promises Cooperation of State in Curbing Illegal Activities of Agents

Advertiser 5-16-23

Governor William W. Brandon will cooperate in every possible way with the farmers of Alabama in curbing the activities of labor agents illegally engaged in the business of persuading Alabama labor to remove to the north and east or to any other state.

The chief executive gave this assurance to members of a delegation composed of farmers belonging to both houses of the legislature, who called upon him Wednesday afternoon to discuss the activities of labor agents which they stated has created a serious situation in Alabama.

Governor Brandon said he would be glad to assign members of the state law enforcement officers to the work of seeking out labor agents who are violating the law of the state. He also stated he is in favor of offering rewards for convictions for all such offenses, and that he will instruct license inspectors in all counties to keep a sharp lookout for violations of the law.

A bill introduced by Representative A. M. Tunstall which bill will become a law in the near future, levies an annual license upon all labor agents of $5,000 for each county in which such agent operates or through which abor is transported. The bill also requires an indemnity bond for the protection of labor.

HOUSE FOR HEAVY LABOR AGENT FEE

Tunstall Bill Requiring Big License is Passed by Lower Branch

The Montgomery Advertiser

Representative Alph Tunstall's bill to require a $5,000 license from labor agents and providing drastic regulations for those seeking labor out of Alabama, and Representative J. B. Powell's bill regulating the feeding of prisoners in county jails, both special orders, passed the house Thursday before that body adjourned until 2 o'clock next Tuesday afternoon.

The labor agent bill had little opposition from the floor, and only four votes were recorded against its passage. Its provisions are rigid, and are intended to be so, according to Representative Lee Long, of Butler, who spoke for the bill after Representative Lewis Bowen, of Jefferson had asked for more time to consider the measure.

Four Opposed

When the final vote was taken three members of the Jefferson county delegation and Representative J. K. Thompson, of Jackson, were recorded in the column of nays, while eighty voted for the bill's passage. The Jefferson members voting no were Lewis Bowen, Mark Jeter and J. R. T. Rives.

Calling up of the bill regulating feeding in county jails shortly after 11 o'clock threw the house into a turmoil that lasted until two o'clock when the measure, with amendments and a substitute finally carried 60 to 24.

Proponents of the bill declared that its aim was simply to abolish the ration sheet which has been the bane of sheriffs since 1919, but those who opposed it asserted that it was an effort to divert thousands of dollars from the feeding of prisoners to the pockets of sheriffs.

Asks Postponement

Representative Fred Fite, of Jefferson, one of the strongest in opposition to the measure made repeated efforts to have action postponed until

next week. Motions to table motions and counter motions to postpone indefinitely tabling motions were hurled at the speaker at such frequent intervals that a majority of the house did not know what was being considered part of the time.

Each time a vote was taken, however, supporters of the bill triumphed. An amendment aimed at the section providing for the schedule of allowances for feeding was defeated by an overwhelming vote, and the fight was over.

Representatives Paul Luck, of Shelby, Holcombe, of Mobile, and Long, of Butler, were the principal speakers for the bill. Representatives Fite and Jeter, of Jefferson and Beale, of Tuscaloosa, opposed the measure from the floor.

A bill to bring into the city of Montgomery the high school site at the end of the Lawrence street car line was introduced by Representative Tyler Goodwyn, of Montgomery county. The territory affected is comparatively small in area and lies west of Court street.

Representative Thompson, of Jackson introduced a bill providing that the salaries of county and state employes shall be subject to garnishment.

Election Measure

Representative Parker, of Coosa, introduced a bill which provides regulation of the registration of electors.

A bill introduced by Representative Holcombe, of Mobile, would further regulate the use of firearms in Alabama. The bill is designed to make more strict the regulations relating to carrying weapons.

The house rivers and harbors committee which met at 9 o'clock Thursday morning returned the enabling act of the Mobile port amendment to the house with a favorable report.

A resolution originated in the house providing that when the legislative bodies adjourned Thursday afternoon they should stand adjourned until two o'clock Tuesday afternoon. The senate concurred.

LABOR AGENT'S LICENSE $5,000

Baltimore Sun

Montgomery, Ala., 23—(Special). Every labor agent soliciting labor for transportation to another State must pay the State a license of $5,000 and furnish a $5,000 bond for the reimbursement of losses which may be sustained by any citizen as a result of false stories about conditions in other States. 11-7-23

Gov. Brandon Saturday approved the bill of Representative Alfred M. Tunstall of Hale, which is intended to legislate labor agents out of business and to protect the agricutural interests from those who have been taking farm labor to the industrial centers of other States.

Governor Brandon has instructed the State law enforcement department to arrest all labor agents who seek to operate in Alabama in violation of the law.

Alabama Offers a Larger Reward for Limb Than Life

New York Age

By JESSE O. THOMAS
Field secretary, National Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

Editor of THE NEW YORK AGE:

According to the newspapers the Alabama legislature now in session ha senacted a law, to which Governor Brannon has affixed his signature, making it a felony for labor agents to operatae in the State of Alabama for any other state. Governor Brannon pledges to keep vigil over the police force of the state, in order to see that this law is enforced to the limit as it affects the State of Alabama and its Negro citizens. 9-8-23

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Gov. Brandon Declares War on Labor Agents

The Houston Post-Dispatch

(Associated Press Report.)

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 16.—Governor Brandon has declared war on labor agents who are soliciting laborers to leave the farms of Alabama and locate in the industrial centers of the north and east. He advised the farmer members of the legislature, who called on him in a body yesterday that he would put the law enforcement officers on the trail of the labor agents and offer rewards for the arrest and conviction of persons violating the labor law. 8-17-23

The new law requires every labor agent to pay a license of $5000 for carrying on his business in each county. The license must be paid in counties through which the labor agent transports persons en route to other States.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., News
Agents Angry

AUG 8 1923

nstall's Bill To Protect Alabama om Lying And Malicious Labor Agents.

A bill calculated to protect the State from the ares and the wiles of the labor agent has been ntroduced in the House by Representative Tunstall. Not only does it fit a specific license of $5,000 on agents who propose to rob Alabama of its manpower, but it requires that such agents soliciting labor furnish a $5,000 bond, payable to the State "for the reimbursement of persons who may be injured by any representations regarding conditions that might prove to be untrue."

That such a statute, rigidly enforced, is needed at this time is known of all who are familiar with the work of these agents. They come with a sea of promises, making no sort of guarantee save only the cost of transportation. Thousands of tragedies have resulted from lying representations. Negro families have made the long pilgrimage, and whites, too, only to discover that conditions of labor and social conditions were utterly unsuited to them. They have come home stripped and impoverished, utterly disillusioned. It is therefore not merely enlightened selfishness that prompts Mr. Tunstall to ask for legislation prohibiting these labor agents from entering the State, but a step toward protecting our workers from this lying propaganda.

Labor—1923.
Agents and Agencies.

Georgia.

WHITE FARMERS HELD BY GEORGIA CRACKERS

The Washington Eagle

Carolinians Fare Badly Under Cracker Laws. Jailed and Fined for Try-to Hire Colored Help.

(Special to The Eagle.)

4/21/23.

Three white farmers arrived in Oconee County, Georgia, and hired several colored families to go with them to North Carolina as tenants and to work on shares. While waiting at the station for the train to take them North, they were arrested and thrown into jail where they remained nine days under bonds ranging from $1,000 to $5,000. W. C.

They were left with insufficient bedding and almost froze.

When the case was brought to trial the men were asked if they were going to forfeit bonds, and told that if they were not they would be sent to other counties and tried and fined there on the same charge.

Of course, when they said they would not fight the case but would forfeit those bonds to prevent other cruelties and mulcting, the officials of the court are said to have pocketed the money. In fact, so sure were they as to the increase in their wealth through the action of the law against bothering Negro labor in that state except upon a lincense of $1,000, which even then may not save the agent from prosecution, that it is said some of the money was paid out a tonce to those who had participated in the arrest. It was their reward.

It is understood that the three North Carolians are going to fight the constitutionality of the law by which they were arrested, fined and mistreated.

Atlanta Labor Recruiter Held

Atlanta Georgian

SAVANNAH, Ga., April 13.—J. H. Deveaux, of Atlanta, who recently opened an office in Savannah to recruit labor, has been arrested on a warrant sworn out by Mrs. Elizabeth Franklin, from the office of the State Commissioner of Labor. He is charged with failure to comply with the state laws governing labor recruiters, and has been released under bond of $1,500. There has been complaint recently of much labor being sent out of Savannah and Mrs. Franklin was sent here to investigate. 4/14/23.

Deveaux had paid the $3,500 necessary for state and city licenses. He is charged with failure to make bond, application for license and daily reports.

ENTICING LABOR CHARGED TO TWO

White Man and Eleven Negro Workmen Are Stopped by Police at Terminal Station.

Accused of trying to take negro laborers away from Atlanta to Birmingham, Ala., without license as labor agent, C. D. Castle, 30, white, of Birmingham, and T. Victurm, negro, of 30 Newton street, were arrested in the Terminal station Sunday night, while they were in company with eleven negroes. The negroes were said to have been employed to go to the Alabama city by the two men.

Charges of disorderly conduct were docketed against the two men and the negroes subpoenaed for appearance in court. The bonds of the men were placed at $100.

Police who made the arrest stated that Castle had declined to produce a labor agent's license when they challenged his right to take the negroes out of the state.

LABOR AGENTS ACTIVE IN ROME TERRITORY

Atlanta Constitution

Rome, Ga., April 25.—(Special.)—Labor agents, dressed in badly worn and even ragged clothing, have been making Rome their headquarters for some time past, and are responsible in large measure for the exodus of negroes to the north and east according to reliable negroes who are in position to know. 4-26-23

Two negroes, who once lived in Rome, and now are employed in industrial centers of the north and east, are being used as labor agents by their present employers, according to the same information. These negroes, it is said, returned to Rome ostensibly on a visit, but as a matter of fact are labor agents in disguise.

The exodus of negroes continues from Rome and vicinity unabated. On Sunday night it was necessary for the Southern railroad to put on extra equipment in Atlanta to accommoderate the crowds that had tickets, one of the largest crowds—numbering more than 100, it is estimated—that has so far left Rome on the same train.

JUL 23 1923

NEGROES ALLEGED BE LABOR AGENTS GO TO CITY COURT

ARRESTED BY POLICE AT THE UNION STATION.

Recorder Schwarz this morning had the first case before him charging two defendants with violation of a state law by recruiting labor to take out of the state, since the police department began stationing officers at the stations to investigate such cases.

Police Pleased.

Sam Butler and Lewis Edwards, both colored, were arrested by Detectives Lively and Parker Saturday night in the Union Station. Along with the two negroes the two officers brought in six negroes, whom, it was charged, had been recruited by the two defendants.

Because of the difficulty which besets an officer attempting to make a case of this kind, the police department was very much pleased when the two negroes, along with the recruited labor as witnesses, were brought into the barracks.

Make Denials.

It has been necessary, according to Chief of Detectives Murphy, to have these two officers take up night work in order to make the cases, it having been found that the recruiters select early morning trains to make their departures. The arrest was made a 3:30 a. m..

The two defendants denied having recruited the six negroes, but all of the witnesses admitted to the recorder that they had been persuaded by the lure of higher wages to go to Florida. Detective Lively submitted to the court the tickets taken from the two defendants, which provided transportation for the entire crew.

To City Court.

Both Butler and Edwards said the negroes along with them had expressed a desire to accompany them to Florida, and that they themselves had been recruited in South Carolina. Three of the negro witnesses were from South Carolina.

Recorder Schwarz held the Savannah negroes as material witnesses and held the two negroes for the city court.

THE REMEDY WORSE THAN THE DISEASE

The Atlanta Constitution

A few days ago a member of the Georgia Legislature introduced a bill to make the solicitation of labor from the state of Georgia into another state a felony, punishable from three to seven years in the Georgia penitentiary. In our opinion the remedy is far worse than the disease and instead of decreasing migration, it will increase migration. Migration can not be stopped by force, or by law, and legislation will never reach the trouble. Fair treatment, equal enforcement and protection of the law, with an equal opportunity for every class of citizens, white and black, before and under the law, alone will accomplish the desired end. We have more law now than we enforce and much of that which is in force is mal-administrated.

8-2-23

If the representative who introduced this force bill would spend his energy in an effort to enforce the law and to give that class of people who are migrating the protection of the law, he would accomplish far more than he can dream of accomplishing by force and might. To tell a man that he shall not do a thing is to double his resolution to do that very thing. To undertake to confine a man within the bounds of a state jurisdiction is another way of enforcing his personal liberty to exercise itself by peacefully and quietly moving to that state or territory that affords him the best economic opportunity and protection of the law. If our short-sighted, would-be statesmen would introduce a bill in the Legislature to improve housing conditions in rural districts, provide better school facilities, and to punish the lawless element of white people who terrorize Negro labor and make an effort to repeal the contract labor law under which farmers reduce Negro labor to abject slavery, we would need no law to punish labor agents.

Labor—1923

Agents.

Georgia.

Blame Warnings To Clarke Blacks On Labor Agents

Athens Officials Investigate Notices Calling on Negroes to Leave County.

1-17-23

Atlanta Constitution

Athens, Ga., January 16.—(Special.)—Negroes of Clarke county again have been warned that they must leave by March 1. Today high officials, both county and city, were expressing the belief that notices said to have been posted in the county giving this warning to the blacks, were put there by labor agents who were alleged to be at work in this section.

It was discovered here today that a notice has been posted on a negro lodge building near the Jackson colored school on the Danielsville road. There is much alarm among the negro residents of Clarke and adjoining counties.

It is understood that the county officials will make a thorough investigation of the posting of the notices and make an effort to apprehend the parties who are responsible. In the meantime the negroes of the settlement are being told, it is said, to pay no attention to the notices but to go on with their work as usual.

If it is found that leabor agents are operating here illegally they will be given the limit of the law and also handled for posting intimidating notices.

LABOR AGENT WANTED

1-17-23

Atlanta

Governor Issues Requisition for J. E. McConnell.

J. E. McConnell, wanted in Appling county charged with operating as a labor agent without paying the tax required under the law, is now said to be in Florida and Governor Hardwick on Wednesday issued a requisition addressed to the governor of that state, asking that he be returned to Georgia to stand trial.

The Georgia law requires that labor agents pay a tax of $1,000 for each county in which they operate, besides securing a special permit from the department of labor. The law was designed to prohibit the operation of such agents in the state.

Jap Labor Agent Quizzes Official At State Capitol

1/28/23.

Uses Name of "Mr. Wood, of Calhoun Company" Then Disappears.

Atlanta Ga.

Atlanta

Constitution

BY RALPH T. JONES

Somebody seems to have been using somebody's name in vain.

Also, said mysterious somebody seems to have had a more or less wild dream. Perhaps the wildness of it gives the reason for the false name. Anyway, here's the story:

On Friday, a man called at the office of the attorney-general, at the state capitol. He stated that he was considering a plan to bring seventeen thousand Japanese laborers to Georgia. He had heard that many negroes were leaving the state, and that in some sections the labor shortage was rapidly becoming serious.

He wanted to know whether there was any law or regulation on the statute books of Georgia which would prevent the immigration of a crowd of Japs, such as he proposed, into the state. He likewise wanted the opinions of some state officials as to what attitude to expect from public sentiment, on the proposal.

He gave his name as "Mr. Wood," and his address as "care of The Calhun Co., real estate, Metropolitan building."

Secretary Gress, of the attorney general's staff, told him he knew nothing of public sentiment in such a matter and referred him to commissioner of Agriculture, J. J. Brown, for such information. He never called on Commissioner Brown, however.

Now comes the kick in the story. Mr. Wood, of the Calhoun company, was questioned on this subject Saturday. He stated he had not been in the capitol for months, has never given any thought to Georgia labor problems, and wouldn't know where to find seven Jap laborers, let alone 17,000, unless it was in Japan.

Now, who was it called on Mr. Gress? There is one gentleman in town who would like very much to know. It is Mr. Wood, of the Calhoun company.

Labor—1923
Agents and Agencies.

Georgia

PAYS $3,500 FOR AGENCY LICENSES

Savannah Tribune

J. L. DeVeaux rather startled the city marshar's office Saturday when he walked in and turned over $2,500 in exchange for a license to open an agency here to recruit labor for outside points. He also paid the $1,000 required by the state for such a business. 3/29/23

Offices were opened Monday at 605 West Broad street and scores of laborers wishing to go elsewhere for work, have been beseiging the labor office ever since. The office is recruiting labor for an aluminum mine in North Carolina. Several shipment of labor were carried off this week.

Hearing Waived On Labor Agent Charge in Oconee

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
3-31-23

Men Arrested in Athens Fail to Make Bond in Watkinsville.

Watkinsville, Ga. March 30.—(Special.)—At preliminary hearing here today before County Judge R. R. Burger, J. D. Boyles and W. W. Depriest, white, from Lincoln, N. C., charged under three warrants with operating as emigration agents without registering with ordinary, without registering with labor commissioner, and failure to pay license, waived trial, their bonds being assessed at $2,000 each for appearance at county court April 9. John Roand, colored, charged with the same offense, went on trial and was bound over to same term of court, his bond being set at $1,000 The accused men remain in jail, being unable to make bonds.

Assistant Commissioner of Labor W. T. Christy was here to assist in the prosecution, as well as Public Service Commissioner J. D. Price from whose plantation eight negroes were taken and found in the company of the prisoners at the time of their arrest in Athens Wednesday night. Many Oconee farmers evidenced their interest in the proceedings by attendance upon the trial.

At the time of their arrest the men had three automobile loads of Oconee negroes with them, 14 in number, some from in and near Farmington, where they were employed as farm laborers by different farmers.

First Arrest.

It has been generally thought for some time that labor agents were particularly active in this section, owing to the great exodus of negro labor, but their tactics were so elusive, however, as to foil all attempts of detection by the authorities, and this is the first actual arrest in this section of any one charged with thus breaking the emigration law.

The negro, Roland, formerly resided in Oconee and it is alleged that he was assisting the two white men in rounding up laborers to be transported to North Carolina.

Two of the three automobiles were levied on by Sheriff C. T. Maxey today as surety for the payment of the license and are now in his custody to await final actior of the constituted authorities in the cases against their owners.

Attorneys Thomas J. Shackleford and Austin Bell, of Athens, represented the defendants, while County Solicitor Gillen conducted the prosecution at the hearing.

Labor — 1923.
Agents and Agencies.

General.

EXPORTERS OF NEGRO FARM LABOR IN PANIC

Fambro, Principal Shipper to North, Agrees to Quit.

NONE PAY EMIGRANT TAX

County Fails to Collect $10,800 in Privilege Licenses From 18 Employment Bureaus Operating in Memphis City Limits.

PROSECUTION DEMANDED AGAINST LABOR AGENTS

MOBILE, Ala., May 2.—So serious is the labor shortage in South Alabama by reason of negro laborers leaving for northern and western industrial centers that contractors and other employers of large numbers of this class of workmen have called on the county prosecuting attorneys to take action against labor agents. Hundreds of negroes have been leaving this part of the country every week, attracted by the big wages and promises of the labor agents of better living conditions.

Commercial

Wholesale shipments of negro farm labor from Memphis to industrial centers of the north came to a sudden halt early yesterday.

Panic apparently had seized the operators of nine employment bureaus as the result of revelations by The Commercial Appeal, followed by police raids and activities of M. F. Nicholson, chief inspector, state department of labor, who reached Memphis yesterday morning to wage an investigation.

5/13/23

It developed, according to the authorities, that a total of 18 labor agencies and position exchanges, doing an emigrant business, operated throughout last month in violation of the new state revenue law requiring the payment of a privilege tax of $300 in addition to $300 to Shelby County.

County officials did not receive a copy of the new revenue requirements until a few days ago, and thus had failed to collect $10,800 in fees.

Up to last night not one of the 18 labor agencies and position exchanges had paid the new tax for the privilege of doing interstate business.

Frank Buckalew, deputy inspector for West Tennessee, told The Commercial Appeal that the labor agents had decided to refrain from employing men for jobs in the north and out of the state for the present.

DIE IN NORTHERN COLD.

Southern Negroes Unable to Live in Severe Climate.

HELENA, Ark., May 2.—The Detroit News of Wednesday, April 4, prints the following pathetic story relative to the fate of many negro emigrants from the south. Whether the situation in Detroit is general of all above Mason and Dixon line is not not indicated, but reports from local undertakers who have handled bodies of negroes who have gone north and died from one cause or another and whose bodies have been sent back to Helena for burial give color to the theory that death from disease and exposure to intense cold is more common among negro emigrants than one would think. The News says:

"Into the mail today there were dropped several letters, each addressed being prefixed with the title "Rev." and each envelope bore on its upper corner the return card of the 'coroner's office.' The mailer, John Palmer, morgeu keeper, is a negro and the letters were addressed to negro ministers of Detroit. It was the cryrtallizations of one of the little tragedies that are moving so ceaselessly along the deep strata of the city, and the story is this:

"Up from the golden dust of dizzie lanes, up from magnolia shadowed cabins, up from the sweet and crumbling corn pone, up from blue skies and happiness there have been coming to Detroit in the last few years thousands of the black children of the south, children in heart, in ideals, in faith, in capacity for joyousness.

"Ragged they arrive, the gumbo of South Georgia, the clay of Tennessee, the sand of Carolina still clinging to their brogans. Happy and eager, their eyes rolling with laughter, their lips puckered for the piping of 'Canaan's Over Yonder,' stepping, strutting, shuffling. Their belongings, more often than not, are wives and picks, aged fathers and mothers.

"They are good in their way, praising the Lord on Sunday, toting a load for a neighbor, eager only to be happy, and if gin they know, and craps they shoot, the finger we would point may be weighted down by the illegal cocktail and the shoes of the running ponies.

"How high falutin' are the promises they made as they swung on the Jim Crow cars at the little stations of southern states and saw for the last time the cotton gin's shadow, the lights in the 'con'l's house' atop the hill, and heard the liquid music of the whip-poor-will broken by the long hee-haw of the old black jennet. What dreams they dreamt, exotic, absurd, barbaric, we may hold, dreams of high hats and royal king shoes, of diamonds as big as hawberries, of ice cream and fried chicken every day, of 'yalla silk dresses' and 'gen'wine gol' watches.'

"Why, some even dreamed of owning a home, and having the babies and old folks around them to sit on 'plush cheers an' Mary Linda playin' at de rail, sho' nuff pianner."

"Well, they arrive and the city takes its toll. The chill and the cold slip down from the north and penetrate the rags and rasp the bodies that have no overcoats. Pneumonia and the white plague slay right and left. They drop on the streets, in their rooming houses, and are taken to the morgue. There they lie. No one wants them. Superstition is at work. No one will come to the morgue to identify them. Their ragged pockets bear a few pennies, a charm for good luck. 'He's from No'th Car'lina,' is the best the coroner's deputies can learn from efforts to identify them."

Somewhere in Dixie they are waiting news, and it never comes. The bodies are sent to the potter's field or the clinic. There are three in the morgue today. Mr. Palmer estimates that 75 per cent of the unidentified dead or negroes, and the majority of them are new comers from the south.

His letter asks that all negro ministers ask their congregations to see that every negro carries with him a card with his name and address and the address of his nearest relative in the south. If this is done, he points out, there will be far fewer wagons backed to the morgue doors waiting to take the lonely road to the nameless grave.

N Y C WORLD
MAY 24, 1923

AS NEGROES ARE NEEDED.

Under convenient rules requiring for labor-agents licenses that might in some cases be hard to get, Charles Hampton was fined $500 in North Carolina for "secretly enticing Negro laborers" to leave the State for Pennsylvania. In Petersburg, Va., Edward Karabinus was fined $1,000 for hiring Negro hands for a New Jersey cement factory without a city license. Enforcement of "contract-labor laws" is said to be tightening in a number of Southern States.

In normal times, when the Negro was "docile and easily lynched," as Mr. Dooley put it, the South was voluble about his shiftless ways and all-round worthlessness. He must be one of those blessings that brighten as they take their flight, for the South is now suddenly waking to the fact that he is needed to make crops of corn and cotton and to do heavy lifting. The South is as sure, these days, that the black man ought to stay at home where he is kindly treated and his nature is understood as Judge Gary is that we ought to admit polyglot immigrant labor en masse and no questions asked.

Yet there is hope in this attitude. The South may yet wake to the fact that Negroes can emigrate without the blandishments of labor-agents. High wages in the North are having their due effect. Perhaps some day Georgia will stop lynching Negroes; and Florida will stop lashing them, and friendless whites as well, in convict camps; and Arkansas planters will stop killing them for impudence in objecting to being cheated on crop contracts. When the economic necessity of an individual or a group begins to be recognized an improved status is pretty likely to follow.

About the poorest friend the negro has is the visiting labor agent. The reason he is a poor friend is that he is not candid with the negroes. He deceives them about the conditions which they will encounter when they go away from the South.

6/23/23 Tulsa Tribune editorially

N Y C POST
JULY 21, 1923

THE NEGRO'S PROMISED LAND.

The increasing anxiety of the South over the departure of Negro workers is emphasized by the introduction of a bill in the Georgia Legislature which would make it a felony to solicit labor for other States, the punishment to be a prison term of from three to seven years. For the South, the migration is more than serious. It is critical. Southern industrial conditions will have to be reorganized on a new basis if the black man lays down his load and sets out to seek his fortune elsewhere.

Ever since the Civil War the Negro has been regarded in the South as about equally a social problem and an economic necessity. Often the fact that the Negro is an economic blessing has been lost sight of in the irritation naturally felt by communities which consist of two mutually antagonistic layers. The race problem has overshadowed the question of the Negro's usefulness; but once the Negro leaves, his importance to the cotton-growing States looms suddenly large. His importance as the only labor supply of the South for any purpose begins to outweigh all his disadvantages.

Yet no penal law against enticing him North is likely to avail much. The Negro goes North because he gets better treatment and higher wages in the North. He brings along with him his status as an economic blessing and a social complication. Wherever he goes he is both welcome and unwelcome. His problem is not solved by the exodus. It is merely scattered and shifted.

Knight Exposes the Fairy Tales Smooth Agents from North Tell Negroes Here

TAMPA FLA TIMES
JUNE 2, 192[illegible]

"If labor conditions are as good in the northern cities as is claimed by flowery tongued book agents and recruiters who create glowing word pictures of the golden opportunities of the north in order to persuade southern negroes to leave their homes for the squalor of the tenements of New York and other large cities, why do thousands of northern workers flock to the south and especially to Florida each year?" argued Col. Peter O. Knight before a large audience of negroes that packed the Halsey temple, negro church on Third and Nebraska avenues, Friday night.

Colonel Knight's talk was preceded by songs by the chiir, led by one of the visiting negro preachers. White people heard the speech and were in the audience that also included several hundred negro men and women of all ages who listened attentively to the scholarly treatment of the emigration problem now facing the south.

Situation Serious.

"The situation on which I am going to speak to night is new and serious," Colonel Knight said. "The northern railways and industrial centers have so-called book agents, picture agents and others all over the south, who go from house to house to find recruits to take to the promised land above the Mason-Dixon line."

He asserted that the northern industrial leaders know that the colored people are conservative and seldom strike, and it is their desire to have one-third of their laborers negroes, so as to stabilize the uncertain foreign element that composes the greater part of the northern labor.

"The first step taken," said Colonel Knight, "is to send these book agents among the negroes. They question them as to their wages, living conditions, etc., and then tell them of the golden opportunities and high wages waiting for them in the northern cities, and of the better understanding between the white people and the negroes. They fail, however, to picture the dark and cold tenement houses where scores of families are packed in close quarters, the high cost of living and the surplus of labor that exists there.

Replaced By Anarchists.

"The recruiter then comes to town and hires several negroes who go to their fellow workers to dissatisfy them and to persuade them to leave for the north. The movement becomes contagious and soon hundreds of negroes find themselves in strange cities, where they are unused to the climate and living conditions, and where the cost of living is much higher than in the south.

"Their ranks in the labor of the south are then filled with anarchists, socialists and incompetents from the north and east.

"Isn't it remarkable that the negroes are leavink Florida and the south for the north, when folks there are coming south to better their condition. The greatest knocker of Florida is the 'cracker'

that has never been out of the county he lives in, and is taking life so free and easy that he doesn't bother to read about conditions outside of the state. In the past three years, thousands of people from outside states have located in Florida, and there are others who reside in the north, but winter here. In my travels I have scarcely met a man that is not interested in this state, and the amazing thing is that after a man stops talking about his own state he starts talking about Florida. If all the good things are in the north why do people flock to Florida.

Florida Opportunities.

"People who have traveled a great deal pronounce Florida the greatest state for soil and resources. Any man that can't earn a living in this state ought to be choloroformed. Over 40,000 carloads of citrus have been shipped from this section, bringing in $70,000,000, 14 times more than the United States paid to Spain when this state was purchased.

"Florida's only rival is California. Yet there is little comparison between the two states. California is seven days from the market, while Florida is only two days distant. In California it rains in the winter when moisture is not needed and in south Florida it rains in the summer when rain is needed.

"You are told that higher wages are paid in the north. What do you do with the money? You pay high rents in the tenement houses, and even if you get twice the amount you receive here, by the time you have paid for necessities of life there is not enough left to keep body and soul together. The number of whites and negroes in the Florida poor houses are less in proportion to the population of the state than in the poor houses of any other state in the union. There is a reason for this.

Advises Land Purchases.

"When many of you worked in the shipyards during the war, you earned high wages but did not save a penny. I would advise all of you to invest your money in land. Put aside small amounts of your earnings in the bank and then purchase a lot on the installment plan. Soon you will be able to build a cottage on the land and you will then own a home that no one will be able to take away from you."

The speaker named several negroes who owned property on Franklin street a good number of years ago, and said that if they had taken advantage of the opportunity and held on to the property they would have been rich today.

"In 10 years from now the people will reproach themselves for not taking the advantage of buying property more than they are now reproaching themselves not having bought land 10 years ago.

"The propagandists from the north say that the relation between the whites and blacks up there are better than in the south. You will find it untrue. The best friend the southern negro has is the southern white people," Colonel Knight concluded.

Labor – 1923
Agents and Agencies.

Mississippi.

LABOR AGENTS BOLDER.

Canvass Negro Laborers in State Capital Buildings.

JACKSON, Miss., May 19.—Labor agents are growing bolder in their activities in Mississippi, in spite of the severe penalties of the law and the growing intensity of public feeling against them. A few days ago, it has developed, two of these agents canvassed the negro laborers in the state capitol building, asking each to furnish transportation and big wages if the negroes would go to northern points. The negroes later volunteered information of the matter after the agents had left.

Today Secretary of State Power received a letter from a West Virginia employment agency stating they wanted to send labor agents into Mississippi to solicit labor for that section and inquiring as to the laws and sentiment. In reply Secretary Power cited the statute which imposes a privilege tax of $500 on each labor agent, payable in each county where he solicits, and for violation of this statute the penalty is not less than $500 nor more than $1,000 fine, or imprisonment for not more than six months.

Mr. Power further advised that there was neither "pleasure nor profit" in soliciting labor to leave this state, and that agents needing a change of climate for such operation might find Mississippi a right unhealthy place right now.

NAMED WRONG MEEK.

Lexington Banker Had No Connection With Labor Agent Arrest.

LEXINGTON, Miss., May 20.—W. M. Meek, president of the Farmers & Merchants Bank here has no connection whatever with the recent arrest and trial of W. W. Meeks as a labor agent. Meeks was arrested at Durant last Monday night and tried here Thursday. He was fined $5,000 for the state and $100 for the city of Lexington. A headline on a story in The Commercial Appeal stated that the man tried was W. M. Meek, when in reality the man was W. W. Meeks.

NE NEGRO LABOR AGENTS

Two Assessed $500 Each on Trial at Benoit.

ROSEDALE, Miss., May 11.—McKinley Berry, of Chicago, and John [illegible], labor agents, who were arrested by Deputy Sheriff W. E. Bryant, last Tuesday and lodged in the Rosedale jail, were taken to Benoit and tried in Justice Barrow's court late yesterday afternoon. Each was fined $500 for soliciting laborers to leave the state before complying with the terms of the state law.

DISMISSER ON LABOR CHARGE.

VICKSBURG, Miss., May 3.—As H. W. Kennedy, who was charged with sending labor to another state, was not technically guilty, Acting Mayor W. H. Miller, sitting as police judge, dismissed the charges against him. Kennedy was arrested last week when he was sending seven men to Florida, and was released on bond until the case was taken up today.

Labor — 1923.
Agents and Agencies.

North Carolina.

MAY 23, 1923

Fines Imposed for Enticing Negro Labor From the South

GREENSBORO, N. C., May 22.—The continued exodus of negro workers to the North has resulted in the tightening of State law enforcement covering contract labor in several Southern States.

Following the instructions of Governor McLeod to South Carolina Sheriffs to enforce State laws requiring licenses for labor agents, Charles Hampton, a negro, was fined $500 here today for "secretly enticing negro laborers" to leave Greensboro for Harrisburg, Pa. Hampton was arrested as he was about to board a train on which he had sent ten workers.

Edward Karabinus was arrested at Petersburg, Va., yesterday while in charge of twenty-five negroes on the way to a New Jersey cement plant. He was fined $1,000 in a Police Court on a charge of soliciting labor without a city license.

RESTRICT LABOR AGENTS

North Carolina Moves Against Enticing Negro Workers North

GREENSBORO, N. C., May 22—Continued exodus of negro workers to the North has resulted in the tightening of state laws enforcement covering contract labor in several southern states.

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N. C. Labor Law Will Be Tested in Higher Courts As a Result of $500 Fine

GREENSBORO, N. C., May 31—The fight over the right of northern companies to solicit labor in North Carolina will be carried to the last ditch, it was indicated in municipal court Thursday morning when Judge David H. Collins refused to alter the decision given several days ago in the case of Charlie Hampton, who was arrested at the depot here on charges of soliciting labor without a license.

A fine of $500 was imposed on Hampton at the time. He asserted that he was an employee of the Central Iron and Steel Company, Harrisburg, Pa., and had been connected with the company for a number of years.

E. D. Braodhurst, appearing for the steel concern, asked the court to change the fine to a suspended sentence on the condition that the man leave the state. This motion was denied. The law states explicity that an individual may solicit labor for himself, or that any officer or stockholder of a corporation may solicit labor without paying the license tax of $200 required by the state and $300 required by the city. The state in the present instance contends that Hampton was not acting as an individual or as an officer or stockholder of the company he represented.

Labor — 1923
Agents and Agencies.

South Carolina.

SITUATION IS SERIOUS.

Labor Agents From North Work Throughout South Carolina.

(By the Associated Press.)

COLUMBIA, S. C., May 12.—The labor situation in South Carolina is the most serious in many years if not in the history of the state, according to a statement made here today by W. T. Willingham, in charge of the United States employment bureau here. Labor is short for all kinds of work, he said.

Mr. Willingham said that labor agents from northern sections have been working throughout the state, inducing negroes to leave for other states. They are receiving from $5 to $7.50 each for every laborer they induce to go to industrial plants outside of the state.

Labor — 1923
Agents and Agencies.

Virginia

GIRLS SENT NORTH BY UNSCRUPULOUS SOUTHERN WHITES

Labor Agents Without Conscience Ship Ignorant Girls to New York

New York, May 18.—Through the stranding of a young girl here last week, a vicious system of importing domestic help from the South came to light, revealing the callousness of Southern white employment agencies, the hard-hearted shrewdness of the Northern whites who are after cheap labor, and, incidentally, the worthlessness of some charitable or semi-charitable institutions.

Learning from Martin & Company, a white employment agency of 26 North Ninth St., Richmond, Va., that a place as a domestic could be secured in New York paying $35 per month, Miss Virginia Landsford, 18, who lives with her mother and several smaller brothers and sisters at 421 North 13th St., Richmond, decided to come North to take the job. Money for car fare was supplied the girl by the employment agency, who, in turn, had been supplied the money by Mrs. A. Rhienhardt (white), who conducts a dry goods store at 2512 Seventh Ave.

Together with seven other girls, all bound to New York and Brooklyn on similar missions, Virginia left Richmond with not one cent.

Arriving here the girl was met at the Pennsylvania station by Mrs. Rheinhardt, taken to her home and at once informed that her wages would be $20 per month instead of the $35 promised by Martin & Company in Richmond. As a matter of fact, the $35 per month for which the girl came North, is far below the average wage paid domestics in this city today, the average wage being just twice what the white woman offered. In many instances good domestics are earning as high as $70 per month.

Virginia, who can neither read nor write, and in a strange city, was forced to accept and started to work. Three mornings later Mrs. Rheinhardt, who is Jewish, became displeased and discharged the girl without even permitting Virginia to have breakfast. Friendless and penniless, the girl was thrown on the streets of Harlem.

Noting the girl's distress an aged lady asked Virginia the trouble. This woman took the girl to the employment office of Edward Givens, 161 West 145th St. Givens is a corporal in the 38th precinct police reserves and is well known in Harlem. He immediately took an interest in the friendless girl after hearing the story and started out to see what could be done for her.

He went first with the girl to the West 137th St. Y. W. C. A. and requested that something be done for her until he could find her employment.

Virginia's clothes were not modern and her general looks were not exactly up-to-date. There he was informed that they could do nothing for the girl, since they did not handle cases of that kind.

Somewhat bewildered by this treatment, Givens took the girl to a charitable institution. Here he was told that they would pay the girl's fare back home if she would first do a week's work here. But they suggested nowhere for the girl to stay. The corporal then attempted to interest a Baptist minister, who told him to have the girl at a certain place Friday afternoon and he would have the money to buy her a ticket back home. Given went to the appointed place, but the minister failed to appear.

A place for the girl to spend the night was finally found at the Rescue mission, 62 East 132d St. Officials there cheerfully took the unfortunate girl in and kept her until time for leaving came.

Givens went to the woman who was responsible for Virginia's presence in New York and demanded that she pay the girl's fare back home. After some quibbling the woman agreed and Monday, still watched by the faithful corporal, the girl was sent back to Richmond.

There is a wide field in New York for Southern girls who desire to come here as domestics. They should be well qualified and should have some money to tide them over possible emergencies. They should always remember that no place worth coming North will be offered them at a wage less than $50 per month. Often it will be more. Last, they should beware of unscrupulous white employment agencies in the South.

Labor—1923

Condition of,

See Also: Labor, Peonage.

Labor—1923
Condition of.

Georgia.

The Day of Talk Is Over and the Hour of Prompt Performance Has Come

Migration is still the all-absorbing question in every economic body. It is not so much a question of quality of labor, as it is of quantity for distribution. There is a dearth of labor throughout the country, and the white man north is out-playing his southern brother. While the southerner is talking about substituting other labor for the Negro, the white man north is "Letting his bucket down where he is," and opening the doors of industry to the Negro.

Our migration laws are all right and will, in time, raise the wages of every American working man to a living level. The southern white man ought to take advantage of his northern brother's mistake. The lynching evil is an illustration. Lynching was once a local crime—confined to the South, but now it is national, and covers the country like the canopy of heaven. The north made no effort to stamp it out, and now mob-violence is a national sin and is disgracing every section of our country where mob law prevails. In like manner, the scarcity of labor was local and only affected the North, but now the economic deficiency is national and affects the South in common with the North. The Southern white man has made no substantial effort to check migration. He is sitting idly by and permitting the North to deport our labor to northern, western and eastern industrial centers.

The labor situation is growing more acute and threatening every day, and the hour of performance is here. We must meet the situation in fairness to both labor and capital. We must stem the tide. The remedy is not far-fetched—it is both humane and Christian. White folk and black folk must get together—talk to each other and iron out their differences. The remedy in the concrete is:

First—In the country districts assure the Negro safety from bodily harm, protection to life and liberty, a living wage and a house fit to live in.

Second—Restore confidence by providing, both in the rural districts and the city, better and adequate school facilities, living wages and better housing conditions.

Third—Meet northern competition in the labor market by opening industrial and economic opportunities now shut in the Negro's face, and give him a place on every program you plan for the economic betterment of the community.

Fourth—Make the Negro feel that the South is his home, and disabuse your mind of the mean demagogy of "A white man's country."

Fifth—Let us have community, county and state-wide conferences with a view of mapping out an economic program that will take care of our educational, political, commercial and religious interest in common.

Sixth—Give the Negro more jobs and better wages, and punish white and black alike before the law.

Seventh—Quit following Negro fakers and cringers, and listen to the voice of the substantial, self-respecting Negro who makes his living without begging or cringing. Take the advice of the leaders the Negro chooses for himself. Listen to him and stop listening to the Negro who appoints himself, or whom you select as the standard by which to measure our wants, our needs and to fix our place in the economic, educational and political welfare of the community, state and country.

BENJAMIN JEFFERSON DAVIS, Editor.

Georgia Legislature Bill Designed To Check Exodus Of Negroes From State

The St. Louis, Mo Argus 5-24-23
Atlanta Georgia

Associated Negro Press

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 8.—An effort to check the migration of Negroes and other farm laborers was given by the authors as the reason for the introduction of a bill in the Georgia Legislature, today, which would make it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States. Punishment would be a prison term of not less than three years nor more than seven. 8/10/23

"Pasage of this bill," one of the authors declared, "will result in checking the exodus of Negroes and other farm labor of Georgia to other States It does not allow even licensed labor agents to operate in the State. The present labor situation in Georgia demands drastic legislation and this measure is one which we think best to provide relief."

Labor—1923.
Condition of.

General.

DIRE STRAITS AWAIT NEGROES GOING NORTH

St. Louis, Detroit and Philadelphia Charity Bodies Report High Rents, Few Houses

SAYS JOBS ARE FEW

Serious Problem Recognized by Northern Relief Organizations if Migration Continues

Southern negroes who have recently moved to Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis and other large cities in the North and East are facing a very serious situation caused from unemployment and housing shortage, according to information given the Georgia Manufacturers' Association by leading charity organizations in those cities. Should the period of unemployment continue, conditions among them in Philadelphia will be "appalling," according to the Society for Organizing Charity of that city. In Detroit the Department of Public Welfare declares that the unskilled negro laborer will be in "dire straits."

Sixteen people were discovered in one room in Philadelphia, and a canvass showed only 35 dwellings for rent in that city for less than $50 a month, and only a few of those were for rent to negroes. Unskilled negro labor is a drug on the market in Detroit, and newcomers are finding it difficult to find employment.

The Georiga Manufacturers' Association, which has been making a survey of conditions among the negroes who have been emigrating in large numbers from the South to larger centers of population, directed an inquiry to the Department of Public Welfare in Detroit, the Society for Organizing Charity in Philadelphia, and the St. Louis Provident Association, all of which are recognized as leading charitable organizations in their cities. The information asked for was the experience of these organizations as to the situation of the newly-arrived negroes in their respective cities.

Following are the answers:

Detroit, Mich., July 5.

Georgia Manufacturers' Association,
Candler Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Unskilled colored labor is a drug on the market in Detroit at the present time. New arrivals are finding it difficult to obtain employment. Housing conditions are very bad. New arrivals are forced to live in crowded rooms at excessive prices. If period of unemployment continues unskilled colored labor will be in dire straits. City is not financed to take care of an influx of Southern negroes or non-residents of any class.

CITY OF DETROIT, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, T. E. Dolan, General Superintendent,

Philadelphia, Pa., July 5.

Georgia Manufacturers' Association,
Candler Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Housing shortage here makes condition Southern unskilled negro serious. Living in crowded quarters that menace health and life. Sixteen people recently discovered to be living in one room. Canvass of 61,135 dwellings by Philadelphia Housing Association in April showed only 56 for rent at less than $50 a month. Few, if any, of these available for negroes. Should widespread unemployment develop condition of these newcomers would be appalling.

SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY, by Karl Deschenweinitz.

St. Louis, Mo., July 5,

Georgia Manufacturers' Association,
Candler Building, Atlanta, Ga,

There is an increasing number of Southern unskilled negroes coming to St. Louis. A growing problem is recognized. Serious attention now being given to the problem and local sources are meeting possible emergencies, such as housing, unemployment, etc.

ST. LOUIS PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION.

Chicago Shops Cancel Orders for Laborers

Press reports indicate that in different sections of the country so many Colored people have migrated that the market for surplus labor is about absorbed. The department of labor makes special mention of Cleveland shops as being filled up at this time and advises that people seek other places rather than coming to Cleveland. The same condition is characteristic in Chicago. During the last two or three months the Chicago Urban league had been sending over 50 people weekly to each of 10 plants, among them the stock yards, International Harvester company, Illinois Steel company, Deering Twine works, National Malleable Castings company and the Argo Corn Products Refining company. These companies needed labor so much that they had standing orders and would take as many men as the Urban league could send them, but the story is different now. All open orders have been canceled and a definite effort has to be made to find enough work to go around among the applicants.

COTTON PLANTERS WORRY ABOUT THE LABOR SHORTAGE

Thousands of Farms Left Idle by Rush of Black Workers Northward

BIG WAGES ATTRACTIVE

Three Out of Five Thousand Say They Left Home for More Money

E. V. Wilcox in Country Gentleman

More than 35 per cent of our 10,500,000 Negro population have moved outside the Cotton Belt.

The exodus of negroes from the South already reaches as far as Boston, Buffalo, Detroit, St. Paul, Seattle, Los Angeles, Honolulu and Mexico. Year by year the movement is gaining in volume and momentum. Negroes are diffusing throughout the country from end to end. Seemingly this great colored migration will increase till it reaches the saturation point, or possibly equal percentage distribution in all States.

This migratory movement is one of the most interesting and important population shifts in our whole economic history. The World War and the subsequent demand for labor has brought economic freedom to the Negro. If the Negro migration continues at the present rate till 1930 a little more than 53 per cent of our total Negro population will be living outside of the Cotton Belt.

That entails an industrial and agricultural readjustment of gigantic proportions. The cotton planters of the South are worrying about the shortage of farm labor. They fear it will be imposible to grow the cotton that the world needs. And in Northern industrial cities new problems have arisen. Another ghetto has been added to the checkerboard of our manufacturing cities. An up-to-date city must have a Negro section or "blackberry patch" in addition to special ghettos for various foreign elements. The Northern employer must learn the art of handling Negro labor. Houses and groes. And new problems of race schools, must be provided for. Nefriction arise and must be smoothed out.

The Mecca of the Colored Pilgrimage

While studing the cotton situation on a recent trip through the South I made inquiries about the Negro migration along the course of my travels. Then I visited several Northern cities which serve as the Mecca of the colored pilgrimage, especially Pittsburg, Akron, Columbus, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. In these cities I packing, steel, rubber and automoconsulted with officials of mining, ble industries, building trades, highway contractors and various other offices, and also with Negro leaders, employers, as well as employment officials of the Urban League, editors of Negro newspapers, Negro bankers and Negro laborers.

What is the meaning of the Negro exodus from the South? The Southern planter who is losing his Negro cotton tenants says that high wages in the Northern industries is the answer. The Negro demagogue proclaims that colored cotton tenants are leaving the South as a protest against inequality before the law. But neither of these answers alone can fully explain such a complex movement. In fact, the farther I went and the more sidelights I was able to throw on the problem the more I was impressed with the popular ignorance of the nature and extent of this great migration. But everywhere in the North I found employers studying Negro laborers to learn their likes, dislikes, needs, strong points, weaknesses, recreation requirements, health, loyalty and adaptability. And they are succeeding in getting a better grade of work out of the Negro and in making him happy and comfortable in his new environment.

Negro at home Anywhere

It's a strange irony of fate for the cotton Negro to find himself as much talked growersood z much at home in the North as in the Cotton Belt. I talked with Negroes at Southern rural stations just leaving for West Virginia, New Jersey, Detroit and Chicago. They gave me various reasons for leaving, such as boll weevil, poor schools, charging by credit merchants, unwretched shack to live in, overderclassing of their cotton, rough treatments by overseers, unfairness in courts, inequitable expenditure of tax money, cruelty of law officers, general dissatisfaction with conditjons and desire to travel. These they said, were the forces that pushed them away from the South.

The lodestones in the North were high wages, constant employment and letters from friends who had become established in the North. to get more intimately in touch It's high time for the cotton planter with his Negro tenants and learn at first hand why the Negroes are leaving as fast as they can find other jobs.

Negro labor is the biggest single fore, sought everywhere for the factor in producing cotton. I, therecauses of this migration. I asked hundreds of recent migrants why they left the South. Their answers fell under four heads—better wages, better treatment, better schools and better conditions in general.

Big Wages A Factor

"I came North to better myself." More than half the Negroes I questioned gave big wages as the main reason for going North. But with many of them the school argument was very strong. Then in the Corn Belt cities I found that Negro leaders had sent out questionaires among newcomers. Putting these figures together in one table gave me 5600 answers to the question, "Why did you come North?" With 55 per cent of them, or 3080, the main reason was "big wages"; "unfair treatment" had driven away 20 per cent of them, or 1120; while 15 per cent, or 840, were seeking "better schools"; and 10 per cent, or 560, gave mixed reasons for migration, including better wages, or schools, housing and churches rough treatment and various sentimental reasons.

Powerful Forces

I consulted C. S. Johnson, of the National Urban League in New York. "Among the recent Negro arrivals in Hartford, Connecticut,' said he, "I asked 501 heads of families why they left Georgia and Virginia. Economic reasons brought 248 of them, while 123 came for better treatment, 13 for better schools 67 from suggestion through letters In this connection there are three and 50 for miscellaneous reasons.' powerful forces in Negro migration which not only the Southern planter but we white folk in general have greatly underestimated or overlooked entirely. These agencies are the avalanche of letters going South with flowery statements about opportunities in the North, the Negro press and the Urban League, a

Negro welfare organization of twelve years standing, with headly in the North but also in Tampa, quarters in New York and with branches in forty other cities most-Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta and Sumter.

Letter From Back Home

Letter written to the folks back home by recent Negro migrants have more effect in stimulating further migration than all other agencies put together. Labor agents of a few thousand each season for Northern employers may pick up railroad work, or for the Gary and Pittsburg steel works or some other plant. But I doubt whether there is a Negro in the South who has not received or heard read a letter from the North telling what a grand and glorious feeling to get from $2.88 to $10 more a day, to be able to buy all you want to eat and wear and to travel and see the world. I saw a few of these letters. They were marvels of word painting, setting forth in rosy colors the new-found paradise of economic independence and educational advantages. These lurid appeals would move the dullest cotton tenant to mutiny against the drab routine of plantation life and to pack up his duds for Chicago. To clinch the argument and as follow-up thousands of the more flamboyant letter writers revisit their old home, arrayed in clothes calculated to make their friends green with envy.

JUL 10 1923

ONE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

Without intending to do so, an Irwin county farmer presented one solution of the negro problem Monday, when he brought sixteen of his farmers, eight of them negroes, to inspect the experiments in boll weevil poisoning at the Coastal Plain Experiment Station. Director Starr says that the negroes were among the most interested investigators, made frequent inquiries, and appeared to grasp a clear understanding of the matters explained to them.

Negroes are leaving Georgia farms because they are offered higher wages elsewhere, or because they are not making a profit farming. They do not make farming pay because they raise cotton only. They have never been taught to raise anything else. It has been said that the negro farmer will not diversify. Has he ever been taught diversification?

It is stated that some of the tobacco growers in North Carolina who make the best crops per acre and the best quality of tobacco are negro farmers who have been raising tobacco all their lives. There is no reason why the Georgia should not be a stock-raiser if he is taught how. Mr. Greer, in his excellent book, says that his observation is, where care has been taken to properly instruct the negro, he has made a success of live-stock raising.

Cannot the negro farmer be taught to poison the boll weevil and raise hogs and cattle? Would not a little friendly help bring results? We believe Mr. Little is answering the question, and it will be interesting to note the result of his venture.

USING SURPLUS LABOR.

The announcement that the steel industry has finally decided to yield to the widespread demand for an eight hour day has pointed the way to utilize the surplus labor forces of this country. The steel plants have hitherto been operated on a continuous scale, which required two twelve hour shifts of workmen for a day's work. Under the change proposed three shifts will be required of eight hours each. This change which has been urged for several years in the interest of the workers in this industry, has been steadily opposed by the operators on various grounds. The principal objection stated by Judge Gary, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation and spokesman for the steel plants generally, has been the lack of surplus labor and the additional cost of manufacturing.

7-28-23

The force of public opinion directed against the continuance of the twelve hour day manifested through various civic organizations and church federations, backed by President Harding's recommendation, has brought about this change. Judge Gary finally announced that a start would be made in adopting the new schedule by August, which would require sixty thousand more workmen. He was not so definite in stating from what source the additional labor demanded would be obtained, but was quoted as saying that "workmen are coming from the South, the colored men, the Mexicans from Mexico, the Filipinos, and the Canadians, and immigration is increasing a little, I think."

Another head of this industry, President Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, was inclined to put more stress on foreign immigration. He said that those who favored the establishment of the eight hour day, should use their influence to urge a change in the immigration laws making it possible to obtain immigrants of the best type, selected on the other side, in quantities as they are needed. He admitted that some companies have been using Negroes in large numbers, but added: "We have not done so because our operating officials like the Mexican laborer better." It would be interesting to learn the cause of this preference expressed for alien labor from the southern borders. It can hardly be that the Mexican is more easily exploited than the Negro from the South.

At any rate the change to the eight hour day in the iron and steel industry promises to increase the avenues opening to Negro labor from the South. The State legislators in Georgia would appear to be of that opinion, as a bill was introduced last week making it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States, punishable by a prison term of three to seven years. The reason given for its introduction was to check the migration of Negroes and other farm laborers.

Another attempt to check migration from the South was reported in the editorial columns of the New York "Herald," which has steadfastly opposed the movement, while favoring unrestricted foreign immigration. This was a broadcast notice by the superintendent of the Ohio Employment Service that there is a man for every job in Cleveland and that further placement of labor seekers is impossible. This Cleveland incident is interpreted by the "Herald" as affording cause for Southern industry to hope that the North's capacity for absorption of Southern colored labor has about been reached. We think it is too soon to indulge such a hope. The Cleveland notice may truly reflect local conditions, but the eight hour day in the steel and iron trade, together with the maintenance of the restrictions against foreign immigration, and the general revival of industry, will keep active the demand for labor in other sections.

The proper distribution of the migrating workers from the South, and their adaptability to the work required of them, are important elements of the situation. Placed in jobs where needed and given a fair day's work for a fair days wage, they should prove a valuable factor in any community.

Labor — 1923.
Condition of.

Arkansas.

CHICAGO FAILS NEGRO FAMILIES FROM SOUTH

Twenty Return to Forrest City. More on Way.

Their dream of short hours and big pay blasted, 20 negro families returned yesterday to Forrest City, Ark., from Chicago, after a short stay in the city of mud.

A glib labor agent several weeks ago painted to them a word picture of ideal working conditions and a living atmosphere that the idle rich would have relished.

Writing that they came back. Others who left with them are following suit. Their lead has played them false, they write. Now they are seeking transportation.

William and Charles Deustiss, prominent plantation owners, who employed the negroes before they left for the north, sent tickets for the return from Chicago, C. E. Bailey, secretary of the Forrest City Chamber of Commerce, said yesterday.

Requests for transportation from other negroes who went to Chicago and other places in the north are being received by other plantation owners, Mr. Bailey said. The negroes, according to their letters, are finding the treatment accorded them in the large cities to be very different from that promised them by the labor agents and are anxious to return, Mr. Bailey added.

Commercial Appeal July 21, 1923

WHITE COLOR FOR S TH.

Watson, Ark., Jul 10.

To The Commercial Appeal:

A few lines in the matter of the negro problem, brought by the page advertisement in The Commercial Appeal of last Saturday, the 7th inst., and wish to say that I am in full accord with the sentiments or views taken by these distinguished gentlemen, Judge Leroy Percy, Mr. Atterbury and others, who authorized the publication above referred to.

Commercial Appeal 7-15-23

I have been trying for several months to work up sentiment among the planters of Desha County with end in view to the immediate necessity of making immediate change from negro labor to a substantial and reliable class of white labor. This can be accomplished only by concerted, organized and co-operative movement of the entire cotton belt.

There are thousands of families of the substantial and reliable order of white people that would be glad to make their homes among us, which would bring prosperity to themselves as well as the entire cotton states.

If on investigation it was found that the available supply of white labor was insufficient to fill the demands, why could we not, acting in unity, induce Congress to so amend the present immigration laws that would permit us to secure the necessary quota from the farming classes of the best of the European countries?

I spent the entire war period in Europe and positively know that there are thousands of desirable farming classes and good citizenship that are eager to come to this country, only the present day immigration laws are keeping them out. Respectfully,

M. WALTON.

Labor—1923
Demand for

Georgia.

REPORT SHORTAGE OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH

Only Florida and Alabama Have Enough.

ATLANTA, Ga., April 17—Serious [illegible] labor [illegible] supply [illegible] according to the south's leading crop report [illegible] southeastern states by the Union Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Excessive rains have delayed farm work, the report said, especially of the heavier lands in the upper part of the belt as normal progress has been made in Florida and the southern part of Georgia. Corn will have to be replanted in some sections, due to failure to obtain stands from low temepratures and heavy rains.

Early cotton prospects were reported "good" in Florida, extreme South Georgia and Alabama.

Increased acreage in peanuts was indicated in Florida and in North Georgia.

Watermelons and cantaloupes were said to be growing off nicely in the southern part of the belt. Gardens in the Piedmont section and Tennessee were described as "badly delayed."

Peach prospects were said to be improved in the southern sections and the citrus movement "is now decreasing in volume."

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. 4-18-23

GEORGIA NOW SUFFERS MOST.

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

ATLANTA, Ga. June 22.—Georgia is about to call upon Congress to increase immigration to the United States from any part of Europe. This action has been approved by the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of this city. This is the first sign that the South is beginning to take the great Negro exodus seriously. The disgruntled Negro elements are not returning "so you can notice it" to the old home places in Georgia, at least. Immigration is now being thought of as the solution to the present alarming labor shortage and it is hoped that the South will be able to say within a short while to its departed Negroes, "We don't care if you never come back."

Labor—1923
Demand for.

Illinois.

YELLOW CAB COMPANY ASKS FOR 3,000 NEW CHAUFFEURS

We reprint, free of charge, part of an advertisement published by the Yellow Cab company of Chicago:

We need 3,000 more men to operate new Yellow cabs which we will shortly place in service.

We want intelligent men of clean moral character—who are qualified to meet and deal with the good people of Chicago—who know the value of courtesy and the rule of good conduct.

Chicago Defender 4-28-23

We want you men who are hidden away in musty offices, shipping rooms, warerooms—you men of ribbons and laces, groceries and merchandise, bond houses, insurance companies, banks and accounting rooms. Don't work the best years of your life away for little or nothing. Come out in the sunlight—at the wheel of a Yellow cab. Join this prosperous, happy family, live like a human being, and do some good for your city.

We want you college and high school graduates, you drivers of the so-called co-operative cab companies. History has proven that without organized and financial responsibility, you invariably fail. Quit fooling with yourselves and your families—with your future and theirs.

The Defender believes it is performing a legitimate service to its many thousands of intelligent readers of clean moral character in Chicago in telling them that the above excerpt from the Yellow Cab company advertisement is not meant for them. The cab company goes on to say that "you can work at the garage nearest your home," and that you should apply at the main offices of the firm at Michigan and 21st St.

We believe that our readers should be told that the company does not want any yellow men driving yellow cabs.

We believe that our readers should be told that such splendid service as the cab company offers is for white men only.

We believe that they should be told that the Yellow Cab company hires men and women who are not white.

We believe that our readers should be told that these men and women who are not white are hired to do the dirty work, to wash and grease cars, etc.

We believe we should tell our readers that the Yellow Cab company does make money from passengers who are not white.

We believe we should tell our readers that the Yellow Cab company has stations in sections of the city that are not preponderously white.

We believe that we should tell our readers that the Yellow Cab company obstructs the efforts of cab compa- are not preponderantly white.

We believe that we should tell the cab company that our readers do not like the above arrangements.

We believe that we should tell the cab company that as soon as our readers can, they are going to do all their riding where they can work.

We believe that we should tell the cab company that its "color line" policy is wrong.

We believe that we should tell the cab company it is unpatriotic to offer opportunity to foreigners and deny opportunity to American citizens.

We believe that we should deny before all men that white men are the only ones who are able to drive Yellow cabs.

We believe that we should further deny that white men are the only ones who can appreciate, or are in need of such advantages as the Yellow Cab company lays claim to.

We believe, finally, that we should let the Yellow Cab company understand that know it purposely and boldly adopts the above described unpatriotic, discriminatory policy, and that that suggests to us the cab company could be equally as insincere in its offers to white employees. We know that all Yellow Cab company drivers are not happy and satisfied.

Indiana.

Labor - 1923
Demand for

THE SERVANT QUESTION.

The Freeman, Indianapolis, Ind.

In last week's issue of The Freeman, we had an editorial on a petition that was sent to Senator New suggesting the bringing in of foreigners for domestic service in Indanapols homes. The servant question is growing more and more serious every day. A large number of our people must of necessity work as day workers, maids, cooks, and otherwise serve in domestic capacities. There is nothing dishonorable about domestic service and the colored people should view with alarm any movement calculated to deprive them of this source of employment.

2-17-23

The complaint has been made, justly or unjustly, that the colored domestic does not take her work seriously enough and that as soon as one is broken into a position, she is ready to lay off, change jobs or otherwise disappoint her employer. We cannot hope to build permanently as a race unless we learn to be reliable, trustworthy, and to give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. The salvation of the colored man in America rests very largely with his realizing that this is an age of competition in every department of effort and that if he would hold his place in the labor world or in any other world, for that matter, he must be able to compete with the other fellow. We are just a little afraid that we regard too highly the fundamental fact that unless we prove desirable as citizens from every angle, we may expect to be prescribed against, discriminated against and otherwise pushed out on the borders of civilization; in other words, we must learn to take our jobs seriously

Labor - 1923.
Demand for.

BROOKLYN N.Y. CITIZEN
JULY 5, 1923

WITH NEGROES GOING NORTH, SOUTH SEEKS TO LURE YANKEE FARMERS

NEW ORLEANS, La., July 5.—Sugar cane growers in this State are becoming alarmed at the rapid migration of the Negro worker to the Northern States, where the higher pay of factories and other industries are attracting him. To offset this increasing shortage of agricultural workers, agriculturists of the State are planinng to start an advertising campaign to enlighten Northern farmers as to the wonderful resources and possibilities of Louisiana.

The advertising campaign will tell of the richnes of Louisiana's soil, its adaptibility for all-year-round crops and the diversity of crops it will yield. The State's mineral resources will also be described, as well as fishing and hunting conditions.

A vast part of this State's rich lands have never been touched by farmers and await only the clearing of small undergrowth to produce the finest crops that land can grow. The seasons are especially well balanced, the winter seldom bringing weather cold enough to hurt young "truck" which can be grown the year around. The State also have proved a splendid location for practically every kind of fruit growing. Grapes are also becoming a profitable crop.

Recently a colony of ten Canadian farmers and their families from around Winnipeg came to this State to engage in sugar-cane growing.

Louisiana.

Mississippi.

Labor - 1923.
Demand for.

NYC JOURNAL OF COMMERCE
JUL 1923

SOUTH BIDS FOR NEGRO LABOR IN PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH, Pa., July 17.—An effort to have negroes from the South abandon employment in the Pittsburgh district and return to the farms was revealed today when a letter received by Mayor William A. Magee from Selma, Miss., was made public.

The letter, signed by "M. McGee Stokes," said it was reported that forty sections of Pittsburgh were under quarantine for small pox and proposed that the negroes be shipped back to Mississippi where they were needed for farm work.

The letter detailed that according to reports smallpox was spreading throughout Pittsburgh and the city desired to "get rid of the Southern negroes." Selma, the letter added, could use 1,000 families and asked how much Pittsburgh would contribute toward sending them to Mississippi by special trains.

The letter was referred by Mayor Magee to Dr. C. J. Vaux, director of the Department of Health, who wrote in reply that not a house in Pittsburgh was under Quarantine for small pox; that only five cases had developed since last January and each of these was extremely mild.

"The Department of Public Health," wrote Dr. Vaux, "has had a working arrangement with physicians engaged in industrial medicine in the city whereby all Southern negroes coming here are immediately vaccinated and examined for other communicable diseases, and a constant check on this situation is made."

Labor — 1923.
Demand for

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
APRIL 24, 1923

LABOR SHORTAGE HERE FOR FIRST TIME SINCE WAR

Situation Threatens to Grow Serious as Industrial Activity Increases—Five Jobs for Every Man Reported.

PHYSICAL DISABILITY ONLY EXCUSE FOR JOBLESSNESS

Canvass by The Star Bares Demand for Railroad and Farm Hands—Chicago and Pittsburgh Centers Need Workers.

A marked shortage of labor, with rising activity in the already busy industries of St. Louis and vicinity, is disclosed in a canvass made by The Star of labor and employment agencies here.

The canvass shows that for the first time since the late days of the world war, the demand for labor is greater than the supply. Managers of employment agencies unanimously asserted that physical incapacity was the only excuse for unemployment, and several declared that from the standpoint of the employer the labor shortage was beginning to take on a serious aspect.

At the agency of Griswold & Company, 9 North Ninth street, it was said that there are orders booked for four times as many men as can be obtained. The most urgent demand, it was said, is from the Chicago and Pittsburgh districts, and it is to them that most of the young men are being shipped, for work in iron and steel plants.

These are being paid 44 cents an hour, while the wage offers from railroads in the north and east, which also are calling for large numbers of workers, are from 37½ to 40 cents an hour. Ohio likewise is a fertile field for labor employment, it was stated, present demand being for not less than 1,500 men. Illinois and Missouri farmers are asking for labor, which cannot be obtained because the wage offers are only $30 to $40 a month, with board and lodging.

Could Place 1,000.

J. C. Stubbs and Son, 23 North Ninth street, told a similar story of labor conditions.

"We could ship out thousands of laborers, in every direction and for every kind of work, if only we could find them," it was said.

"Not only are they wanted outside, but local industries are seeking them. Farmers also are clamoring for men, but they don't want to pay much and are having no luck.

"Most of our shipments are to the north and east, largely for railroads. One of these employers, which has depended mainly upon foreigners, has advised us that it is planning to put on negroes instead, because it is seemingly impossible to get the foreigners, the supply having been cut off by the new immigration law."

"There are five jobs for every man available," it was stated at the agency of J. N. Watkins, 809 Market street, which furnishes labor to railroads only. "Most of our orders at this time are from railways in the Chicago and Pittsburgh districts, which pay from 37 to 40 cents an hour. We seldom are able to ship out more than half the number of laborers asked for."

Jobs which mean long rides are in the preferred class with most laborers, it was said at the Gremmers agency, 5 North Eighth street.

"There are lots of orders on our books, but few men available to fill them," it was declared. "One call today was for eighteen men, for which we found not one. They seemingly are waiting on an idea that wages will be increased, but our opinion is that they are going to be disappointed in this."

Furniture Plants Suffer.

The furniture industry apparently is suffering most from labor shortage in St. Louis. The need is for workers of the skilled class. Richard Dallam, editor of the Furniture Trade News, stated that the explanation of this condition, which has prevailed for some time, is found in the fact that young men are not taking up the business of carving and other lines of skilled work in furniture making, and that naturally the older men were becoming fewer each year. Business with all the local factories, of which there are more than thirty, he said, is good, with assurance that it will continue so all the ensuing summer.

The Scullin Steel Company does not look for any serious shortage of labor, but it was stated that every summer brings more of a shortage as a result of large demand from railways engaged in construction. It was added that railways are now good buyers of the company's products, which are all for that consumer, and that the demand was expected to continue throughout this year.

At the Wagner Electric Company it was stated that there is a shortage of skilled labor, but conditions are not alarming. The indications, however, are that there may be a serious shortage in the near future. So far this company has had no difficulty in obtaining common labor, but the greater number of its employes are skilled workmen. The company employs only about 150 common laborers.

Negroes Plentiful.

Officials of the Laclede-Christy Clay Products Company, which employs about 600 laborers, said there has been no difficulty so far in obtaining all the men they needed. They said negro help especially is plentiful.

Scarcity of girls in its factory is the only worry of the Crunden-Martin Company, it was said at the offices of that concern, which reported no shortage of men operatives. "We expect to be going at full capacity all summer," it was stated.

"We have fared well so far in the way of operatives in our factories," it was declared by the Curlee Clothing Company, "and have no reason to apprehend change in that condition. We break them in to their work, treat them well, and get along happily. Our present forces aggregate 1,600, and within thirty days we will open another factory and give employment to 500 or 600 more. We have been going day and night for more than two years, and the outlook is for continuance of that capacity production."

The Broderick and Bascom Wire Rope Company reported no probability of a shortage of labor in its plant, nor outlook for let-up in activity this year unless prices of raw materials rose to such height as to make production impracticable.

In the shoe industry, representatives stated, the supply of labor is ample and dependable, with no reason to expect change in that condition at any time this year. The plants are expected to be kept going at about the same capacity as at present, which is medium full.

Labor—1923
Demand for

Ohio.

FIRMS IN NORTH MAKE BID FOR COLORED HELP

Afro American
M. D.
3/23/24

Some Plants Advertising for 500 Men at One Time, Wages Vary From $3 To $7 A Day

URBAN LEAGUE ACTIVE

John T. Clark Tells of Answering Replies From 1,000 Men in the South

Pittsburg, Pa., March 22.—Announcement of John T. Clark, director of the local branch of the Urban League recently thru the Preston News Service, that Northern industrial plants were making a bid for colored laborers, brought him letters from 1,000 colored men in all parts of the South.

Replying to 1,000 questions is no easy job, but Mr. Clark got up a printed letter and proceeded to answer every one of them. This printed letter gave the names and addresses of eight big industrial plants in Pennsylvania, and Ohio, who are anxious to employ hundreds of colored men and who are willing to pay wages varying from $3 to $8 per day.

Because of the crowded conditions in cities, workers were warned not to bring their families at first, but to come North by themselves, secure employment and find a home before sending for their women and children. The letter reads:

Wages $7 Per Day

The Acme-Palmer & Demooy Foundry Company, 5217 Sweeney Ave., Cleveland, Ohio can use ten Negro bench and squeezer moulders, and are paying $.40 per hour, ten hours per day for common labor. Wages for good men are ranging from $7 to $8.

Needs 200 Colored Men

The Alleghenny Steel Company at Breackenridge, Pa., about 23 miles North of Pittsburgh, now employs about 200 Negroes. They have forty houses for the use of Negroes and are building 26 more. For each twenty houses there is a wash and bath house. There is a boarding house for men only at $1 a day. Wages in the factory are about $4 per day. Apply to Mr. A. C. Tucker, employment manager, Alleghenny Steel Company, Breackenridge, Pa.

Foundry Men Wanted

Westinghouse Air Brake Company, Wilmerding, Pa., needs Negroes with foundry experience or men who desire to learn the work. They have a group of houses for the use of Negroes. There is a large boarding-house for men only at $8 per week. Communicate with Mr. H. L. Nicholson, works manager; Westinghouse Air Brake Company, Wilmerding, Pa. (wages are the average for this district).

Wants 500 Workers

Newcomerstown, Ohio—About 180 miles from Cincinnati with a population of about 4,500 of which about 400 are Negroes. James B. Clowlron and Pipe Foundry, employs about 500 men and wants good substantial Negroes to work in their plant. Wages are from $3.09 to $4.50 a day, nine hours per day.

The plant has never had a strike, and has not been closed down a total of six weeks in twenty years. In case of death after one month's employment the company gives $500 to the relatives of the deceased. After three years steady employment they give a policy of $1,000 for death. Free medical, dental, and nurse service to families of employees.

Separate homes of from three to five rooms which are now occupied by fifty colored families in the town. The rent ranges from $8 to $12 per month. Ten new houses are in process of being built.

The company will not send transportations under any circumstances, but if a man is employed in the foundry and wants money to send for his relatives or friends the company will advance against the man's credit sufficient money to accomplish this end.

Men with foundry experiences are preferred, but those who wish to learn will be accepted.

300 Men Asked For

Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company of East Pittsburgh, Pa., wants colored men experienced in foundry work, blacksmith shops, and general common labor work. About 300 men can be placed on jobs, wages earned by colored men run from $3 to $7 per day. In case of death of an employee after six months work in the factory his relatives will be paid $800. Arrangements are being made to improve the housing conditions. Write or apply at the employment department. Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pays 50c An Hour

The Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation can place between 300 and 500 men in the various departments of their great plant as laborers and semi-skilled workmen. Wages ranges from 36c to 50c per hour. The majority of the work is seven days per week, from 10 to 14 hours per day.

Men coming to the city physically fit can obtain employment. For those reaching the city without a place to stop, we have a well equipped bunk house with electric light, steam heat, shower bath, and we place six men to a room with separate beds. $7 per week for room and board. The company supports this bunk house for men only. Apply to Mr. George E. Jessup, 518 Wylie Ave.

Could Employ 500

The Carnegie Steel Company's mills in Pittsburgh is in a position to employ 500 colored men in positions ranging from common labor to boss heaters and rollers. Room and board for men only at $8. Do not bring your families at first. Apply to Mr. H. A. Hall, 518 Wylie Ave.

No transportations will be furnished you so waste no time in asking for them. With this letter from the Urban League any of above concerns will employ you if you reach their plant by April 1st. If you plan to come after this date, write the plant you choose and use the name of THE URBAN LEAGUE of Pittsburgh.

JOHN T. CLARK,
518 Wylie Avenue,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

or get in touch with John T. Clark, 518 Wylie avenue, Pittsburg, Pa. "We will hire all we can get."

CARNEGIE STEEL WANTS 1,000 MEN

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

(Preston News Service)

Bellaire, Ohio, March 1.—The demand for laborers in the mills here is so great that it is difficult to secure half enough men to operate the mills at capacity. It is said that 1,200 more laborers are needed. Recently a large number of laborers were imported from the South. Some of these men are proving to be dependable workmen and just the kind the officials desire. 3-2-23

An official of the Carnegie Steel Company said last Friday, "We can put 1,000 colored men to work in our mill immediately. But we don't want the shiftless class. We want men who want to work. Men who will quit as soon as they get one pay.

"There is a splendid opportunity here for men who will start in this company and remain on the job They will be advanced to better paying positions as rapidly as they become qualified." He said they can either come direct to the mill here

Labor—1923
Demand for

Ohio

STEEL COMPANY WANTS 1,000 MEN

Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Ga.
3-1-23

Bellaire, Ohio., Feb. 27—(Preston News Service)—The demand for laborers in the mills here is so great that it is difficult to secure half enough men to operate the mills at capacity. It is said that 1,200 more laborers are needed. Recently a large number of Negro laborers were imported from the South. Some of these men are proving to be dependable workmen and just the kind of workers the officials desire. An official of the Carnegie Steel Company said last Friday, "We can put 1,000 colored men to work in our mill immediately. But we don't want that shiftless class. We want men who want to work. There is a splendid opportunity here for men who wil start in this company and remain on the job. They will be advanced to better paying positions as rapidly as they become qualified." He said they can either come direct to the mill here or get in touch with John T. Clark, 518 Wylie avenue, Pittsburg, Pa.

Labor—1923
Demand for

Pennsylvania.

WORK AT POTTSTOWN, PA.

Afro American
Md.
3/23/23.

Pottstown, Pa., March 22.—Owing to the great scarcity of unskilled labor here, which threatened the output of a number of industries, colored workers are being brought from the South. The McClintic-Marshall Construction Company brought in fifty last Saturday and more are to follow.

Labor—1923
Demand for,

Pennsylvania.

LABOR

Christian Recorder
2-8-23—Philadelphia

We are continually being called upon for good workers. Whereas, a few years ago, there was but small demand in industrial plants, that demand is now larger than the supply. In this morning's mail we have received a letter like this: "At present time we could probably take on a few colored men of good, steady habits to learn type moulding. To begin with, the men will be paid at the rate of $3.50 a day for approximately 9 hours work, and if capable of making good, could on piece work make between $5 and $6 a day."

We also have a telephone call from a party who says that they want to get a good woman to work at housework. There is a family of man, wife and son of ten years of age. A nice home will be provided and good wages given.

These are merely samples of what comes to us nearly every week. If the editor of the Christian Recorder can be of any service in helping to place men in positions who desire to make changes, he will be pleased to receive communications from the same.

Labor — 1923

Demand for

ALIENS OFFERED FREE FARMS IN SOUTH

The Guardian

SOUTHERN WHITE FARMERS SHORT OF HELP ADVERTISE ABROAD FOR FOREIGN WORKERS.

8-15-23

"Free farms for all foreigners in South Carolina" is the advertisement that is being broadcasted over Europe in order to draw migration of white farmers to that section.

Hit by the boll weevil and the Northward migration of Negro workers at the same time, Southern landowners are taking desperate steps to recruit their supply of workers and cultivate the weed-grown tenant farms formerly rented to Negroes.

So far few aliens have taken advantage of this free land offer largely because many of the European workers who come to America for the first time find better wages in the industrial centres, and also because the hot climate of the South is not the most attractive for those inured to the cold weather of Northern Europe.

South Carolina.

Tennessee.

Labor — 1923

Demand for

URGE MODIFICATION IMMIGRATION LAWS

Labor Situation on Southern Farms Nationwide Importance

A general meeting of the Memphis Cotton Exchange yesterday adopted resolutions calling on Senator K. D. McKellar and Hubert Fisher, representative in Congress from this district, to look into the immigration laws with a view of enabling desirable foreign labor to enter the United States.

The meeting was called by Ben G. Humphreys, president of the exchange, several days ago, and was suggested because of the very acute situation relative to farm labor now existing in the south.

As matters now stand, the northern and eastern manufacturer is finding his labor supply less plentiful than formerly because of restricted immigration. As a result the manufacturer is drawing on southern farms for his labor requirements by offering attractive wages.

Other sections of the south have already called the attention of their representatives in Congress to the situation, and urged that steps be taken to relieve it.

There are many who now predict that it will be impossible to increase cotton acreage this year because of inadequate labor supply.

The world will need a crop of not less than 12,000,000 bales of American cotton this year. What with boll weevil depredations, and not enough labor to cultivate more acreage than was planted to cotton this year, the impression prevails among the trade here that northern and eastern manufacturers will exercise a short-sighted policy if they do not join hands in urging Congress to act, and to act promptly.

Secretary Hotter of the exchange, was directed to get into communication with Messrs. McKellar and Fisher at once.

FARM LABOR WANTED

Cotton Men Ask Modification of Immigration Law

(Associated Press)

MEMPHIS, TENN., Jan. 23.—At a meeting called to discuss labor shortage in the Southern states and to devise ways and means of providing labor to cultivate this year's cotton crop Resolutions were passed today by the Memphis Cotton Exchange urging the Tennessee delegation in congress to seek modification of the immigration laws to permit entrance into the United States of desirable foreign labor.

It was pointed out that northern and eastern manufacturers, finding labor less plentiful because of restricted immigration, were drawing on Southern farm labor by offering more attractive wages.

MANY PLANTERS ASK HELP TO GET LABOR

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
2-16-23

Interest Aroused at Return of Negroes From Chicago.

Unusual interest is being displayed by farmers in the Memphis region in reports given out through the Southern Alluvial Land Association and printed in Sunday's Commercial Appeal that negroes have been and can be brought back in large numbers from Chicago and other industrial centers where steps are taken to reach them.

It was said at the offices of the Southern Alluvial Land Association that many calls have been received inquiring for detailed information as to how the negroes may be reached, planters in the delta section of both Mississippi and Arkansas having called by long distance telephone in several instances. Demand for negro farm help apparently is general but more acute in some communities than in others. Among requests for help were two by telephone from the Greenwood, Miss., vicinity, it was said. Another came from Transylvania, La., and others from both local and neighboring communities.

Interest was aroused by announcement that an Indianola concern recently secured two full train loads of negroes in Chicago for plantations in that section. It was declared that older negroes, particularly those with families, who were lured north are anxious to get back. Many got jobs when they went into the industrial centers but lost them due to the combination of a plentiful supply of help and to the fact that they could not measure up to requirements their farm experience benefitting them not at all. Numbers were found in want several weeks ago before the recent severely cold, blizzardy weather and they eagerly grasped the chance to return south when reached by negro employment agencies.

The Memphis association, whose membership includes labor firms with large plantations, is procuring the names of reliable labor agencies in northern cities and expects to make them available to anyone planning to get help through such channels. It is recommending personal visits to the centers and, where possible, personal supervision of the selection of negroes obtained by the employment agencies. The cost of getting such negro families is chiefly in the small agency fee and the railroad fare south.

Texas.

Labor — 1923

Demand for

SEE LABOR SHORTAGE

Montana Advertiser

3/23/23

Texas Takes Steps to Avoid Acute Situation

(Associated Press)

AUSTIN, TEXAS, March 22.—Steps to prevent a possible acute labor shortage during the next few months were taken today by Joseph S. Myers, state labor commissioner, following receipt of reports from deputies of the state department of large demands by northern firms for laborers. Letters urging immediate reports of probable demands were sent out by the state department today to Texas farmers and also to representatives of the department.

Recent reports tell of orders from two Michigan beet firms for 7,500 laborers from Texas, Myers said. Such requests for laborers also are coming from Colorado, Montana and other northern states, the labor commissioner said. Mont; Ala

Labor—1923.

Georgia.

Demand for.

GEORGIA FARMER HAS WORK FOR 300 HAWAIIANS

The Chicago Whip

HONOLULU, T. H., Aug. 11.—If any of Hawaii's "slave owners" would like to dispose of 300 or more of their "slaves," they might find a market for them by asking Governor Wallace R. Farrington for the letter he received today from a man signing himself as J. P. Pascell of Atlanta, Ga.

The writer says he has been told there are "lots of slaves over in your part of the world," and that he needs 300, or more, to work in his cotton fields. 8-11-23

If there is no "danger of the savages over there," Pascell writes, he may come to the islands to "look the slaves over." Chicago, Ill.

The Governor has referred the letter to the Tourist Bureau with the suggestion that Pascell be informed Hawaii is an integral part of the United States, is highly civilized, that Confederate money is not used here and that the cities boast of sidewalks that do not have to be taken in at night.

GEORGIA CRACKER WANTS 300 "HAWAIIAN" SLAVES

The Baltimore Afro-American

Honolulu, T. H., Aug. 11.—Governor Walace R. Farrington received a letter from a man signing himself as J. P. Pascell of Atlanta, Ga.

The writer says he has been told there are "lots of slaves over in your part of the world," and that he needs 300, or more, to work in his cotton fields. 8-13-23

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He might have added there are enough slaves already in Georgia.

LABOR SHORTAGE IS FELT ON FARMS

The Atlanta Journal 8-23-23

Albany, Ga., June 7.—(Special.)—A survey of the labor situation in south Georgia shows that the same condition does not exist in all communities. Nor are all industries affected alike.

As a general thing the farms are feeling the labor shortage most keenly, as practically all the hired help on the farms is recruited from the ranks of negroes. The wet May has given the grass a rather long lead, and the boll weevil needs to be vigorously combated from this time forth.

These two factors in the making of this year's crops make the labor shortage on the farms the more keenly felt, as a vigorous assault needs to be made on the grass, and farmers are preparing to feed poison to the boll weevils in an intensive campaign to control the pest.

Most of the large planters of cotton have bought poison, in one form or another, sufficient to treat every acre of cotton they have planted, and they are making diligent efforts to corral the labor they will require.

In Lee county, which lies just north of Dougherty, the first real shortage of farm labor has been felt this week, owing partly to the fact that many farm hands left Saturday night and Sunday, and in a measure to the fact that farmers have been making unusual efforts this week to get help. The public is reminded of "cotton-picking time" by the presence of farm wagons and farm trucks in the towns, the owners agreeing to take workers to the farms for the week or even for a few days, returning them to town according to whatever promise may be made.

Turpentine operators, who usually pay good wages and have not been short-handed heretofore, state that they are having to get along with short crews. One of the most extensive operators in the vicinity of Albany stated this week that he was finding it extremely difficult to take care of his crop this season, though offering a higher scale of wages.

As a rule the industrial plants employing negro labor seem to be faring pretty well. There are no vacant houses in the negro quarters where workers in fertilizer plants, lumber yards, saw mills and brick yards in and near Albany live. That is true in other towns in this part of the state, but not in all.

The effect of the labor shortage is already seen in higher wages for negro help, both on the farms and in the towns, and it is believed the effect of this will be to keep colored help remaining here better satisfied with their present situation.

SAVANNAH GA. Press.

AUG 23 1923.

WHO'LL PICK COTTON?

THE opening cotton is whitening the fields of Georgia. It is very evident the boll weevil did not get all the crop this year. And a trip through the State by automobile during the past few days has shown that there is considerable cotton to be gathered, even at this time. But the unusual feature was the lack of hands in the fields picking the staple. Whether this means a scarcity of labor or that the time is not yet here to vigorously attack the open bolls and carry the product to the gin houses, or whether there is no one to do the work, is a problem. Farmers who were asked about the situation said that, while labor was none too plentiful, it was not anticipated that the crop would be lost because of the failure to gather it. The real cotton picking time would start during the last week in August, these farmers said, and would continue until all the crops were safely in the gin houses and in the warehouses. But while this may be the situation in Georgia, it would appear that in other sections in the South very serious thought is being given to the probability of a lack of cotton pickers. A country weekly newspaper printed in Missouri sounds this warning:

> The question of picking the immense cotton crop this fall is one that should cause serious consideration by our cotton raisers. Towns and communities should organize and enlist every man, woman and child who is able to do the picking and endeavor to induce them to see the necessity of gathering this crop, as the need of the money the cotton will bring in is just as great as though it were war time. Women and girls performed hard manual labor during the war and were proud of it, and the same necessity now exists to save this crop. Make up your mind to offer your services in the cotton fields when picking time arrives and receive the honor due patriots in time of stress.

We do not know that it is quite this bad in Georgia. We hope it is not. But it seems to be true that it is going to be necessary to find some labor to take the place of the negroes who continue to quit the country for the city and to leave the cities of the South for those of the North and East.

The Valdosta Times contains a very interesting item bearing on this situation. The Times a few days ago carried this item:

> Messrs. W. E. French and F. W. Schorer have returned from a ten days' trip to Saskatchewan, Canada, spending the most of their time around Regina. They went there to interview a number of Canadian farmers who want to come to South Georgia during the coming fall. It was indicated to them that there would be quite a number of well-to-do families making the transfer during the month of October. They have become tired of the rigorous weather of Canada. Messrs. French and Schorer found that around Regina there was a killing frost on July 31, and in the earlier part of August the weather was cold.

There seems to be no reason why it is not entirely practicable to bring help from Canada to aid the South in its agricultural pursuits. The Valdosta scouts who went up to spy out the land may succeed in inducing some of these tillers of the soil in Canada to come to South Georgia. We hope they do succeed in this. If so, it will be beneficial, both to the State and to this section of the State and to those who come to make their homes among us, if they are the right kind of people. The South Georgia farms are still capable of a high State of development and productiveness with profit to those who are not afraid of work.

WANTS "SLAVES" FOR COTTON FIELDS

The Savannah Press

GEORGIA PLANTER NEEDS "300 OR MORE"

8-18-23

Honolulu, T. H., Aug., 1923—If any of Hawaii's "slave owners" would like to dispose of 300 or more of their "slaves," they might find a market for them by asking Gov. Wallace R. Farrington for the letter he received today from a man signing himself as J. P. Pascell of Atlanta, Ga.

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If there is no "danger of the savages over there." Pascell writes, he may come to the islands to 'look the slaves over."

The Governor has referred the letter to the tourist bureau with the suggestion that Pascell be informed Hawaii is an integral part of the United States, is highly civilized, that confederate money is not used here, and that the cities boast of sidewalks that do not have to be taken in at night.

Labor—1923
Demand for

General.

LUMBERMEN OF FLORIDA AND GEORGIA PLAN CAMPAIGN TO KEEP NEGRO LABOR IN SOUTH

Will Urge Better Treatment In Lower Courts; Fee System Blamed for Petty Arrests; Sawmill Men to Aid, School, Home and Church Improvement.

(Special to Pittsburgh American)

ATLANTA, Ga., May 29.—Aroused by wholesale migrations of Negroes from the southeast to the north, members of the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association are planning a campaign to better the condition of Negroes in the south-east both in regard to their treatment in the lower courts, and as to their living conditions and surroundings.

Decision to take this step followed an informal discussion Tuesday after the close of the annual meeting of the association, in which the causes of Negro discontent in this section, and the departure of a large number of laborers for northern cities were gone into, and plans for combating the conditions made.

Urge Better Surroundings

The campaign will be, as announced, "to aid the workers to receive strictly fair treatment in courts, by giving them better attention in lumber camps, by building churches, seeing to their comforts and welfare, and by showing the Negro laborers that they will be better off to remain in the south-east where the climate and surroundings are to their liking, rather than to seek work in northern cities, where the higher speed of production and lack of understanding of the psychology of the race often end in unhappier conditions than at home in the South."

Leading lumbermen, present and taking part in the discussion agreed that "the convict leasing system and the fee system in the smaller courts have been working badly as regards Negro labor" and that many of the mills were seeing their Negro hands slipping away to the north, causing a rapid labor turnover which was costing the mills heavily, and contributing in a large part to the high cost of lumber production.

Score Petty Arrests

"The demise of the convict lease system is welcomed" it was stated, and the conviction of Negroes "for every petty sort of infraction and misdemeanor" was declared often to be the result of misdirected efforts of the part of officers of the law, many of whom were said to benefit by convictions and arrests by receiving fees.

"A Negro arrested is a Negro convicted" in the average justice court, was the sentiment of the lumbermen, and they stated they felt this to be dead wrong,' and to be the cause of a mental reaction on the part of the laborers which was tending to bring discontent.

The campaign will be carried out, it is reported, with utmost vigor, and no stone will be left unturned to stop the exodus of Negro labor to the north. It was brought out by one authority that many of the mills, understanding the ways of Negro laborers, are willing to put up with many things which northern manufacturers do not permit, and that while they feel that the Negro laborers prefer naturally to remain in the South, the migration is on, and steps must be taken to stem the tide.

Merchants' & Miners' Steamship Co. Sends Telegraphic Reply to City Commission Threatening Curtailment of Service if Labor Situation Is Not Remedied.

Curtailment of service to Jacksonville by the Merchants' and Miners' Steamship Company will be necessary unless something is done to retain sufficient labor, according to A. D. Stebbins, president of the company, in a telegram received by the city commission Thursday.

In an effort to retain labor and attract additional labor the Merchants' and Miners' and Clyde lines increased wages 5 cents an hour at the beginning of the present week.

The city commission wired heads of both of lines requesting that the proposed increases be held up until the matter could be gone into more fully, pointing out that "increases will have disasterous effect on labor conditions generally."

However, heads of both lines notified the commission the increases have already been put into effect and the municipal docks have been forced to meet the increase, according to J. A. Banks, general manager. The new scale of wages is the same as that in existence last summer, he stated.

H. H. Raymond, president of the Clyde Line, telegraphed the commission:

"Changed instructions to Agent White and undertook to suspend advanced wage, but as action has been taken by posting notices on docks of Merchants' and Miners' and Clyde lines we were too late."

President Stebbins of the Merchants' and Miners' wired:

"On my return from recent conference in Jacksonville with other interests it developed that there is a shortage of labor in Jacksonville with labor continuing to leave. It further developed that while some interest thought increased wages would do no good no other solution was offered. Press reports show that increases being made throughout South and unless something is done to retain sufficient labor Jacksonville curtailment of service will be necessary as rates were made effective Monday. It is too late to adopt your suggestion of withholding this increase."

Officials of both lines state they will be glad to hold conferences with the commission in any attempt to reach a solution to the problem of labor shortage.

CINN. CONFECTIONERS REVIEW
MAY, 1923

SHORTAGE OF LABOR.

Is Outstanding Development of Business Situation During April.—Reassertion of Conservatism Results In General Moderate Reduction In Prices.

Aside from a slow movement from a condition of potential shortage toward an actual shortage of labor, there were no unfavorable developments in the general business situation during April, says the monthly letter for May of the American Exchange National Bank of New York City. Some hesitancy, which resulted in a fairly general moderate reaction in prices, was shown around the middle of the month, but this development was regarded as healthy, the pause being attributed to a reassertion of the conservatism which has marked the recovery throughout, rather than to the appearance of any fresh uncertainty.

While the reaction in prices was sufficiently general to affect the index numbers, several important commodities advanced during the month to new high levels for the year. The commodities moving against the general price trend included corn, sugar and iron. A suit filed against the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, under the provisions of the Sherman Law, by the Attorney General's office, in which it was alleged that recent advances in sugar prices had been caused by undue speculation, failed to influence the price of sugar, the market reaching its highest level several days after the suit had been entered. Conflicting reports concerning the future supply of sugar resulted in some confusion as to the causes of the advances in prices, but from the fact that a considerable percentage of centrals have suspended for the season without having ground the quantity allotted to them in the higher estimates of the yield, it now appears that the more favorable estimates of the crop will not be realized. The Government's intervention caused some apprehension among traders on other commodity exchanges, but it was explained that there was no reason to fear a repetition of this unusual proceeding in connection with the operations of the other exchanges, because the other exchanges were being conducted more or less under the supervision of government bureaus.

North Uses Negro Labor.

The growing shortage of labor in the industrial centers is once more resulting in a fairly important movement of negro labor from the South to the North. This movement has reached large proportions in some of the Southern States, but the loss of negro labor will not be felt as severely this year as was the case in the first movement of the kind. Observers of Southern conditions say that the white farmers in that section have learned not to rely on negro labor to as great an extent as formerly, and are now working in the fields themselves. The boll-weevil has forced a more intensive cultivation of cotton, with the result that the time of one man is now constantly employed on about 10 acres. Formerly one laborer devoted only part of his time to a field of 20 acres or more. Under these conditions, it is said the planter connot compete for labor even when cotton is 30 cents a pound or thereabouts. As a result, crop diversification is becoming more general

in the South.

The weather has been more or less favorable to the growth of the crops, particularly in parts of the Northwest which have suffered severely from drought for several years. The outlook is reported as generally good. In the meantime, higher prices for corn continue to benefit the farmer.

An Act of Faith.

The spectacle of the railroads proposing to spend $1,500,000,000 toward the restoration of the facilities and equipment they were forced to neglect for so many years, overshadows our minor optimists as the Woolworth Building overshadows a thimble. This expression of confidence in the sanity of the people is an inspiring act of faith.

Being an optimist so far as the material future of this country is concerned is a relatively easily-explained attitude of mind; but an act which when all the facts are considered must finally stand on faith alone cannot be explained with words. The railroads have no tangible ground for belief that either the politicians or the people will soon change from an attitude of general hostility to one of friendliness and co-operation. The farmer is inclined to lay most of his troubles on the doorstep of the railroads, and the radical elements in the agricultural sections are more than half-minded to join the railroad workers in a demand for government ownership. In view of these activities and the probability that if the railroads are ever taken over the politicians will take them at the minimum compensation that can be advised by experts in devaluation, the railroads cannot be accused of taking the step in the belief that if the worst comes to the worst they will at least get their money back. The act is one of simple faith or plain duty. The responsible executives either feel sure that the people of the country will finally come to understand the problems of the railroads, as well as their importance to the economic organization, or they consider it their duty to carry on along the straight line until they are relieved, without regard to what may happen in the meantime. The least that they have reason to expect is political tampering with rates. There is good ground for the contention that the entire rate structure needs revision, but there is no reasonable basis for expectation that such a revision would result in a reduction in total transportation costs to the shipping public, unless, of course, the railroads succeed in reducing their operating costs; but in view of rising prices and the fact that a reduction in operating costs would of necessity affect the wages of railroad workers, there is little prospect of lowering costs in that direction.

The action of the railway executives in authorizing expenditures for extensions and equipment amounting to $1,500,000,000 implies a silent hope that they will be able to make the public come to realize that the railroads are struggling fairly to get on their feet again, the same as everybody else.

No Limitation on Production Feared.

As a result of a combination of a shortage of common labor and inadequate transportation facilities, so we are told, we are about to be confronted with a limitation on production that will prevent employment of productive equipment and, as measured by potential demand, result in a shortage of goods. In order to avoid the possible result of this situation, so far as the inadequacy of railroad transport is concerned, the shippers of the country are being urged to co-operate with the roads in an effort to get the maximum results from existing facilities.

So far as railroad facilities are concerned, a study of the situation in relation to past performances, together with an assumption that the plea for public co-operation will be successful and that the co-operative efforts will be intelligently managed and guided, reveals no cause for alarm whatever. It is true, of course, that additions to railroad equipment and facilities have not kept pace with the expansion in productive equipment and that this neglect will have to be corrected, but there is no immediate danger that the railroads of the country will fail to measure up to any demand for their services that is likely to arise under present conditions. The correctness of a negative answer to the question, Is there real danger of a limitation on production as a result of a shortage of labor and transport facilities? depends on whether or not we elect to consider all of the work to be done as urgent. Every responsible business leader in the country understands the causes and nature of current activity in industry. Primarily we are engaged in an effort to restore the parts of our plant and equipment that we neglected during the war and during the orgy of spending for non-essentials which followed the war. The boom of 1920 was based on inflated credit and currency and was fed by a demand for immediately consumable luxury and other goods that lasted until the reserve limits of the credit system were reached. Except by contrast, there is no basis for comparison between 1920 and 1923.

12-HOUR DAY IN STEEL BE ABOLISHED--GARY

Influx of Negroes, Canadians, Mexicans, Filipinos to Help.

60,000 MORE ARE NEEDED

Decision to Do Away With Long Day Was Made in Recognition of Public Attitude, But Will Increase Cost 15 Per Cent.

(By the Associated Press.)

NEW YORK, July 6.—Influx into northern industrial centers of negroes from the south and laborers from Mexico, the Philippines, Canada and a few European countries soon will make possible abolishment of the 12-hour day in the steel industry, Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, said today.

Would Act Very Soon.

Mr. Gary declared he could not say when his corporation or any other company would get rid of the 12-hour day entirely, but asserted he could publicly state that they would commence to act in that direction very soon and would be very diligent in their efforts.

His announcement followed action of President Harding making public yesterday before sailing from Tacoma for Alaska, of correspondence between the president and directors of the American Iron and Steel Institue, in which they pledged themselves to abolish the long day when a sufficient labor supply was assured.

He estimated that the change would require 60,000 additional laborers and would increase the cost of finished steel products by 15 per cent.

Mr. Gary predicted that good progress towards abolishment of the 12-hour day would soon result, and that success would be reached in a comparatively short time, provided that the increase in the number of available workmen which is now apparent, continue to be present.

The decision of the leader to do away with the long day, Mr. Gary said, was made in recognition of the growing public sentiment in favor of such a step and in recognition of the public's attitude. He pointed out, however, that he also had always been opposed to the 12-hour day, and that its retention had been dictated by circumstances.

Labor — 1923.

General.

Demand for.

COTTON PICKERS HARD TO GET.

We were talking to a white planter one day this week, who had about become disgusted with his inability to secure colored cotton pickers, despite the fact that he was paying $1.25 per 100 pounds and board thrown in for good measure.

This, he insisted, was a top-notch price for picking the South's famous staple; yet he found precious few who would accept his gracious offer.

It seems that a large number of colored cotton pickers are like the colored brother in Chicago from Mississippi.

A certain white Mississippian had gone to the Windy City in an effort to induce some of the "colored boys" to come back to the Magnolia State and help their "white friends" mill the logs that were rottening in the water.

In the midst of his speech, a colored brother arose and remarked: "Boss, I tell you what to do—just ship those logs to State Street and we'll saw 'em for you."

It is beginning to look like most of the former colored cotton pickers in this section are perfectly willing to pick cotton—if they'll bring it to Milam Street.

Now, our white friends must not be too hard and harsh on these colored people who are refusing to go to the rural districts and pick cotton as in previous years, and that despite good pay and better food—maybe!

Most of these colored people have frequented these sections and picked cotton in previous seasons, and, like the little boy who was in misery, after eating green apples and being told by a Christian Scientist that his pains were all imaginary, shot back this hot rejoinder: "I have inside information!"

With the rural communities infested and infected with the klan and utter disregard for law and order and the poor police protection afforded colored people in these country precincts (as most of the peace officers are either klansmen or klan sympathizers), it is going to take more than even $1.50 per hundred and choicest of food to entice these "inside informationists" to these cotton plantations.

Instead of trying to make conditions so that colored people can go to these plantations and work without let or hindrance, several planters are trying to employ Mexicans and other foreigners, seemingly unmindful of the fact that an affinity has grown up between the colored brother and the fleecy staple during all these years, and that the cotton will not respond to the manipulation of any hands like those of ebony-hued sons of Ham.

The South is great at elimination by substitution and its sad and sorrowful economic plight, today, is due largely to this backward policy and failure to remedy existing evils.

It may console some of our white friends to get off some of their excess gas by "cussing" and discussing the colored race because members of our group have refused to go to the cotton fields and pick cotton, but until they make and maintain the rural districts safe and secure for these people, we are afraid some of their cotton will rot in the stalks, if they wait for colored people to pick it.

We hate it, but are powerless to help the situation one bit. We respectfully "pass the buck" to our white friends, particularly those in the mobs and klan, who are chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. Anthar! Kotop!!

A Labor Shortage

Those of us who read our last Sunday papers noted, no doubt, a long article which attempts to show that there is a shortage of labor in this country. Perhaps, few people pay any attention to these articles, and it is this very indifference that spells ruin for us later.

Perhaps, it is not too much to say that this whole country, with its great woven net-work of interlocking industries, is operated upon propaganda, to a very large degree. Whatever is desired, propaganda is put afoot to call the attention of the country to the "necessity" back of the desire. These articles are cleverly written, and they convey the very idea the propagandists want conveyed, and they prepare the public mind for the very events whose shadows are cast by these prepared articles.

We are not attempting to speak Ex Cathedra on the subject, but we venture the statement that the recent abolition of the 12-hour-day schedule, gave birth to the "shortage of labor." And why? First, there is reason to suppose that an additional shift of men will mean employment of more men. Since more men are needed, the propagandists publish the articles showing a "shortage of labor." All this for the purpose of justifying the statement of Judge Gary some time ago, who said something not any too complimentary of the immigration law. He said he did not know but that the law was one of the worst things this country had done for a long time, or words of a similar meaning. The Judge wants a more elastic law, and he said as much when he advocated that the law as written be changed, and some kind of arrangement made whereby the more desirable element of immigrant be admitted to this country. He advocated quality, as well as quantity, which is all very well, but for purposes of the industries, quality is not very frequently emphasized, except upon paper.

If Judge Gary thinks the abolition of the 12-hour day is going to create such a labor shortage as to cripple industries, he should so advise President Coolidge, who, it seems, has subscribed to the Harding program, at least for the present; and perhaps some different and yet feasable arrangement could be made to meet the demand for the change. We can not see the shortage while thousands of Americans are seeking employment. We suspect there is not enough enthusiasm back of Judge Gary's consent to try out the new plan.

Grace Adds His Plea for Alien Labor

President of Bethlehem Steel Corporation Says Lack of Immigrants Holds Back Eight Hour Day in Mills.

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, said in an interview in his office yesterday that his company had obtained between 2,500 and 3,000 Mexicans since the first of the year with the aid of American consuls along the border, that they had proved highly satisfactory as laborers and that more were being obtained as rapidly as they could be shipped north and broken in to work in the steel mills.

The use of Mexican and negro labor and the new supply of European laborers made available through the July immigration overcame the labor shortage in the steel mills to some extent, but a change of the immigration laws is necessary, he said, to furnish the 60,000 additional men who will be needed before the change from the twelve hour day to the eight hour day is made in full.

"We are absolutely sincere in this and will proceed as rapidly as we can, but the reorganization of a great industry takes much study and no predictions can be safely made," said Mr. Grace. "There have been insinuations that this is camouflage and that we intend to put forward excuses for not carrying out our pledge.

"That kind of talk is unfair. This thing is going forward as fast as it can be done without shutting down mills. The change from the twelve hour to the eight hour basis will be made unit by unit.

"We feel that those who are eager to see us abolish the twelve hour day should use their influence to urge a change in immigration laws making it possible for industries to obtain immigrants of the best type, selected on the other side, in quantities as they are needed.

"As to the Mexicans, we started to bring them in only about the first of the year. One of our operating officials had said that he believed we could get good workmen by going after them in Mexico, to which the immigration quota laws do not apply. It has been possible for us to obtain them in large numbers. The law has been observed and we have recruited the men chiefly from the border towns. It is so much the better if they understand a little English.

"As laborers they have been a great deal better than we have had any right to expect. That they are satisfied is shown by the fact that 80 per cent. of them have stuck to their jobs. Of the 20 per cent. who have left many have been hired into other work, and it is probable that only a small number have gone back to Mexico.

"Some companies have been using negroes in large numbers. We have not done so, because our operating officials like the Mexican laborer better."

There has been no complaint by labor union officials, according to Mr. Grace, against the importation of Mexicans. The American Federation of Labor is well organized in many parts of Mexico.

Mr. Grace said that the Bethlehem Steel Corporation made no effort to restrict union activities or to ascertain if employees had union cards. He said the change from the twelve to the eight hour day would be made with the advice of the officials of the company union as to each detail affecting laborers.

STEEL PAYROLL TO BE BOOSTED

Elimination of Twelve-Hour Day Forces Wages Upward—Mexicans and Negros Employed.

The elimination of the twelve-hour day in the "continuous operation unit of the United States Steel Corporation now being discussed by corporation officials, will add from $30,000,000 to $45,000,000 to the payroll, according to statements today.

Officials of the leading companies realize, they say, that they cannot arbitrarily reduce the wages of their vast army of workers from $4.80 per day to $3.20 per day without endangering their morale, leaving out of consideration all humanitarian factors in the problem. The only way out of the situation, most of them believe, is to add a sufficient sum to the established hourly wage to give the laborer almost as much for eight hours as he has been receiving for twelve.

60,000 Men Needed.

In all there are about 480,000 men employed in the steel industry, but only about twenty-five per cent, or 120,000, are working twelve hours a day. To entirely eliminate the twelve-hour day and place all men on the straight eight-hour day would call for 60,000 additional men. Just when these men will be available and when the twelve-hour day can be entirely eliminated, according to steel men, is a question which only time can answer. It is not the intention of the industry, however, to place all these men on a straight eight-hour day, according to statements made by officials yesterday. The eight-hour day will be established only in what is known as the "continuous operation" units of the industry. These include the blast furnaces, where pig iron is made and the open-hearth furnaces, where the steel is made, and in other branches in which the output of these furnaces is used. In branches where work can be done in ten-hour shifts this schedule will be in operation. But it is conservatively estimated that 180,000 men will be needed to do the work now done by 120,000.

Bethlehem Company Is in Line.

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, said yesterday that his company was making progress in formulating plans to eliminate the twelve-hour day.

The steel industry, said Mr. Grace, had committed itself to the elimination of the twelve-hour day as speedily as possible, and the matter was no longer an issue so far as the industry was concerned. The matter was up to the government, which could either revise the immigration laws so that the proper class of immigrants could come into the country, or by other means which would add to the supply of labor. "If enough men applied at the plants of the company today for work we would immediately put the plan into effect," he added.

Immigrants Are Needed.

In view of the existing conditions in the country, which made it almost impossible for the industry to get sufficient labor to man the mills at the recent rate of operations which was in excess of ninety per cent of capacity, Mr. Grace said, he believed that the best way to alleviate the situation would be by selective immigration. In other words, to get the class of laborers into the country who desired to work in the big industry.

Mr. Grace added that the labor situation had improved in recent months, owing to inrmigration from Mexico and the migration of the negro from the South to the North.

JUDGE GARY WILL USE RACE MEN IN BIG STEEL MILLS

Chicago Tribune

Abolishing of 12-Hour Day Means Opening For Many Who Will Leave South

Chicago, Ill.,
7-21-23

Washington, D. C., July 20.—Within three months from the date of the signally important telegram to Judge Elbert H. Gary sent by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard university, in reply to Mr. Gary's suggestion on his return from Europe that alien labor be utilized to supply labor shortages in the industrial plants of the North, Dr. Scott has the satisfaction of seeing his suggestion that our labor be used to supply such shortages adopted by the great U. S. Steel corporation.

In an interview Friday, July 6, Judge Gary advises that the United States Steel corporation is planning to abolish the 12-hour day in the steel industry. He states that the main factor which will make this possible will be the influx into Northern industrial centers of our people from the South. Judge Gary also hopes that there may be some labor supply from Mexico and from some of the European countries.

When asked what had been the extent of the influx of labor from the South and the outside countries Judge Gary said he had no figures but believed that one of the most important factors in the increase of labor in the steel industry was the migration from the South.

Judge Gary estimates that the change from a 12-hour day would require 60,000 additional laborers and would increase the cost of the finished product by 15 per cent. The decision to do away with the long day, Mr. Gary said, was made in recognition of the growing public sentiment in favor of such a step.

Labor—1923
Demand for,
New York Age
New York Sun
4/14/23

OPENINGS FOR LABOR.

The preliminary results of the survey of labor conditions made recently by the National Industrial Conference Board, go to show that the shortage of labor is not so great as was generally supposed. These conclusions were based on returns from more than a thousand manufacturing establishments and employment bureaus throughout the country. While certain trades and industries, in some localities, reported labor shortages and in other trades there were no shortages and in some cases a surplus of labor.

Employment has been increasing since last summer, the building industry claiming a large amount of labor. The demand for farm labor is also expected to increase rapidly and a shortage of domestic help is reported. No relief for labor shortages is expected through immigration. There is some talk of employers looking to Mexico and Canada sources of labor supply, but the most available supply is located in the South.

The greatest shortages were stated to be in skilled labor, common labor and domestic occupations, with farm labor coming next. The greatest surplus of labor was found in clerical help and in casual occupations. Attention was called to the fact that in places where a surplus of labor existed there was a large number of chauffeurs, truck drivers and automobile mechanics out of employment.

While the above review of the labor situation was made from a general standpoint, if it is taken in connection with the movement of Negroes from the South to man Northern industries, it has special significance from a racial standpoint. The fact that the Negro can make good in Northern industries has been demonstrated in such labor centers as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Buffalo and other places.

Further evidence of this fact was furnished at Bridgeport, Conn., the largest industrial city in New England. One of the heads of an industrial plant there, with 3,000 employees, who is a southern man from Richmond, Va., frankly stated that he preferred colored labor to foreign and is employing the [illegible] in large numbers. Another has as chief electrician and two engineers colored men. Other companies in Birdgeport are said to be seeking the better class of colored labor from the South.

The facts that stand out in the whole situation are that Northern industry is gradually offering employment to Negro labor. These openings will increase so long as the present restrictions are maintained on the immigration of foreign labor. The shortage of labor being felt only in certain localities makes it necessary first to ascertain the state of the labor market before going to any industrial center to seek employment. At present the openings are mostly for unskilled labor, but those who are seeking employment should realize that while positions as skilled workers are harder to obtain, they would do well to prepare for them.

The workers seeking employment in the North must realize that among the requirements are a full week's work for a full week's pay. Occasional workers are not wanted for a steady job. The cost of turnover is too great to keep hiring and firing unsatisfactory workers. The worker who will always be in demand must not only know his job, but must stick to it.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
MARCH 24. 1923

ABLE-BODIED LABOR

THERE is a job for every able-bodied man who wants to work. This is the report of the State Employment Bureau, put in as few words as possible. It is the most hopeful bit of economic news that has appeared in months.

The bureau reports that men for all kinds of skilled and unskilled trades are in great demand; that the steel industry is sending out calls for help; that other labor districts are sending to Philadelphia for men; that transportation is offered workers from points as distant as San Francisco. Negro labor from the South is in such demand that the East and West are bidding against each other for it.

The call for skilled labor is not confined, either, to the various structural trades and manufactures. Philadelphia, center of the weaving trades, shows a scarcity of hosiery operators and cloth and dress-goods weavers. Activity in textiles always has been a barometric sign of prosperity in this city.

In general, "things are picking up." There are twice as many "help-wanted" as "situations-wanted" advertisements in the newspapers, another sign of general prosperity.

FIGHT MAN SHORTAGE ON SOUTHERN FARMS

Hundreds of Planters Are Buying Improved Implements.

Farm labor shortage is being solved by planters putting to use improved implements, says [illegible] T. Lloyd, director of the farm development bureau of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce. "Reports I have before me from farm implement dealers in Memphis show that the past three months they have broken all records in the sale of modern farm machinery, the class used in cultivation of crops.

"I doubt if there are a dozen cultivators on the local market today," continued Dr. Lloyd. "In fact, one implement house's manager told me he could easily ship 500 cultivators now if he had them. The factories are out of them.

"There has been a greater sale of better farm implements this spring than ever in the south," continued Dr. Lloyd. "This indicates that planters are determined to combat labor shortage by purchasing and placing in immediate use all the best and most modern cultivators and other farm machinery they can buy.

"Another thing resulting in heavy buying of farm implements is that all farmers awoke to the knowledge this year they were short. They failed to buy last year after making good crops and were face to face this spring with conditions almost entirely new to them, that being a serious shortage of labor, the class of labor the south has depended upon since it became a country.

"I am not very much alarmed at these reports of labor shortage. Of course, it is bad in certain localities, but in many places I have reports denying any very bad shortage. To every planter I advise the use this year of improved farm machinery. It is economical in many ways. It will cultivate a crop to a better producing advantage than if the before-the-war systems are followed.

"We see improved conditions in other classes of business. We find them in our modern lives of everyday living. The farmer, big and little, must get away from the old-time methods of growing a crop. He must advance with the age. His time of living in the past is over unless he wishes to follow a blind mule and rickety old one-horse plow up a half-broken furrow through the field.

"Improved farm machinery is more essential today on our farms than ever. Exodus of labor is proving this to be a fact. We must go to it on modern methods if we want to keep pace with our youngsters who are coming back to the old homesteads with ideas up to date.

Use Nitrate of Soda.

"A modern farm cultivator will do the work of two men who follow a one-horse plow. It will do it far better.

"Another demand for implements this year is brought about by the use of more nitrate of soda. I have no figures telling me of the increased tons of this product sold in this territory this year, but it is a greater increase than was ever known, say dealers in Memphis. If you want good growing crops, use nitrate of soda. Of course it will grow weeds and grass, but a little extra work can get rid of these, and this is where the improved cultivators come in.

"If every farmer in this territory will equip his farm with modern machinery he will cut his labor one-half and at the same time get more work done.

"What we need is better farm machinery on every farm in the south. When this is brought about a few laborers leaving will not have such an effect as it is now," said Dr. Lloyd.

DEMAND GROWING FOR ALL CLASSES OF SKILLED LABOR

Unemployment is At An End in All Sections of Country With Farm Shortage

SOUND INDUSTRIAL BASIS SEEN IN NEED OF WORKERS

Number of Employes Hired and Amount of Wages Paid Show General Increase

WASHINGTON, May 15.—Increased demands for all classes of skilled labor, skilled mechanics and farm hands have practically put an end to unemployment in every section of the country, the department of labor reported today in an analysis covering conditions during April.

"The predicted shortage of competent farm labor," the report said, "is now already a fact, and in many sections of the country the farming interests are being severely hampered by the inability to secure labor for farm work. In the South and Southwest where heretofore there has always been a sufficient supply they are expressing for the first time a situation causing alarm as large numbers of men who have always worked on the farm have migrated to the larger cities securing immediate employment in the various industries which are having trouble to find sufficent labor to meet their demands.

"Indicative of the country's sound industrial condition is the fact that a large percentage of the public employment offices report that it soon would be impossible to meet the growing demand for certain classes of labor."

The survey showed increased activity in the metal mining industry and a scarcity of workers in the lumber mills, and in building and construction lines which had the effect of curtailing operations. The report said that "conditions affecting employment in the iron and steel industry continue to improve and in some of the larger centers shortages of certain classes of this labor are evident."

This information, assembled by the department's employment service from 1,478 firms was supplemented by other figures concerning the volume of employment during April, compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from reports made by 5,651 representative establishments in 43 manufacturing industries.

The bureau's summary, also made public today, said that the establishments covered by it had reported increases during April over March of one half of one per cent in the number of employes, 1.4 per cent in the total amount paid in wages and nine-tenths of one per cent in the average weekly earnings.

As compared with March, 19 of the 43 industries showed increases in employment. The iron and steel industry showed a slight increase in the number of employes but reported a decrease of 2.6 per cent in total earnings for April.

"A combined total of reports from the 43 industries," the bureau of statistics reported, "shows that 85 per cent of the establishments reporting in April were on a full time basis, 13 per cent on a part time basis and one per cent were not in operation. This is a decrease from March of 2 per cent in full time operation.

"A general increase in rates of wages is indicted by the fact that such changes were reported in each of the 43 industries by a total of over 800 establishments. The industries leading in this respect were foundries and machine shops, cotton goods, brick, furniture, paper, saw mills and iron and steel. Altogether these reports again indicate substantial gains although owing largely to seasonal changes the gains are not quite so pronounced as in March."

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
MAY 12 1923

SAYS LABOR SHORTAGE IS GROWING IN SOUTH

(Bureau of The Journal of Commerce.)

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Asking to be put in touch "with the facilities whereby the members of the North Carolina Pine Association can draw on the 8,000,000 negro laborers which you state are available to supply any deficiencies in the industrial regions of the country," John M. Gibbs, secretary of that association, Norfolk, Va., has written to Emmet J. Scott, secretary of Howard University here, protesting against the effort being made to stimulate an exodus of negro laborers from the South to the North. Mr. Gibbs referred to Mr. Scott's recent telegram to Judge Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, suggesting that Southern negroes be drawn to make up the deficit of labor caused by the restrictive immigration laws.

"At no time in the past six months have we had a surplus of labor at our mills and in the yards and woods," Mr. Gibbs' note said.

"The situation today is much worse than it was even three months ago, and

to such an extent are our manufacturers suffering from a shortage of labor that none of the mills are running to full capacity. What is true in the lumber industry is also true in other industries in the States named."

WHO'LL PICK COTTON? FLY WANTS TO KNOW!

Money Plentiful, But Labor Scarce, Says Merchant.

"Who's going to pick this year's cotton crop?" demanded Joseph M. Fly yesterday in the course of an interview on business conditions. Mr. Fly is president of the Mr. Bowers Stores, Incorporated Fly & Hobson Company, wholesale grocers, and had just returned from a visit to New York.

"This cotton question is one of the biggest in the country right now," he told the reporter.

"My trip north and east has served to satisfy me of that. Negroes are leaving the plantations for the industrial cities up yonder. Who's going to do their work?"

Cotton will bring a big price this year, Mr. Fly believes, and there will be a big crop, if the planters are able to pick it all.

He thinks the ultimate solution of the planters' trouble will be immigration or machinery.

Mr. Fly is one of the closest observers of economic conditions in the south and makes one or two trips a year to New York to get close to the center of things financial and make his own conclusions.

This year he found abuilding sloughed off, mainly because of the high price of material and the high cost of labor.

Labor, Material Too High.

"Sixty million dollars' worth of building is halted in New York right now because the owners won't pay through the nose for everything," he said.

"Columbia University has halted its building programme, the New York Telephone Company has done the same. There will be a readjustment and a process of stabilization. It will be better all around—for the laborer and skilled artisan as well as for capital."

Mr. Fly found little evidence of economizing in his visit to Bagdad-on-the-Hudson.

"You can't get a hotel room unless you reserve it nights ahead," he explained. "Pullman berths are the same way. Pullmans are always occupied, no matter where the train is bound for.

"From 4 to 6 in the afternoon, in New York, women and their escorts make the rounds of the restaurants and hotels where dancing is allowed. They drink tea and soft drinks at from 60 to 75 cents a drink; they pay a cover charge of $1.50 each; all in all, they spend money as carelessly as in the boom days before 1917. One hotel man told me that hotels now made more out of this tea-hour trade than the cocktail rush at the bars in the old days."

Mr. Fly was asked concerning general conditions.

"Our country is too big to talk much about general conditions," he replied. "And conditions change too rapidly. But I think most of us, all over the land, have more now than we ever had; live better than we did; and I hope nothing happens to disturb that condition.

"I think nothing will, unless politicians interfere."

Industries Now Working Part Time, Declares Lumber Man

Dr. Emmett J. Scott Reiterates Statement made To Judge Gary and Recites Some of Fundamental Reasons For Present Exodus of Labor.

Dr. Emmett J. Scott's telegram to Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, stating that ample labor to man the great industries of the country could be drawn from eight million colored people in the South has given considerable impetus to the discussion of the present immigration laws, to which Judge Gary takes exception, and the new exodus of colored people from Southern farms and lumber industries to the North and West.

South is Shorthanded

That there already exists a shortage of labor in the South is the claim set forth by Mr. John M. Gibbs, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina Pine Association, who wrote Dr. Scott for particulars, regarding his knowledge of Southern conditions and information as to how the labor he told Judge Gary was available could be gotten out of the South.

Mills Running Part Time

After reciting that there were 150 members in the North Carolina Pine Association, scattered throughout Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and that there were approximately 60,000 Negroes employed in their plants, Mr. Gibbs stated in his letter to Dr. Scott that "at no time in the past six months have we had a surplus of labor at our mills and in the yards and mills."

Situation Growing Worse

The situation is growing worse, he stated, and none of the mills are running full time. What is true of the lumber industry, wrote Mr. Gibbs, is also true of other Southern industries. In concluding his letter Mr. Gibbs told Dr. Scott that his statement concerning the economic condition of the Southern colored people was "fallacious." On this point he said:

"Argument Fallacious"

"A portion of your telegram reads as follows:

"'They are tied to a one-crop system and oppressed by economic conditions that hinder and prevent their fullest development and the fullest enjoyment of American citizenship.'

"I presume you intend the foregoing statement to depict the Negro's condition in the South. The argument is so fallacious that there is no need to discuss it at this time. I would, however, suggest that you familiarize yourself with the conditions as they actually are, after the doing of which, I am sure you will admit that you are wrong. Therefore, I can only conclude that the article with which you are credited has arisen through a misunderstanding of the real situation.

"Without wanting to appear captious or argumentative, I really would appreciate some kind of an explanation."

Dr. Scott's Reply

In his reply Dr. Scott informs Mr. Gibbs that he is a Southern man and thoroughly familiar with Southern conditions; that under a commission from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace he made a study of the causes of Negro migration during the war, and sums up his conclusions, and his knowledge of the present situation as follows:

"I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 19th. I fear from the tenor of your communication that you must not have read my complete telegram but only a portion thereof. I, therefore, send you herewith a copy of said telegram that you may more fully inform yourself of just what I said to Judge Gary.

Is Familiar With Southern Conditions

"Evidently you rest under the misapprehension that I am, as you state, "unfamiliar with Southern conditions." You are probably not informed of the fact that I am a Southerner who has spent most of his life in the South, having been born in Texas, where for a number of years I conducted a newspaper, and of my having served for 22 years in the heart of the Black Belt of the South as secretary to the late Booker T. Washington, and of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. I also served for twenty-one years as secretary of the National Negro Business League. I am, therefore, venturing to suggest that I have a fairly accurate knowledge of Southern conditions.

"The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace commissioned me to make a study of the whole program of Negro migration during the war. The conclusions of that study are set forth in a publication very widely distributed by that organization. I would venture to call the conclusions of that Study to your attention.

Owes Negro Square Deal

"I approached the study of Negro migration in no spirit of hostility. I did approach it, however, with the very definite feeling that the South owes the colored people a squarer deal than it has been giving them. The horrible stories of peonage, the lynching crime, the lack of educational opportunities, the residential and labor segregation laws, the Jim Crow car system, the destruction of political privileges and the curtailment of civil rights, are all matters which stimulate the migration of colored people from the South.

"I am now coming to that part of your letter in which you attempt to show that there is a shortage of labor in the South. I am assuming you are refering to Negro labor. If there is such a shortage in the South, the reasons therefore must be apparent to you. Even when a 50 per cent increase in wages has been made for Negro labor, I wonder if one circumstanced like yourself, is not acquainted with the fact that even this increase has been made it bears no adequate relation to the amount offered in other sections of the country.

No Longer Willing to Accept Conditions

"I must not fail to emphasize the fact that the Negro is no longer willing to accept the intolerable conditions to which I have referred and a lowered wage at one and the same time. It is a matter of common knowledge that the vagrancy laws of the South are used to intimidate Negro laborers and to force them to work under intolerable conditions. It is equally a matter of common knowledge that as a result of his refusal to work under the oppressive economic conditions of the South he has even suffered himself to be placed in prison. If unwillingness to work under these restrictive and dehumanizing conditions is to be interpreted as a shortage of labor, then, if there is not a shortage of labor in the lumber plants and other industries of the South, there should be such a shortage.

"I very definitely feel that it is the duty of colored people wherever opportunity offers to leave those sections where lynching and peonage are practiced upon them with impunity. I know quite definitely the dufficulties that black men are likely to meet in some of the Northern sections, but these difficulties are inconsequential when compared withe the privileges of a free and untrammelled citizenship.

"I am sorry that you are disposed to consider the ambition on the part of colored people to seek their fullest development and the enjoyment of the fullest American citizenship as being unworthy. I should very much dislike to feel that the South, the natural habitat of the Negro, as you say, is going to assume a permanent feeling of hostility toward the Negro in these fundamental directions. If it does, migration northward will continue.

Letters of Approval

"Dozens of letters and telegrams have reached me from all parts of the South—from as far for instance and from points in South as Lake Charles, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and Virginia from colored men advising that my telegram to Judge Gary correctly interprets the situation in their sections just as I described them.

"These communications very definitely indicate that these colored Americans seeking a higher wage and release from the economic slavery which holds them in many parts of the South to a one-crop system are ready and willing to supply the labor shortage in American industrial plants where conditions are more satisfactory, if plans are undertaken on a large and important scale to transfer them to the centers where their services are needed."

"Very truly yours,
"EMMETT J. SCOTT."

Labor - 1923.

Demand for.

Gary Adopts Suggestion To Use Negro Labor.

To Supply Shortages In Industrial Plants of North.

Washington, D. C.—Within three months from the date of the signally important telegram to Judge Elbert H. Gary, sent by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University, in reply to Mr. Gary's suggestion upon the occasion of his return from Europe that alien labor be utilized to supply shortages in the industrial plants of the north, Doctor Scott has the satisfaction of seeing his suggestion that Negro labor be used to supply such shortages adopted by the great U. S. Steel Corporation.

In an interview, Friday, July 6th, Judge Gary advises that the United States Steel Corporation is planning to abolish the 12-hour day in the Steel industry. He suggests that the main factor which will make this possible will be the influx into northern industrial centers of Negroes from the south. Judge Gary also hopes that there may be some labor supply from Mexico and from some of the European countries.

When asked what had been the extent of the influx of labor from the south and outside countries, Judge Gary said he had no figures but believed that one of the most important factors in the increase of labor in the steel industry was the migration of Negroes from the south.

Judge Gary estimates that the change from a 12-hour day would require 60,000 additional laborers and would increase the cost of the finished product 15 per cent. The decision to do away with the long day, Mr. Gary said, was made in recognition of the growing public sentiment in favor of such a step.

D.C.

Labor — 1923

Demand for.

Arkansas.

WHITE FARMERS TO BE IMPORTED

Little Rock

Mosaic Guide

Crittenden County Plans a Campaign To Overcome Labor Shortage

Earle, April 28.—Hundreds of white farmers will be brought to Crittenden county the next few years, beginning this fall under a plan of the Chamber of Commerce, which calls for the expenditure of several thousand dollars.

Little Rock ark

These farmers will be used as farm hands and share croppers, and those who wish to own their own farms will be given an opportunity to buy. Concessions will be made by large planters in renting land or in selling small farms, both improved and unimproved.

Hundreds of Negroes have left the farms in the South the past year and it is believed that if the county can settle its farms with white farmers the labor problem, so far as this country is concerned, will be solved.

Crittenden county is not suffering as much from a labor shortage as some of the other delta counties of Arkansas and Mississippi. but in some sections of the county many farm hands could be used. Only about half of the rich farm lands of this county is under cultivation.

The movement was launched at a joint meeting of the Board of Directors and the Agricultural Committee of the Chamber of Commerce at Marion yesterday afternoon.

The plan was outlined by Louis Barton, W. B. Rhodes, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and Albert Horner, chairman of the Agricultural Committee, named a committee to devise ways and means whereby the plan as outlined, might be carried out.

Crittenden County is to try the Experiment of importing white farmers according to public press reports. It appears that there is a very serious labor shortage existing and a more serious one threatening to exist in the rich delta counties of Arkansas and Mississippi, this shortage seems to have been brought about by the great exodus of Negroes from these rich fertile fields to the North. The daily press states that the county of Crittenden plans a Campaign to overcome labor shortage and will import hundreds of white farmers to take the place of the Negro farmers. Well the good people of that county may succeed in the importations of white farmers but they will never be able to get share croppers among the white farmers that will take the place of the Negro farmer. The Negro farmer worked year in and year out without even having the privilege of marketing his hard earned products and many time without the ghost of a settlement; the white farmer is not goin to stand for no such deals and he will be in a much better position to demand his rights than were the Negroes. But such a plan will be helpful all round, it will break up the old feudal and peorage system so detrimental and imposing upon the poor. But we predict that when the Negro is gone the planter will realize his greatest prop has been kicked from under him. He will not find in the white farmer what he found in the Negro farmer.

Labor—1923
Demand for.

Connecticut.

NEW ENGLAND SEEKS LABOR FROM THE SOUTH

BRIDGEPORT, CONN., May 3.—This city furnishes proof that Colored mechanics can make good. It is the largest industrial city of New England. Among the industries prominent are: General Electric Company, The American Tube & Stamping Company, the Bridgeport Brass Company, the Columbia Graphophone Company, and the Locomobile Automobile Company. All of these employed colored labor at one time or another and those which are opening up again, are again employing colored labor.

The General Electric Company has a few colored employes and is planning to open up work to colored girls. A southern man from Richmond, Virginia who heads the American Tube & Stamping Company, says frankly that he prefers colored labor to foreign, and is admitting colored men in large numbers to his factory. This company also has a large number of foremen who are colored.

The Bridgeport Brass Company boasts a colored chief electrician and two colored engineers.

LABOR NEEDED IN CONN.

(Crusader Service)

Bridgeman, Conn., May 17.—So great has been the recent demand for unskilled labor in Connecticut that the large industrial plants are organizing to bring into the State Negro workers from the South. H. H. Faulkner, a Bridgeport Negro, jointly employed by a number of firms as labor agent, was in New Work recently to arrange for a furtherance of this project.

Labor — 1923

Alabama

Demand For,

CLEVELAND O NEWS
FEBRUARY 1. 1923

Negro Labor Now Is Being Recruited for North

Birmingham, Jan. 30.—Labor agents in the Birmingham district have offers of contracts for negro labor to be sent to Pennsylvania and Ohio iron and steel manufacturing centers and to the Kentucky coal fields, but the number leaving here as yet is not great because of the fear of cold weather. One Pittsburgh steel company is taking 500 or more north this week from another district than Birmingham. There is an inclination, however, on the part of many negroes to migrate north, because of reports that better wages are being paid and that a friendly reception is given negro labor. With the exception of requiring heavy licenses from labor agents, very little resistance is made by the state to the movement.

The United Mine Workers of America have called a convention of the Alabama organization for Feb. 8, and are making an effort to reorganize this field. So far there is little indication of trouble on April 1.

LABOR SHORTAGE IN ALABAMA.

Montgomery Ala

The Tuscaloosa News thinks the chief problem of Alabama just now, or presently will be, shortage of labor in all industries, but particularly in agriculture. Tuscaloosa county and the surrounding section face what probably may be a "serious" shortage.

Montgomery Advertiser

There are few industries in the Tuscaloosa section which are not operating now on an exceptional scale for this time of year, says the News. A car shortage is being "definitely felt," even now. There are seasonal causes of transportation difficulties, but the News thinks the chief cause is the big volume of business demand. In a month or two railroads will be meeting the situation if they are ever to be expected to meet the car shortage situation. "Season will be with them, and there has been no indication of fresh labor troubles which might limit operations." 3/28/23

Continuing, the Tuscaloosa editor says:

The lumber industry in the South is awaiting this opportunity. When spring really opens and summer weather sets in the lumber industry is ready to break all former records for production, and it will need men for this work. Building operations throughout the entire Nation will be speeded up. Men will be required for that work. Construction work of all kinds, even in the South where the winter fails to seriously check this work, will demand more men.

Tuscaloosa county farmers who have been carefully studying the situation are agreed that there will not be the labor to cultivate crops which will be needed the coming summer. All through Alabama and throughout the South present cotton prices are proving an inducement to the planting of largely increased acreages of cotton. And plantation labor has been short for some years.

In some sections, and on some of the farms in Tuscaloosa county, there are indications that the growers of cotton will blindly plant more cotton and allow grass and weeds to take the fields late in the summer. On some of the farms in Tuscaloosa county, and the number is not small, a larger yield on a smaller acreage is to be the object. Fertilizer will be generously used. Efforts will be made to build up the soil, and at the same time produce added crops from the same acreage of last year.

Those farmers fear their crops, in view of the threatened labor shortage, will not get much more cultivation than it had last year. They are taking that into consideration when their fields are seeded. But they do intend to make an effort to meet the labor situation and to produce more crops at the same time.

Whether their method is the correct one or not, there is every indication that there will not be the needed labor here the coming growing season. And the man on the farm is the first to feel the labor shortage in his busy season.

There is this about labor shortages that we like: They mean inconvenience and embarrassment to the enterprises whose working personnel is inadequate; but they mean prosperity. When everybody is working who wants to work, nearly everybody has an income.

Of course the farmer must take a sensible view of his labor problem. If he pitches a bigger crop than he can cultivate well he will be caught in a jam in grass and plowing time. His production per acre will fall. But even if he should not be disappointed in production, he would be put to it to harvest his crop this fall.

The farmer must remember, too, that cotton is a deceitful wretch. When cotton is selling for fancy prices its capacity to buy meat and bread and peas and fodder and hay, and all the rest of it, is greatly magnified in the eye of the cotton producer. It is easy for him to put the whole burden of providing prosperity for the farmer on the shoulder of King Cotton. But usually when this is done the farmer comes out at the little end of the horn. The Alabama farmer in particular must remember that cotton brings most profits as a surplus crop. It must be supplemented by other products—not merely because the farmer's family can eat the other crops, but because they can be sold on the market.

THE LABOR SHORTAGE SUBDIVIDE BIG ACREAGES.

Montgomery, Ala., April 5, 1923.

Editor The Advertiser:

Montgomery Advertiser 4-9-23

The ever-increasing shortage of labor stands out as a danger signal to the farmers and land owners of the Black Belt, and if this warning is overlooked the result will be many thousand acres of our best land idle without tenants.

The negroes have turned their eyes toward the large industrial centers, and when once they have started earning big wages at the manufacturing plants it is hard to bring them back to the farm to the low wages, and in many cases the uncomfortable houses of some of our farms. They not only remain in the cities, but they are continually sending back to the farms for their friends and relatives.

The day of the old time planter and large cotton farmer is past. At one time we rented our land to the negroes who paid us good rent, and the advancing merchant attended to the running of the farm. Today the landlord must advance the money to run his farm or it will not run. Some of our large land owners in order to secure money to run on, mortgaged their

is and sold their timber and when this gone they could get no more. Others had the money did not wish to take chance. The result has been the fail of many of those who did not live on farms and look after them and who not the money to hold their cotton it was at its lowest. In many cases land is now owned by the banks and oan companies.

t's not try to fool ourselves. Labor never return to the farm to live in ks and work for ten or fifteen dollars month for their entire families.

e must subdivide, improve and sell our is to small industrious farmers who will live at home and raise their own food. We must have small improved farms if we get good farmers and if we get our lands on a paying basis. The small individual farmer is the one who builds up a community.

Mr. M. B. Houghton, several years ago, wrote a very fine article on community farming. He looked into the future and saw what would happen unless something was done to encourage the people to remain on the farms. Had the land-owners followed his advice we would have had good farmers and good homes in the country today. Our bankers, merchants and other business men would have been on a firmer foundation.

There is still time to save our farms if we but heed the warning and learn that community farms and the individual farmer are the salvation of our country.

W. W. THOMPSON.

LABOR SHORTAGE HAMPERS BULLOCK COUNTY FARMERS

The Montgomery Advertiser 5-2-23

Cotton Crop Looks Promising; Work on Montgomery Highway Progresses

UNION SPRINGS, ALA., May 1.—The first of May finds the farming situation in Bullock county well in hand. For the most part cotton is up and many are chopping. Corn is being planted, though not finished yet. The biggest drawback now seen and anticipated by the farmers is the acute shortage of labor.

Many negroes have left the farms, drawn to the industrial centers by the high wages offered. However, a large number who left in the winter have returned and taken up the task of farming again. Better profits and bigger crops are anticipated by all for 1923.

Progress Made on Highway

Progress on building the highway from this city to the Montgomery county line at Downing is now very satisfactory. The contractors have started graveling the road at Union Springs and are getting along fine under the recent favorable weather conditions.

Three crews are at work on the 21 mile line, one beginning at Union Springs, one in the center beginning at Bruceville, and one beginning at Downing and coming toward Bruceville. This is the first rock road ever built in Bullock county and the people here are elated that before many months they can travel toward Montgomery under any weather conditions.

Labor Situation In Macon Is Serious, Declares Webb.

Montgomery Advertiser 5/2/23

"The labor situation in Macon County is serious," said Steve Webb, tax collector Tuesday. Mr. Webb was on a business trip to the Capitol. "The negroes are leaving Macon County daily," he continued. "They continue to go North at an alarming rate. This is the worst situation our farmers face because labor has never been too plentiful in Macon." 5/2/23

Mr. Webb is inclined to be a bit pessimistic over the negro hospital situation at Tuskegee. He seems to fear that negro officers will be placed in charge of the institution. He feels that negro officers there would be conducive to trouble. He has hopes, however, that the Washington authorities will see the light. Mont; Ala

LEE COUNTY FARMERS BADLY HAMPERED RECENT HEAVY RAINS; LABOR IS SCARCE

Large Cotton Acreage Will Be Abandoned Unless Relief Is Had; Federal Commissioner Holds Two to Grand Jury

The Advertiser Bureau
Opelika, Alabama,
By John K. Watkins

The farmers of Opelika, Lee county and East Alabama, because of the many rains of the last two months, are badly behind with their work. It is thought the cotton acreage here is about the same as last year, but because of the shortage of labor, it is believed some lands will have to be abandoned, and unless the seasons are most favorable during the growing season, the cotton crop will fall short of that of last year.

ALABAMA LABOR CONDITIONS GOOD

Shortage of Common Labor is Reported by Federal Bureau for Montgomery

Advertiser Bureau,
Washington, D. C., August 20,
By Russell Kent.

There was a slight reduction of labor as a whole in July, but conditions generally are sound, while in many sections, including several southern states, shortage of labor are reported, according to the monthly report of the United States Employment service made public Monday. A slight shortage of common labor is reported for Montgomery, while a number of jobs are seeking men to fill them in other parts of Alabama.

In submitting the report, F. I. Jones, director general of the service, says: "A few pessimists pop up their heads here and there; however, they are always with us. There is an atmosphere in industry that is decidedly optimistic. Some call it 'back to normal.' We are of the opinion that it is back to a sound and firm foundation that is wholesome and basically healthy."

Of conditions in Alabama and its principal cities, the report says:

General.—The iron and steel industry continues at a steady rate, increasing employment for the month of July. Coal and ore mining report another large increase in working forces, but are still hampered somewhat by the scarcity of labor. Lumber mills and wood working plants have more than recovered the slight decrease in labor reported in June, revealing a substantial increase for this month, while textiles have reduced forces and report a sufficient supply of labor. Labor of all classes for highway construction is very scarce hampering this work considerably. Building continues heavy and a scarcity of some of these tradesmen exists. Shortage also noted in skilled and semiskilled workers and farm hands.

"Birmingham industrial district, including Bessemer, Ensley, and Fairfield.—Increase employment during the month of July is noted particularly in iron and steel and its finished products. Most plants running on a full-time basis, and continued scarcity of common labor exists. Building, street and highway construction continues to employ a large force of workers.

"Mobile.—All plants operating with slight reduction in forces, ship building yards on part time creating some surplus of labor. Building construction affording employment to many local tradesmen.

"Montgomery.—Some part time is noticed in local plants, with slight reduction in forces. Railroad shops and cotton mills working overtime. Construction of railroad shops at a cost of $500,000 and numerous homes employing all local building tradesmen. A slight shortage of common labor exists.

"Anniston.—Industrial plants reveal a slight decrease in forces. Iron and steel show considerable reductions caused by slackening in the cast-iron pipe industry for lack of orders, creating a slight surplus of labor. Textile mills on full-time basis with normal quota of workers. Supply of building tradesmen sufficient for demand.

"Tuscaloosa.—Slight additions to the forces of local plants reported for this month and all are running full time and full force. The building program consisting of large office building, two theatres and two business houses fully employing the building trades. A shortage of labor in the lumber industry."

Labor - 1923.

General.

Discrimination.

Steel & Metal Digest.

NEW YORK CITY VOGUE

SEPTEMBER, 1923

NEGRO LABOR ON RAILROADS

"In a recent editorial we expressed a view not very optimistic about negro labor as a substitute for immigration," says the Railway Review. "Our opinion is based both on the lack of efficiency in negro labor and on the fact that the exodus of the negro from the southern states since the world war has been brought about by a combination of circumstances which will not always continue. Nearly a half million negroes are said to have gone north during the past few years. This migration, of course, cannot long continue, neither is there any assurance that their stay in the north will be permanent. It would be well for those who are contemplating using negro labor in large numbers to make investigation as to the source and permanency of the supply. The negro in the north is likely to prove less of a fixture than the European laborer landing on our shores. Many of them are likely to drift back to their homes in the south. Several of the southern states have already complained of the shortage of their working populations and have taken steps to regulate the activities of the "labor agents" who have been inducing the negro to go north. The supply of negro labor is certain to fluctuate between a prosperous or depressed north and a prosperous or depressed south. It cannot solve the question of a nation-wide labor shortage.

"Moreover, it remains to be seen how satisfactory will be the work of the negro in industry. This is a new field for him. He has been trained for, and accustomed to a rural life. It remains to been seen how he will develop under the opportunities being given him in many places in the north, particularly in the automobile, steel and railway industries.

"It is true he understands the English language better than the foreigner landing in our midst, but whether by nature or because of environment or lack of opportunity, it must be admitted that the negro worker is a slow thinker and slow in action. He is shiftless and slothful and is not considered as having any very high regard for the truth. He is unaccustomed to either the regular attendance at work or the discipline absolutely essential in an industrial plant. He prefers intermittent to monotonous work, with indoor work in Winter and outdoorwork in Summer. According to mortality statistics he is of shorter life and physically inferior to the white worker, being particularly susceptible to pulmonary troubles. Time will tell how he will adjust himself to the work of industry and how he will respond to the treatment received at the hands of his northern employer and co-workers. It remains to be seen whether he will improve or develop or whether his changed environment will merely aggravate his present weaknesses and vices. Meanwhile his employment in industry is likely to complicate the labor problem and to introduce racial problems into the homes and factories of northern communities. There is presented immediately the problem of housing and of segregation both of which should receive careful consideration."

Labor—1923.
Discrimination.

Illinois.

TRY TO KEEP PULLMAN FACTS FROM PUBLIC

Associated Negro Press Seems To Be Bent On Muffling Porter Grievances

Since it has been broadcasted to the world that there was decided unrest among the Pullman Porters and that plans were on foot to perfect a Pullman Porters Union there appears to be a counter effort being inaugurated by the The Negro Associated Press to keep the porters in a satisfied mood. Whether this is a plan of the Pullman Company is not known and whether the Associated Press is seeking to fool the papers whom they supply with clippings is too an open question. It seems that the it is very strange that the Press Association would concern itself with patching up the difficulties of the porters and allay all chances of them securing their rights.

Porters Laugh.

When it was being learned that an effort was being made to "soft soap" them the organizers were gleeful in avowing that the condition of the porters was too well known to be sugar coated. It is said that the Porters are waiting to see what action the company will take in the case of the porters who were taken from the Florida train recently and assaulted, they are also preparing a new application blank to be presented to the company officials which portents to take of the place of the clumsy and unsatisfactory "history chart" now being used.

Parker Scorned.

A group of porters in a western city were heard scorning the efforts of one Perry Parker, an Uncle Tom type official of the Pullman Company to keep them in their present status. It is said that Parker is getting the big grin from all whom he approaches. He will not be in the convention held in Chicago next August.

BAND MASTER IS DISGUSTED AT "UNCLE GEORGE"

Conditions of Pullman Porters Unbearable to Music Teacher

Major N. Clark Smith, noted band instructor, who has been teaching the Pullman Porters how to play band instruments has resigned his position because of his inability to get along with the company is the report that has gained circulation. It is said that the original plan of the company to have quartettes entertain the passengers has been discarded and now the porter is to be allowed to entertain "Mr. Charlie and Miss Ann" with wind music. It was thought at one time that the company was solely financing this innovation but it has leaked out that the porters in all districts are expected to make voluntary contributions each pay day and if they don't it is feared that they will get in "dutch" with the white subordinates who rule the poor porters with Czaristic precision. Porters express dissatisfaction with these conditions claiming that the horns belong to the company with its name stamped upon every instrument.

Insurance Feature

Another scheme of the Pullman that has created comment is the insurance that the porters carry at the behest of the company and for which twenty-eight dollars is taken from their pay. One porter said that the Pullman Company treated the men like children and he hoped that they would soon wake up, act like men, demand a living wage and hurl back some of the insults that have been flung in their faces. Two hundred and fifty porters were interviewed last week and a majority of them expressed their whole souled accord to the Pullman Porter Union which is now well under way. The Chicago convention in August will be a scene of intense enthusiasm and the best speakers of the races will hurl thunderbolts in the ranks of the drowsy, sleeping porters who are slumbering on their rights. The band question, the insurance feature and the wage and general grievances will be presented to them in booklet form for them to digest and assimilate. The cry for the liberation of the porter is being heard all over the country and letters from New York attest that the East is rounding into shap.

SAVANNA, ILLINOIS, JUST LIKE SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Savanna, Ill., May 18.—Unless one is white one does not stand much of a chance at the C. B. & Q. roundhouse here. J. K. Powell, foreman of the roundhouse, drives Negro workers from the lavatories, and refuses them passes until after they have worked six months. The white workers are required to put in only 30 days.

Pay scales are different, too, for the same kind of work. Because it is supposed the race man does not deserve big pay, the white man is paid almost three times as much, the highest a Race man is able to make being 40 cents an hour. Race workers are also denied the insurance given the white men by the company.

Rough Boss Makes Men Quit Jobs

Galesburg, Ill., June 29.—A strike among the workers of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad at the company works, three miles from this town, was precipitated Monday when the employees after a fruitless conference with representatives of the company, left the job as an ultimatum. Nearly 600 workers were involved. Some few were Mexican and Poles.

Dissatisfaction among the employees grew out of various grievances against company officials. The men charged that new workers were denied the regular scales in doing piece work and that the foremen were unnecessarily severe in dealing with certain employees.

It was charged that Will Agie was ordered off the job because he complained of being unable to work right away, due to the loss of a toe sustained while in the employ of the company.

The men also say that Will Grigsby was discharged and his family moved in a freight car because the foreman believed Grigsby's wife's sister to be indecent. Later the foreman withdrew this assertion and made up another.

When the men walked out they were given a certain length of time to come back or get off the grounds. Most of the workers went to other places, some going to Chicago. During conference they had sought before leaving the men had depended on the aid of Special Agent Pratt of the company to straighten out the differences. He was unsuccessful.

Labor — 1923

Louisiana.

Discriminations.

WHITES DEMAND JOBS AS SALARY TAKES UPSHOOT

Race Is Stirred By Hints of Intimidation When Rowdies Seek Work

Monroe, La., July 13.—Conditions in labor circles here are very precarious. Throughout the gas and carbon districts of the state bands of white men, many of them armed, are demanding from the superintendents and managers that the Race men employed be discharged and white men put to to work in their places. In cases where Mexicans are also employed the demands are made that they also be gotten rid of. Leaders of the bands declaring that there are many white men throughout the different districts who want and deserve the work.

Fifty Quit

Fifty Race men employed at the Standard Carbon company plant quit in a body after the visit of one of these bands to the plant. They refused to remain until their week was finished on Saturday, declaring that the threats of the red-necks made it entirely necessary that they seek employment elsewhere. The authorities at all places considered carbon centers are stirred through the covert hints of trouble if the demands for the discharge of the men are refused. They declare, however, that the matter will have to reach a peaceful solution regardless of what the physical results may be.

More Money

The white men throughout the carbon centers have refused up until now to accept these jobs. They had stated that the labor in these plants was "nigger" work and that the pay was insufficient. This fact leads to the thought that if any change is made in the make-up of the laboring department of these plants an immediate demand will be made by the whites for higher salaries. When the Race men accepted these jobs the salaries were comparatively low. By close attention to work and general all round efficiency these men earned several salary raises. The pay now is good, considering the locality and general conditions. It is thought that the white men represented by these gangsters are willing to take the jobs at the salary as it now stands and then demand raises from time to time.

Will Leave

It is certain that the carbon concerns will be put to a greatly added expense if they hire the white men. It is equally certain that the Race men effected will leave the district, thereby causing another scarcity of worth while labor. There is but little wonder that the so-called "exodus" is proving to be particularly detrimental to this immediate section. These whites are a lazy, good-for-nothing set who cannot be relied upon to do anything steadily. Intimidation of honest workers by these hoodlums will only go to make rotten conditions more so.

Labor—1922.

Virginia

Discrimination

Train Porters Kick; Get Too Little Sleep

Chicago Defender

Richmond, Va., March 31. Current, almost constant, dissatisfaction is being noticed among the Pullman employees throughout the country. Either the company is tightening up the reins, as it were, or the men demand a new dispensation of things, which the company refuses to acknowledge.

Much grumbling is heard in this district. Principal among the complaints which the men are making is the length of their working shifts. Many of the men are on as long as 15 hours. This is without any sleep. Formerly it was possible for them to get in anywhere from three to six hours' rest on a trip, but since the government returned the roads, none of the workers sleeps but the conductors.

Conspicuous among the officials usually mentioned by complaining porters is G. H. Edwards, superintendent of the Richmond district. The men declare that Edwards and others are working to make slaves out of them through the imposition of drudgery.

Labor—1923
Domestic Service

Makes Plea For Women Who Work

1-20-23

Washington Tribune

Miss Burroughs Champions Cause of Domestics Before Conference

Washington Tribune

Friday afternoon, January 12, when Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, a delegate to the Woman's Industrial Conference called by the Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, claimed the floor to discuss the attitude of organized labor toward the domestic worker, she received a genuine ovation.

Miss Burroughs told the women that she was speaking for 57 per cent of the Negro women bread-winners of America. "I have listened to your earnest pleas for better wages, better conditions and humane treatment for women in factories and shops. The women in this conference represent not only organized labor but philanthropists and social celebrities are sitting here together trying to map out a program of action that will mean justice and protection to the millions of women who earn their bread in the shops and factories. Thousands of club women, college woman and executives are banded together to improve industrial conditions for working women. They are trying to regulate conditions in shops and factories. These same women are able to give a great deal of time to the cause of women in industries for the reason that they have in their kitchens, laundries, nurseries, dining rooms and bedrooms domestic servants who are responsible for the comfort, health and happiness of their homes.

"It is perfectly all right for the housewives of this country to try to regulate and secure better conditions for factory hands and it is a great deal easier to try to apply ideals and standards in shops for which the men are responsible than to apply these same ideals and standards in the kitchens for which the housewives are responsible. We would not ask you to take less interest in the factory girl, but we are here to ask you to take more interest in domestic workers who stay on their jobs from 12 to 18 hours, who sleep in basements, attics and over garages.

"If you are sincere, if you are just, if you are asking for fair play for all women in industries, the supreme test of your sincerity will not be what you get for the women in the factory but what you give to the servant in your own household. The 57 per cent of the colored women who work at service deserve just as much consideration on this score as the women who work in other industries.

"We are not asking for better wages just now, we are asking for better living conditions and better hours, and it is not fair to demand eight hours for one working group in America and insist that one group give twice that number of hours. The colored women of this country have organized to secure for our group just what we are demanding. We need your cooperation. We know this is the acid test. We must work together to win all of these things for all women.

"We beseech you to make your program broad enough and fair enough to include domestic workers who are not represented here but who make it possible for millions of women to take an active part in all of these welfare organizations."

CULLMAN SEEKS TO RETAIN SERVANTS

The Montgomery Advertiser

8/13/23

Griffith Has Bill to Punish Those Frightening Negro Domestics

The town of Cullman, renowned throughout Alabama for its alleged unfriendliness to negroes, may be legislated out of its reputation within the next few days.

A bill, sponsored by Senator A. A. Griffith, of Cullman, introduced during the Thursday meeting of the senate and given a favorable report by the senate committee on revision of laws, would make the business of running negroes out of Cullman or any other town extremely distasteful.

Senator Griffith's bill, captioned "to amend section 6856 of the code of 1907," proposes to amend the statute against forcing or intimidating workmen to leave any job or location, by including a clause which makes any attempt to scare or force negro domestic servants or others leave any locality within the state an offense punisable by a fine not to exceed $500 or sentence not exceeding one year, or both.

Years ago Cullman's reputation of unfriendliness toward members of the negro race was known far and wide throughout Alabama. Near the center of the town a sign was erected on which was posted in conspicuous letters: "Niggers, Don't Let the Sun Set on You Here." Although blemished almost beyond recognition by the elements, the sign has weathered many years.

Antipathy against negro domestic servants, according to Senator Griffith, however, has since become almost extinct, and until recently virtually every person in the town able to do so employed them.

Feeling Is Revived.

A short while ago, however, the traditional feeling against negroes flared up again among certain classes of Cullman citizens and the anti-negro crusade was resumed.

Housewives, displeased because their servants suddenly and hastily departed recently appealed to Judge W. I. Grubb of the northern district United States court at Birmingham, for protection of their servants, according to Senator Griffith.

However, they were unsuccessful in finding a means of protection from that source, Senator Griffith declares, and they in turn petitioned him to sek a remedy for the trouble.

After a lengthy search through the entire criminal code of Alabama he could not find any satisfactory measure that would cover the trouble, he says. The nearest approach to the case is section 6856 which applies to white laborers.

Explains Measure.

Senator Griffith appeared before the senate committee Thursday afternoon and fully explained that a large number of residents resented the coercive steps taken by some Cullman people, and desired to retain their household servants.

The bill was then promptly voted a favorable report and will be placed on the calendar for action during the forthcoming week.

In addition to the Griffith bill, the revision of laws committee voted to favorably report the bill of Senator Martin, of Houston, regulating the use of heavy automobile trucks and tractors on the public highways. This measure, which is said to meet general approval places restrictions on trucks as a step in preserving the condition of the roads and streets of the state.

Labor—1923
Foreign

Europe.

Plans to Transport U.S. Miners to Ruhr Fails of Approval

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Hughes and Members of Attaches at French Embassy Deny Knowledge of Project.

3/8/23

FIRST BATCH WOULD SAIL ON MARCH 15

New York Labor Agents Declare They Will Recruit 5,000 Negroes From U. S. Collieries.

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

New York, March 7.—Harry V. Dougherty, arriving on the steamship Majestic today, announced that he had perfected plans to transport between 2,500 to 5,000 American negro miners to the Ruhr to work coal mines seized by the French government.

"At least 500 non-union miners from the West Virginia coal fields will be sent out on the Orduna, which sails March 15," said Mr. Dougherty. "They will be followed by other shipments as fast as the men can be collected."

Mr. Dougherty said Ambassador Jusserand, of France, had received assurances in Washington that no international complications would ensue.

Mr. Dougherty, with his brother, George Dougherty, a former deputy police commissioner, operate a detective agency here, which also specializes in providing emergency labor.

The negroes will receives $7 a day in addition to board and lodging, he said, and will receive compensation in event of injury.

Arab labor was given a tryout by the French but failed to prove hardy enough to withstand the gas and hard work, Mr. Dougherty said.

DENY PROJECT AT CAPITAL.

Washington, March 7.—Secretary Hughes authorized a statement tonight that he never had heard of a plan to transport American negroes to Europe to work in coal mines in the Ruhr. He did this after being informed that Harry V. Dougherty had announced he intended to carry out such a project, that Ambassador Jusserand, of France, had discussed that matter with Mr. Hughes and that the secretary of state had given assurance that no international complications will result.

It was stated that no such preparation, or any of a similar nature had been discussed with Mr. Hughes by Ambassador Jusserand or any one else.

At the French embassy it was declared that nothing was known of the Dougherty plan or of Dougherty. A statement was authorized that any announcement by Dougherty that the proposal had been laid before Secretary Hughes by the French ambassador "was fabrication."

USE OF FOREIGN LABOR IS OPPOSED BY SOUTH

Textile Men Predict Shortage in Near Future.

RICHMOND, Va., May 17.—One thing southern textile men "are all definitely agreed on is the extreme undesirability of any influx whatsoever of northern labor of foreign extraction," [illegible] of Charlotte, N. C., secretary of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, declared in his annual report submitted at the closing session today of the twenty-seventh annual convention of the association.

"Our industry is growing so rapidly within itself," Mr. Adams said, "that while today we may have a sufficiency of native help, the day is not far distant, in the judgment of many, when there will be a scarcity, if not an actual dearth. Any considerable accretion from without to the southern industry with consequent demands upon our native labor supply would probably result in a general shortage for which there would be but one solution from the standpoint of the northern mill man and that would be to bring in outside help—and the one thing that we are all definitely agreed on is the extreme undesirability of any infux whatsoever of northern labor of foreign extraction.

"I am confident that I voice the sentiment of the vast majority of our members when I state that outsiders are welcome to share in the extension of the southern textile industry within the limits of our natural labor supply, but that any disposition on their part to come at the expense of bringing in outside operatives to remedy any resulting labor shortage would be vigorously and actively resented."

Labor—1923.
Foreign.

West Indies.

N Y C TELEGRAPH
MAY 31, 1923

WEST INDIES NEGROES FLOCK TO THE U. S.

Five Thousand Come In During the Month of May in Response to Labor Demand.

The Munson liner Munargo arrived yesterday from Antilla, Cuba and Jamaica with 204 passengers. Of the total passenger list, ninety were negroes from Cuba and Jamaica. The dark men from the West Indies are pouring into New York and paralleling the movement of the negroes from the Southern States to the industrial sections of the North. It is roughly estimated that during the month of May not less than 5,000 negroes have come to New York from the West Indies and have been absorbed by the industries of the North, clamoring for labor.

Cubans are not required to produce more than their birth certificate showing them to be native Cubans, while a passport is required for the men and women from the English West Indies. The movement of dark labor from the West Indies always sets in during the Spring, but the steamship officials bringing passengers from the West Indies say that the movement this year is unusually heavy and the laborers are enticed by the higher wages.

N Y C WORLD
MAY 31, 1923

5,000 NEGRO IMMIGRANTS.

Great numbers of Negroes are coming from the West Indies and Cuba to work as unskilled laborers in the United States, according to steamship officers operating between New York and the West Indies.

The Munson liner Munargo, from Antilla and Jamaica, brought ninetey, drawn by reports of the high wages.

It is estimated 5,000 Negroes came from Cuba and vicinity in May.

Most of the Negroes arriving have friends who make affidavit they will not become public charges.

COLORED FOREIGNERS RUSH IN CROWDS TO GET WORK INTENDED FOR THOSE ALREADY HERE

The Guardian
New York, May 30, 1923.

New York, May 30, 1923.—More than 5000 Negro laborers from Cuba and the West Indies have come here this month, attracted by high wages, officers of the Munargo announced today when the vessel arrived from Cuba and Jamaica, bringing 90 more Negro workers. 6-2-23

The spring influx of Negro laborers is much heavier than ever before, it was stated.

Labor – 1923
Migration Movement.

NEGROES ARE LEAVING FOR THE NORTH

This publication has made many expressions regarding the exodus of the colored people North. As Americans, we have always known that it was our privilege to locate wherever we desired. The unfortunate side of the present exodus is that the best Negro is leaving with a grievance, suffering from disappointment, bad treatment and lack of confidence in leading elements of the South. That he has grounds for this feeling is not to be argued at this time. The evidences on both sides are everywhere apparent.

Taking the subject as a general proposition, the Negro race cannot be comfortable in the South. Certain sections of the South are better than many sections of the North as regards livelihood and a chance to advance industrially. There is hardly any reason for Negroes leaving a district like Birmingham if they go seeking wages, comfortable homes and fair treatment by employer. And yet, there are conditions within such a lucrative district as ours that are compelling Negroes to leave in a wholesale fashion. Big wages is not the only pleasing and satisfying desire in the mind and heart of the present southern Negro. He wants education for his children, fair treatment by the courts and officers of the law. Our white people ought to know the facts. They ought to know why the Negro is grieved and why he is leaving at every opportunity and chance. For fifty years he has waited for a change; sixty years he has waited, studied, prayed, exercised patience, and the desired relief has not come. He has decided to find a way out. The white race if it desires—and there is no reason why it should not—can change this situation. There is no reason for the complaints to continue in Birmingham, Jefferson County and in the industrial fields of Alabama. These complaints can be remedied—they ought to be remedied—justice and the process of good government demand a remedy. Most every honest white man you may talk to will frankly express the feeling that the Negro is not given a fair deal and can point out more instances proving his assertion than the most alert Negro who might feel that he has the situation thoroughly before him.

It is to our white citizens, with the aid of the leadership of the Negro race, to ferret out these evils, guarantee protection and comfort to the Negro, and there will be no exodus. This is all that the North is offering—this is all the Negro desires—justice and fair play.

The section or race that will not guarantee justice and fair play cannot hope to hold the Negro in large numbers as has been their privilege.

The Negro has an asset, and that is his competency as a laborer and endurance as a hard worker. Other sections of the country are bidding for such labor. They offer the price, and far above that, they offer protection, comfort, education for his children and advancement in the scale of industry. This is becoming the attitude of the Birmingham district and the laboring fields in and about our county, Jefferson. While Jefferson County and sections around about us have not suffered materially from the exodus, it is to be understood that as the season opens and plants continue to bid for labor, it will not be long before our flourishing county will be attacked by the same disease.

This is a problem for white leadership along with the best thought and conservative views of the honest Negro people within the community. Justice is the word. Patience has been worked to death. Justice is the pass and nothing else will be of help in this condition.

THE MIGRATORY NEGRO POPULATION

By F. W. GIST

A great many people have discussed the migratory instincts of the negro, and recently his disposition to move has appealed to some as a more or less serious phase of southern economy, especially with relation to agriculture. His movement from state to state and from section to section has been so varied and spasmodic that, without definite statistics, many estimates have been made of the volume of his migratory tendencies. Census enumerations have taken account of his birthplace, as they do of the rest of the population; but when one familiar with his idiocyncracies remembers that many of his tribe do not accurately state any given set of facts, it is no wonder that the record of his birthplaces does not agree with other census computations. About as approximate a knowledge of his migration may be obtained by computing the net increase in population for the entire United States into the numbers enumerated and applying that sum to the number found at the next census for the various states. It is true, as has been pointed out many times, that the natural increase, represented by the excess of births over deaths of the negro varies in different sections and as between urban and rural negro dwellers, so that something must be allowed for these differences.

A statement of the net increase in negro population in the United States as a whole for the different periods is given below:

1860 to 1870	11.0 per cent.
1870 to 1880	35.0 per cent.
1880 to 1890	13.3 per cent.
1890 to 1900	18.0 per cent.
1900 to 1910	11.2 per cent.
1910 to 1920	6.5 per cent.

One is especially struck with the variability of these percentages in the first three periods. The average of the three is something over 19 per cent; one is justified in assuming that the enumeration of the negro population was exceedingly inefficient at least during these thirty years. Their average being very similar to the net increas in the fourth period, we are allowed to re son that the enumeration was approximate accurate in 1860 and again in 1890. Deterr inations are therefore more or less vag prior to the latter year. In the absence any better figures, however, the census ha been taken for the purpose of this stud and is accepted as being correct on the whole

Negroes in the South.

In 1860 the negro population of the United States was practically confined to the southern states, including Maryland and Missouri. In the statement given herewith the average percentage of increase has been applied to the negro population at each census for these original negro states to arrive at what their combined population would have been if there had been no migration until the succeeding census year. From this sum has been taken the population as reported and the difference assumed to be the migration during the period. In the last two periods southern negro population increase has been calculated at a slightly higher rate than the United States average in order to allow for the known difference of increase between southern states and others, the rate used in the last period being 7 per cent and in the preceding period 11.5. We have, then, the following statement:

Original South:

	1860-1870	1870-1880	1880-1890	1890 1900	1900-1910	1910-1920
Negro population at beginning of period.	4,180,000	4,454,000	5,896,000	6,752,000	7,924,000	8,717,000
Natural increase should have added	459,000	1,560,000	806,000	1,183,000	911,000	610,000
Should have been end of period	4,639,000	6,014,000	6,792,000	7,935,000	8,835,000	9,327,000
Census enumeration..	4,454,000	5,986,000	6,752,000	7,924,000	8,717,000	8,775,000
Net loss by migration	185,000	28,000	40,000	11,000	118,000	552,000
Other States:						
Negro population should have been without migration .	241,000	567,000	697,000	899,000	993,000	1,136,000
Net gain by migration	185,000	28,000	40,000	11,000	118,000	552,000
Census enumeration ..	426,000	595,000	737,000	910,000	1,111,000	1,688,000

The proportion of the negro population residing in the original southern states is shown to have been as follows at each census period:

Pct.		Pct.
1860.....94.1	1870.....91.3	
1880.....90.8	1890.....90.2	
1900.....89.7	1910.....88.7	
1920.....83.8		

After the sudden movement from the South which came as a natural consequence of abolition of slavery, and which amounted to a loss of only 2.8 per cent, the change of proportion was slight and gradual for thirty years. In the period 1900-1910 a change of 1 per cent took place. During the last period the change was marked in comparison with prior conditions. No one can say if the last rate of change will continue or whether controlling factors will swing back and forth as they have during the past sixty years. Should the latter be true, it will take close to three hundred years to move the negro population so that one-half of it will inhabit other than its original territory. It is agreed, however, that not only is the negro moving but that his birth rate is decreasing and his death rate increasing as he moves. If the last rate should continue only one hundred years will be needed to distribute him over the country at least on a fifty-fifty basis. In neither instance is the present generation or the next two very seriously concerned except from the standpoint of prophesy.

In and Out.

As history it would be interesting to give the movement by states as calculated in the second tabular statement above; but space forbids this. Instead we will content ourselves with a statement of the calculated movement in and out of the original states for the last period 1910-1920:

	Moved in	Moved out
Alabama		70,000
Arkansas		2,000
Florida		1,000
Georgia		53,000
Kentucky		44,000
Louisiana		64,000
Maryland		4,000
Mississippi		145,000
Missouri		78,000
North Carolina	16,000	
Oklahoma	1,000	
South Carolina		30,000
Tennessee		54,000
Texas	4,000	
Virginia		28,000
Total	21,000	573,000
Net migration		552,000

The movement in and out of Alabama during these sixty years will be of local interest:

	Moved out	Moved in
1860-1870	10,000	
1870-1880	43,000	
1880-1890	1,000	
1890-1900		17,000
1900-1910	14,000	
1910-1920	70,000	
Total	138,000	

A recent estimate placed the exodus of negroes out of this state, presumably in the last twelve months, at about 10,000. The movement of 70,000 shown above from 1910 to 1920 probably took place largely after 1916; in which case that of the last year would be no more notable than the annual average from 1916 to 1920.

Rural and Urban.

The migration of negroes from rural to urban habitation has in the last period at least been much heavier than from the South to other sections. A calculation along lines similar to the one preceding indicates that in the United States as a whole a net loss of 759,000 negroes was sustained by movement from the country to the city, whereas the net interstate migration was 573,000. The following statement shows the estimated movement of negroes from the country to the cities in the states named:

Alabama	103,000
Arkansas	12,000
Florida	26,000
Georgia	86,000
Kentucky	35,000
Louisiana	82,000
Mississippi	141,000
North Carolina	15,000
Oklahoma	6,000
South Carolina	37,000
Tennessee	65,000
Texas	29,000
Virginia	68,000
Total	705,000

With Maryland and Missouri left out of this calculation, the total compares with 451,000 lost to the same states by movement to other states. The interstate migration represents 6.3 per cent of the negroes found in these states in 1910, while the movement to cities represents 8.5.

After all the migration is accounted for we have still with us more than twice as many as we had in 1860, while the balance of the country has nearly four times as many. We opine that none of us will be seeing them disappear from our economic affairs at any near date.

Births and Deaths.

What is much more serious than migration, from the negro's own viewpoint, is the sharp fall in the ratio between birth and death rates shown in the past twenty years. This ratio is what makes natural increase or decrease in the aggregate numbers of a race. By reference to the first tabulation herewith, it is seen that the rate of natural increase fell from 1890-1900 to 1900-1910 from 18.0 to 11.2 per cent, or a loss of 6.8; while during the next ten-year period this loss amounted to 4.7 per cent. This represents an average loss of 0.57 per cent. Should this tendency hold over future years at the same rate only 175 years would be required to wipe out the race in this country. Students of negro habits and tendencies are inclined to attribute this loss to the negro's migratory habits in moving from his original habitat in the open country to the cities. Like the Indian, he is an open-air animal and does not thrive on congested conditions nor in severe climates. Apparently his safety lies in sticking to the rural South, where he may be free from congestion, late hours, severely vicious habits, the attacks of pneumonia and tuberculosis, and the practices which interfere with the natural birth rate. This phase is his problem. Those of his own race who have the information and intelligence might be of real service if they gave serious thought to it.

N Y C WORLD
MAY 6 1923

EMPTY STOMACHS BRINGING NEGROES OUT OF THE SOUTH

Inability of Farmers to Make a Living Is Cited as Chief Cause of the Big Exodus.

By LESTER A. WALTON

The present wholesale exodus of Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centres appears to be fundamentally a question of economics. While discriminatory laws and customs are provocative elements, yet empty stomachs rather than crowded Jim Crow cars have been the chief motive impelling thousands of Negroes to desert their native heath for a newer industrial, political and social freedom.

The small farm "cropper system" is the primary cause of insurgency and unrest. A summary of the agricultural census for the United States compiled by the Federal Government furnishes some interesting facts and figures on the subject.

Georgia, with 6,534,000 acres less farm land than Illinois, had 73,551 more farmers; but the value of all crops in Georgia for 1920 was less by $306,000 than that of Illinois with nearly 100,000 less farmers and several million less acres devoted to agricultural purposes.

190,000 Tenant Farmers.

Georgia had 190,000 tenant farmers, of whom 113,000 were Negroes (mostly croppers), as compared with only 101,000 tenants, native white, foreign born and Negro, in Illinois.

It would seem to the impartial observer that there is too much "landlordism" in Georgia and too many small tenant farms. Also that the State would be greatly benefitted agriculturally if about 50,000 of these Negro cropper farmers and at least 50,000 Negro field hands left and took up abode in industrial centres.

South Carolina Another.

South Carolina is another "small cropper" State. As compared with Kansas and Oklahoma, each has less farmers but more acreage in farms than South Carolina. The value of crops in these States exceeds that of South Carolina by approximately $151,801,000 and $112,963,000 respectively.

South Carolina has 124,000 tenants (mostly Negro croppers), as against 66,700 of all classes for Kansas and 98,000 for Oklahoma. A similar comparison may be made of Alabama.

In Bolivar County, Miss., out of a total of 12,808 farm operators there are 11,833 Negro farmers, only about 590 being owners. The total acreage of farm land in Boliver County is less by 225,000 acres than in Lancaster County, Penn., the richest general farming county in the United States from the standpoint of value of products raised. However, Bolivar County has more farmers of both races than Lancaster County.

Washington County, Miss., has a farm acreage 40,000 acres less than Frederick County, Md., but there are 8,674 Negro farmers in Washington County, or 2,400 more than in all the twenty-four counties of Maryland combined. In Maryland 3,500 Negroes own their farms, compared with 284 Negro owners in Washington County, Miss.

Down in Leflore County, Miss., 5,461 Negroes operated farms averaging 35 acres. The total acreage in farm land is 60,000 less than in Burlington County, N. J., where there are only 2,172 farmers, including forty Negro farmers.

The average number of farms to a county in agricultural communities throughout the United States is said to be about 2,112, and the proportion of owners is 609 per 1,000 operators. But in Washington, Bolivar and Leflore Counties, respectively, there are 5,033 and 21 Negro farm-owners per 1,000 operators.

A report from South Carolina states that due to migration, the white and colored population of the State is about equal; if anything, the white population is the larger.

SAVANNAH GA. PRESS
APRIL 11, 1923

NEGROES GOING NORTH.

MR. Edward Summerau has written to the Augusta Chronicle an important communication bearing on the migration of negroes from the South.

The correspondent quotes two letters from former farm hands of his. These misguided people were persuaded some time ago to go to the North on the idea that everything would be different and life made easy. Without a minute's notice these two left Mr. Summerau for Philadelphia. They found things there not as pictured. So they are begging to come back. The Georgia man was obliged to write them that their places were filled and that he could not give them back their jobs. Many ignorant negroes and some intelligent ones are falling for the Northern lure. Both of the letters are from Philadelphia. The first is from Prudie Overton. She writes:

> I have seen Joe and have talked to him. He says that he is sorry that he left you. I want to go back home to stay. I did not want to leave you, in the first place, but I could not stay by myself. Joe is now willing to stay with you till death. We are well, but I do not like it up here and I want to know if you will take us back. I hope to hear from you.

The other letter is from Joe Overton. He says, among other things:

> I am doing all right, but I would rather come back home. If ever you need me, write me word and I will come back. Of course, I know I did very wrong, but I thought that if I told you that you would be willing that I go away from you. Keep old Dain fat till I come back.

The immigration agents, of course, deceive these poor people. The Augusta Chronicle says that hundreds of them die in the frozen North. In many instances their corpses are brought back to the South for burial, but, for the most part, they find graves in a strange land.

A correspondent of the New York Times, who was born in the North and who lived in New York and Massachusetts, writes about the negro problem. He has resided four years in the black belt of Dixie.

> One impressive feature of the "negro problem"—it is a problem—is that most Northerners and Southerners alike ignore the bromidic fact that human nature invariably displays a monotonous similarity, regardless of locality. The negro in the South is respected and liked, according to his deserts, at least as fully as he is in the North; in fact, there is more kindly feeling for him and more patience with him, for the simple reason that he is better understood here.

The Augusta Chronicle says:

> The negro belongs to the South. The Southern people are his best friends. He quickly realizes this immediately that he tries to settle down in the North. The South understands him. The North does not. He makes a wretched mistake when he listens to the secret immigration agent who fools him to go North—being paid so much per head for each negro he can induce to entrain for the North.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

Musings From The Messenger

Migration Will Stop Lynching in the South

A veritable flood of Negro workers is flowing North. Why? Not because of lynching, disfranchisment, the jim-crow car, bad schools and housing facilities. No, not at all. For these things have existed in the South ever since the Negro and white people have been there. But no great movement of the Negro population to the North has taken place before the war migration and the present one. Hence the cause for this movement must be sought somewhere except the South. The cause is attractive not *coercive*. It is in front, not behind. It is the high wages offered Negro labor which never before existed in the history of the country. This situation is largely due to the limitation of immigration both during the war and after. How is it affecting the South? It is destroying the economic possibilities of the South. Where there is no labor there is no business, and where there is no business, there are no *profits, the God of the modern world*. In order to retain profits that come through exploitation of Negro labor, the Southern planters, railroad, lumber, coal and banking magnates will sacrifice even the fetish of social equality. Surely protection of life and property will be accorded the Negro if that be the price of his remaining there. Better and more schools; better and more houses; the right to vote and the abolition of the jim-crow car and lynching are a bagatelle beside the mountains of fortunes that will go aflying if the hegira of Negro workers continues. Yes, we will have no lynching if the migration goes on, not because the South hates the Negro less but because it loves wealth more. But the white South is not alone disturbed over the Negro movement North. The Negro *bourgeoise* is also annoyed, especially the Negro preachers, doctors and undertakers. The reason is clear. If the Negroes keep on leaving, the preachers will have less souls to save; the doctors less of the sick to cure; and the undertakers fewer bodies to bury. "But it is a *poor* wind that blows no one any good," is a pretty wise old saw. For though the preachers, doctors and undertakers of the South will weep, their cousins of the North will rub their hands in glee, rejoicing at the children coming out of the house of bondage into the land of promise. But problems, social and labor, are certain to follow in their train. Lynchings and race riots will be transferred to the North unless intelligent effort is made to unionize the Negro worker. East St. Louis will be repeated on a larger scale unless the black and white workers unite. This will put a weapon in the hands of the bosses. The white workers must be shown this. It is no use pleading for justice and fair play. Nobody acts upon those things. Organized labor is out to improve its standard of living. If keeping the Negroes out of their unions will prevent that and that fact is demonstrated to them, they will throw race discrimination overboard. High wages, shorter hours of work and better working conditions are dearer to the white worker than snubbing the Negro. Now, according to recent reports of the Department of Labor, something like one-fourth of the Negro workers coming North are skilled mechanics. This is something new. This is the nemesis of white organized labor unless it reads the handwriting on the wall and takes the black worker into their union on a basis of equality. Negroes, too, should concern themselves more with the labor phase of the problem, as all other aspects are secondary and generally derivative.

The Menace of Negro Communists

Negro Communists are a menace. They are a menace to the workers, themselves and the race. Why? Because they are disruptionists, seeking with irrational and romantic zeal to break down the morale, to confuse the aims and ideals of the New Negro Liberation Movement. So utterly senseless, unsound, unscientific, dangerous and ridiculous are their policies and tactics that we are driven to conclude that they are either lunatics or agents, provocateurs, stool pigeons, of the United States Department of Justice. Their preachments and antics about r-r-r-e-volution, the Third Internationale, the dictatorship of the proletariat, are so inane and childish that they would be amusing were they not so tragically disastrous to the aggressive, independent and rationally radical manhood efforts of the Negro. Just as spies have been planted amongst the white Communists, so spies will be, if they have not already been, planted among the Negro Communists, whose policy is to preach doctrines of extremism. This is calculated to attract the persecution of the Department of Justice to all Negro movements working for race and economic justice. On the grounds that they are petty *bourgeois*, Negro Communists seek to wreck all constructive, progressive, non-Communist programs. Thus the Negro Communists are a menace whether they are paid tools of W. J. Burns or are mere ignorant, credulous fanatics, believing that they are serving a holy cause. For Communism can be of no earthly benefit to either white or Negro workers in America. It is even being replaced in the interest of the Russian worker in obedience to the material exigencies of the situation by State Capitalism by Lenin and Trotsky, after recognizing its impracticability at the present stage of economic development of Russia. How foolish, then, is it to advocate Communism to the Negro workers before they have even grasped the fundamentals and necessity of simple trade and industrial unionism! Nor are we impressed with the sincerity of the Negro Communists, for their statements have revealed that they are utterly devoid of any respect for fact, truth, or honesty.

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
JUNE 22, 1923

Largest Influx of Negroes in History of St. Louis Has Developed in Recent Weeks

Lure of Higher Wages North and East of Here Brings Thousands of Colored Men and Women to City's Gateway.

An influx of negroes from southern states into St. Louis which started last January has reached large proportions with indications that the migration will continue unless there is an unexpected cessation of industrial activity and less demand for common labor here and in cities farther north and east.

Each week for the past two weeks between 1,000 and 1,500 negro men, women and children, with men in the majority, have poured through the gateways of Union Station. Few of the negroes have money beyond the price of one or two scant meals, and all, apparently, are under the lure of stories of high wages in St. Louis and in the automobile and steel plants in Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh.

Industrial and labor agents in the south are credited by the negroes with having held out to them promises of good employment in St. Louis and the other cities mentioned.

A survey since January 1 would disclose that approximately 25,000 negroes have come to St. Louis either to travel on from this point or remain in the city or nearby small towns. This estimate is based on statements made by persons interested directly in the movement. Eighty per cent of the 25,000 are believed to have chosen the immediate St. Louis territory in which to seek employment.

Higher Negro Rentals.

In thousands of instances the newcomers, because of lack of houses, have been forced to live in shacks and rookeries that for years had been empty and regarded as unfit for human habitation.

Rents in the negro tenement districts have mounted proportionately, the increase being estimated by negro real estate agents as high as 40 per cent since January 1.

Investigation through the medium of negro social and civic agencies, real estate, employment and transportation agencies, and interviews with negro arrivals themselves, has disclosed that this sudden shifting of common labor from the plantations and industrial districts of the far south to the industrial cities of the north, has three phases:

FIRST—The pouring into St. Louis of a stream of negroes chiefly from Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama, with a few from Texas. This migration in early January probably did not exceed 200 or 300 a week. It has reached a peak of 1,500 in a single week.

SECOND—The passing on by labor employment agencies of thousands of negro arrivals to railroads running east for track and construction work, and thousands of other negroes to steel mills around Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, also in the Chicago district, and to automobile plants and allied industries in Detroit and vicinity.

THIRD—A distinct movement

of St. Louis negroes, many of them long settled here as residents, to Chicago and Pittsburgh, and especially to Detroit or other automobile manufacturing towns in Michigan, under promise of wages that in some instances reach as high as $8.50 a day for piece work. The industrial gap left by these negroes has been immediately filled by the new arrivals from the south.

Political Aspect of Influx.

One of the most significant phases of this hegira, which is attracting the attention of politicians as well as social workers, is its probable effect on the political situation in St. Louis with respect to next year's national and state elections, and future municipal contests. The 1920 registration showed 18,000 voting negro men and 12,378 voting negro women in St. Louis, a total of 30,378, largely illiterate.

The majority of new negro arrivals never voted and are almost wholly illiterate. They do not know their own ages accurately. Hundreds of negro men who are arriving plan to send for their wives and children later. Some already are doing so, and a general movement of that kind is blocked only temporarily by a housing shortage. The women also will vote.

The permanent negro population of St. Louis is wholly Republican. With 20,000 or more colored voters added, it is pointed out that Republican organization leaders will soon have a block of negro votes available that will materially strengthen organization control of the city.

There also is another political and social aspect of the migration. St. Louis industry is approaching the saturation point of negro labor. The same is true of Chicago, Detroit and other large industrial centers.

With the first industrial reaction in automobile and steel manufacturing, and with the seasonal letup in railroad maintenance of way and construction work, a great tide of negro laborers will be thrown back into St. Louis.

St. Louis is regarded as the natural center to which unemployed negro labor, which got its jobs here, will gravitate if suddenly thrown out of work. The negroes feel at home here. This labor will come back to St. Louis largely penniless, because, no matter how high the wages, negro common labor is devoid of the saving instinct. Such a return migration means further overcrowding with disease and crime as an accompaniment. Already the city health department is vaccinating the negro workers in the large industrial plants and making a close inspection of housing conditions in negro tenement districts. This measure is precautionary against conditions next winter.

No New Homes Built For Negroes—Many Houses to Be Razed

One of the most serious phases of overcrowding in the negro districts is a steady rise in rents, estimated by some negro real estate dealers at as high as 40 per cent, since last January. The rise in rents also has brought about a tremendous rise in the price of real estate in the negro districts.

Negroes who have saved enough to make a first payment on a home, generally an old house, with a view to escaping high rents, now find the price even of hovels doubled. Houses that sold for $2,000 last year are now held at $4,000 to $5,000.

There is virtually no construction of new houses available for negroes, and in addition, the health department, in a survey completed recently, has shown that street widening under the bond issue will destroy the habitations of 669 negro families and compel at least 2,473 individuals to seek shelter elsewhere or leave the city.

Cause of Migration.

The cause of the migration was sought first hand from negroes arriving for several days at Union Station.

John Williams, recently from Columbia, Miss., is 27 years old, or thereabouts. He worked on a cotton plantation from sunrise to sundown for $1 to $1.25 a day. He heard of high wages in Chicago, where his sister lives, and went there first. The wages there were not what he had expected, and after saving carfare he came to St. Louis He is looking for a high-wage job here.

Jesse Dunbar, just arrived from Greenville, Miss., is 31 years old, with a wife and four children in Greenville. He had been working there in a rolling mill and later in gravel pits at $3.50 a day, but heard of high wages in St. Louis and the North. He saved carefare and came here. He is working here at 30 cents an hour.

Walter Gray was in Texas and came to Missouri after a brief stop in Arkansas. He prefers farm work, and a few days ago got a job harvesting near Alton at $4 a day, compared with about 20 cents an hour in Arkansas. He was the only negro on the farm, became lonesome, and is in St. Louis looking for another job. He tried railroad track work but didn't like it.

William Hoover, 29 years old, just arrived from Pine Bluff, Ark. He is 29 years old, or thereabouts, and worked in a machine shop and a garage there at $1.80 a day. He rented a house out of town and paid $5 a month for two rooms, walking into town to his work.

He got a job driving a team at $3.50 as soon as he landed in St. Louis. His room, in one of the old houses in Ninth street, south of Market street, costs him $2.50 a week. His meals, at negro restaurants, average 15 cents each. He wants a job in a machine shop where he can learn a trade, and he said he would keep looking till he found it. He will send for his wife and four children as soon as he is permanently situated.

Most Arrivals on Sunday.

The great majority of negroes reach Union Station on Sunday mornings, between 7 and 9 o'clock, coming on every train from the south. Station gatemen say arrivals are increasing. They have seen nothing like it, even in war times. The day coaches of virtually every train from the south and southwest were filled with negro men, women and children. There are many boys of 15 to 18 years coming alone. A

Political Voting Power of Republican Party in St. Louis Likely to Be Materially Augmented From New Ranks of Arrivals.

week ago gatemen saw, in a crowd of arrivals, a negro man and wife and eight small children. They had 75 cents.

The influx is repeated on a smaller scale the other six mornings of the week. Most of the negroes carry their total possessions in a paper bundle. A few carry cheap pasteboard suit cases. The heavy Sunday arrivals are accounted for by the fact that the men wait to draw as much of a week's pay as possible before quitting their jobs in the south They flock directly to the employment agencies in Market street here if a labor agent is not at the station waiting for them.

An example of the way hundreds of these arrivals are hustled in and out of the city was given by A. J. Michel, employment agent at 711 Market street. He displayed telegrams from different cities asking for negroes in groups of as many as 100, and said he could not fill the St. Louis demand. Brickyards, scrap iron dealers and railroad track bosses want negroes for work in the sun where no other race but Mexican is willing to work. The scrap iron men offer 30 cents an hour, brickyards up to 40 cents.

The local steel mills offer $5 to $6 a day. Pittsburgh steel mills promise $7 a day for twelve hours work. The big eastern railroads, like the Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania, are taking hundreds of negroes at wages of 40 to 50 cents an hour. Michel, while talking to the reporter, was arranging to feed two carloads of Mexicans brought in under an agent for shipment to the east. These and the negroes are the only common labor obtainable, he said.

"It is a never-ending cry," Michel said. "We ship the negroes east for railroad work, the steel mill agents lure them away with offers of higher pay and the railroads telegraph for more. Hard road construction is taking thousands. But the southern negro is beginning to show discrimination. Railroad work has a strong lure for him because he gets a free ride with it. He likes to be near machinery and thinks there is a chance to obtain some skill if he can get a job as a machinist's helper. Even these new arrivals from the south show they are anxious to get away from the classification of unskilled, common labor.

"You cannot exaggerate the significance of the migration. White common labor is as hard to get as a radium hat. I've been in this business twenty years and I never saw anything like this condition. I have been sending as many as 3,000 negroes a month to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad alone."

Thomas Cunningham and D. E. Griswold at Griswold & Co.'s agency, 9 North Ninth street, told of receiving 130 negroes in one shipment of two carloads a few days ago. About 600 previously were sent to the ore docks at Ashtabula, Ohio, and the Youngstown steel mills, at 40 cents an hour.

Negroes were sent in another shipment to an auto engine factory at Pontiac, Mich., where they were promised as high as $8 a day piecework. The Pontiac concern offered to board these men at $8 a week, or to find board and room in town at the same rate.

Matthew Daly, a United States Government farm bureau agent, whose home is in Superior, Wis., but who is assigned to the St. Louis field, said: "There is no question about the extent of this negro movement from the south. It is carrying the negroes as far north as Superior and Duluth. Negroes fresh from the south are getting $6 a day in the Superior and Duluth steel mills and in Milwaukee. The sort that go that far north take their families. Underneath the movement, aside from the certainty of higher pay, seems to be the fact that there is less race feeling in northern cities where negro children attend school with the whites, and where white men and negroes in industry work side by side."

GREENVILLE S. C. NEWS
JUN[illegible], 1923

CONSTERNATION AT PLYMOUTH

A few weeks ago The News called attention to articles appearing in Boston newspapers protesting against the large influx of Southern negroes into New England. Officials were declaring that the Southern negro was finding himself in much less congenial surroundings than below the Mason and Dixon line. Rather than being assimilated into the communities, he was being separated and segregated just as in the South, with no feeling of sympathy of the white man tiding him over the periods of distress. The telegraphic dispatch from Boston in yesterday's News concerning the action of the New England Chamber of Commerce on Governor McLeod's diagnosis of the migration question, fully authenticates what has been written and said before.

New England subscribes to the summarization of Governor McLeod, that New England "loves the negro en masse but not as individuals." New England wants the negro for his labor, but beyond that it has no interest in him. He is not welcome except to his employer, and not to his employer after work hours or when times are dull. Let negroes move into a community in Boston and instantly the white people desert it. The property declines in value. Real estate men are alarmed because the negro is creating an element of uncertainty in values. The white people who own property fear lest the negroes will invade it and cause them to sell at a sacrifice. No wonder New England despairs of the invasion. It learns one of the first phases of a problem it has long studied superficially, namely, that the problem has an economic as well as a social side.

For the negroes, the article from New England should be carefully and thoughtfully pondered. The white people should bring it to their attention. Forty per cent of those who have migrated to New England are out of employment. Many of them are in distress. Those who are working are not philanthropic to the extent of helping those who are not. And the New England white man is not of the type to which the negroes have been accustomed. The New Englander feels absolutely no responsibility for the negro. He hustles for himself and he expects the negro to do the same. He saves something for the rainy day and he expects the negro to do likewise or else take the consequences. He does not sanction the negroes' exodus and he is not constrained to give them alms.

It is a situation almost tragic. But it is going to do two things: It will teach the New Englanders something about the negroes and it will teach the negroes whom are their friends.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

When the Negro Comes North

N Y C CALL
JUL 22

Racial factors, as much as economic motives, have been responsible for the tremendous migration of the Negro to the North, for the treatment which he has been receiving from the Southern white man has been making it literally every hour more undesirable and impossible for him to remain in the South, writes Eric D. Walrond in the New Republic. In sections of the South, where the Negro has gained control of corporations, banks, insurance and real estate companies, which represent the group investment of Negroes to the amount of millions of dollars, lynchings and race riots and the reign of mob terror are so much in the air that it needs only slight persuasion for the Negro to pack up, sell out and move North.

But on coming North new problems confront him. In the South he is liked as an individual and proscribed as a group; in the North the situation is reversed, while, in addition, there are certain civic politcal and educatonal responsibilities whch he must learn to shoulder. The encouragement of inter-racial co-operation is greatly needed. If the Negro is to supplant the white immigrant labor, he should be allowed to enjoy the benefits that labor unions extend to foreign white workingmen; for the Negro is, after all, a staple American product, with the soul and genius of a workman.

Negro Migration Laid to Terrorism

Drive by Agents

A campaign of terrorism and false promises among the country negroes of Georgia to persuade them to go north conducted by about fifty illegal labor agents throughout the state, was charged Sunday by John W. Yopp, secretary of the Georgia Manufacturers' association. Mr. Yopp has just concluded an extensive investigation of negro migration from every part of Georgia.

Mr. Yopp says that more than 90 per cent of the negroes who migrate north have been induced to do so by a carefully conducted campaign of the illegal agents in two ways:

First, the labor agents use various methods to terrorize the negroes into the belief that they will be tarred and feathered, man-handled, mistreated, and perhaps killed if they remain in their native communities.

Second, the labor agents make false promises of permanent high wages in the northern industrial centers, and offer to pay the negroes' railroad fare to the north.

The labor agents are paid from ten to twenty dollars for every negro they ship north. In most cases the railroad fare is not given to the negro, as he imagines, but is merely advanced to him and promptly deducted from his wages after he begins work. The negroes shipped north are mostly gotten for short-time building booms in northern cities, and after the particular job is completed the majority of the negroes are left stranded, with no money to return to their southern homes, all of their wages having been spent in actual living expenses in the northern cities.

Labor agents, it is claimed, usually begin their work in a community with a campaign of terrorism; letters usually signed with red ink are sent to several of the negroes by the agents; these letters tell the negroes that they must leave the community at once or they will be killed, and at times the labor agents spread a rumor about a negro community that the white people are planning an attack on the negroes.

Following this a negro is usually employed by the labor agents to use his influence to induce the negroes to leave. For everyone he succeeds in inducing to go a certain commission is paid him. Then the labor agent "signs up" the negro and smuggles him out of the community to the north. Occasionally the negro who is "signed up" is informed that he is being taken only to Atlanta or some other southern city and then is kept on the train until he arrives in some northern city several hundred miles from his family and the south.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH

A brief analysis of its distribution and causes.

By Eric D. Walrond

BEGINNING with the Kansas migration of 1879 and the migrations to Arkansas and Texas of 1888 and 1889, Negroes in the South of the United States have been steadily moving north. Owing to the alarming shortage of foreign labor during the war some 400,000 of them came north to work in factories, steel mills, munition plants and shipbuilding yards.

Of course the factors controlling the cataclysmic depopulation of the Black Belts of the South are myriad. Chief of these is the supremely economic one, or the ravages of the boll weevil. Next is social, undoubtedly with a string of subsidiary sentimental motives. For years the Southern white man has made and is still making it difficult for the Negro to remain in the South. He is cowed, beaten, burned, lynched, jim-crowed; robbed economically and emasculated politically; and suffers the worst kind of civil and political indignities imaginable. Consequently it requires but

Text and Pretext

BY M. ASHBY JONES, D.D.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF

Curiously enough, in the discussion of the migration of the negro from the south everyone has had his theory as to the cause, but no one thought to ask the negro himself to give his reason. But last week negro leaders from every part of the state gathered in Atlanta and formulated a very remarkable statement, covering the question of the migration and the general conditions of their race. This statement was published quite generally by the press of the state. I am wondering how many white people have given a thoughtful and impartial reading to this calm and frank declaration of racial conditions as they appear to the negro himself. By every sense of fairness, and by every compulsion of justice, no white man has a right to form a final judgment on the subject until he has given an intelligent and sympathetic hearing to the negro. For this reason I am using this column to call the attention of our most thoughtful people to the negro's plea, on the simple ground that every man has a right to be heard in his own behalf.

The opening paragraph calls attention to three significant facts, often overlooked by our people when they consider the question of substituting immigration of foreigners for the migration of the negro.

"The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here.) The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations together for two centuries give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world."

Reasons for Migration.

The negroes give eight reasons for the movement of their people away from the south. They may be classified as follows: Lack of credit facilities, low wages, poor housing conditions, bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers for absentee owners, poor educational facilities, bad traveling accommodations, inequality in the enforcement of the law. Seven of these reasons are bad economic conditions, to which any weak and ignorant population might be subject. Granted such conditions to any people, accompanied by a favorable economic invitation to go elsewhere, and a migration would be inevitable. But their eighth reason grows out of racial prejudice. It is "mob violence."

Whenever this phase of the situation has been discussed by our white people, the attempt has been made to minimize the terror of the mob as a factor in the movement of the negro away from the south. Usually this situation has been accounted for by some, almost parenthetical, admission that outrages have been committed upon defenseless negroes, now and then, by "irresponsible" mobs. That word "irresponsible," which many of our white people seem to think excuses, or at least minimizes, the barbarious outrages committed upon a helpless people, is the crux of the whole situation. Let any white man fairly put himself in the place of a negro living in a section where there are "irresponsible" people, who may terrorize his home, or put him to death, without a moment's notice, then ask himself how long he would live under the terror of such a menace. It is the fact that the civilization of Georgia has allowed, for fifty years, groups of citizens to act like barbarians, without being held responsible, which accounts for many of the social evils we suffer today. Are the rest of us irresponsible also?

A Challenge.

These negroes close their statement with a challenge to all that's best in the Christian civilization of our state. I cannot forbear to quote a portion of it.

"We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality, or desire for negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers, through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood that test, let the pen of your own illustrious worthies, and the tongue of your own immortal Grady tell.

"It is written that 'Man shall not live by bread alone.' We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity, and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life, which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well rounded humanity."

We must accept that challenge in the spirit in which it is made, or cease to boast of our racial superiority.

GAINESVILLE GA.

JUL 19 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS PROPOSITION

In so far as our observation extends we were the first to advacate that the voluntary exodus of the negroes proceed unopposed.

Now comes Dr. Thornwell Jacobs ex-State Senator G. D. Perry, Judge Blanton Rortson and others who take the same view of tthe situation.

We print on the first page of this issue of The Eagle an article from Judge Fortson that appeared a few days ago in the Atlanta Constitution as it contains not only Judge Fortson's own views, admirably expressed and logically presented, but also the views of foreigners of international reputation as expressed by them long before the exodus begun.

Fof more than a half century progress in the South has been arrested by this large floating, shiftless population that the North is now calling from our midst on account of a temporary labor shortage.

As we have heretofore emphasized, we are in need of home builders---an industrious and thrifty people—whose energy and pride of possession would make sure an era of prosperity, and who would aid whole-hearted ly in developing the almost untouched resources of our wonderful South land.

The South is a land of opportunity, a fact known to the world, but a land which the world has held back from on account of its mixed population.

These facts are brought out through quotations found in Judge Fortson's article and are worth pondering by those who would arrest the exodus now in progress.

It were better that a tempoary depression be suffered than that another fifty years of retarded progress be indured.

A shiftless people are not an asset, but a liability to any country.

Nothing should be done to induce the negro to leave the land of his enforced adoption, but nothing should be done to prevent his going to another section of the country and making his home with people he professes to love and with whom he never fails to affiliate politically.

That is the political, the patriotic the economic and the humanitarian policy the South should adopt.

The negro's tranfer of his residency from the South to the North will mean better understanding between the two sections, political and economic, and the obliteration of a species of sectionalism that is irritating and harmful and which tends to prevent a unity of national spirit and action that would promote peace and happiness and security.

Lenoir N.C
Enterprise

JUL 23 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

The Department of Agriculture, after a special survey of the shortage of farm labor in the Southern States, seems to take a rather alarming view of the situation. Up to the time this survey was made several weeks ago over 32,000 negro farm hands had left the State of Georgia alone for the various industrial centers of the north. South Carolina has lost 22,700; Florida about the same number; about 10,000 have migrated from Alabama; 15,000 from Arkansas; Louisiana about 7,000; Tennessee nearly 5,000; North Carolina about 15,000; Mississippi 5,000. In addition to these large numbers have migrated from Kentucky and the Virginias.

All this occurred within the past twelve months. As a result the cotton farmers in the Southern States are facing a serious situation.

President Moton, of the Tuskegee Institute, the negro institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, attributes this unusual exodus to the question of wages. Before the war field hands could be employed for 50 cents or a little more a day. Today the lowest rate is from $1.25 to 2.00 a day.

The North is materially affected by this tremendous labor change. The manufacturers there are the principal beneficiaries, as the negroes have taken the place of immigrant labor which was called home to Europe during the war. Another thing has happened which was inevitable, it has precipitated the race problem in the public schools in many industrial northern centers, besides exercising a marked change in the political complexion of some of the doubtful States.

There is one thing which is true: The negro is one hundred per cent. American, and in that regard is far superior to much or most of the element we have been receiving from Europe.

Commenting on the negroes leaving the South the Philadelphia Record says:

Cleveland has been so overrun by negro migrants from the South that its Superintendent of Employment Service has been compelled to give notice that it is quite impossible to find labor for any more newcomers. It would be interesting to know if the saturation point has not been reached in Philadelphia and its immeditae vicinity. Certainly the exodus from the South is greatly aggravating the housing situation here and producing in many localities a most undesirable congestion of population. Germantown feels it no less than the Seventh ward. Philadelphia has always shewn a kindly disposition to the negro, but there is such a thing as pushing a hospitable host too far.

LEXINGTON N C DISPATCH

MAY 31 1923

MANY NEGROS ARE LEAVING NORTH CAROLINA

Reports made to M. L. Shipman, commissioner of labor and printing, by agents of the federal employment service in various cities in the state, indicate that large numbers of negro laborers are leaving North Carolina for northern and eastern states, it was announced last week.

W. T. Carter, in charge of the Winston-Salem bureau, writes Mr. Shipman that approximately 1,800 to 2,000 negroes have left that vicinity during the past few months. The negroes are being promised higher wages in the northern states, Mr. Carter stated.

Mr. Carter said the impression in Winston-Salem is "that a few labor agents have been about this city, working under cover, and paying the transportation of the negroes to northern centers." He said there is a surplus of clerical and professional applicants at Winston-Salem, but common labor is short.

Approximately 1,000 negroes have left Charlotte and vicinity within the last 60 days, W. H. Vause, of the Charlotte bureau, reports. The negroes are being promised higher wages ,shorter working hours and better living conditions by labor solicitors from the north, according to Mr. Vause. He said he had taken the matter up with the city authorities, who had instructed officers to arrest all agents they find soliciting labor outside the state.

Asheville appears to be the only place where the labor situation has not been affected by the migration of the negroes. Superintendent John D. Cole, at Asheville, writes Mr. Shipman there has been "no noticeable decrease in labor around Asheville."

Reports were made by Mr. Shipman last week by employment service agents at Wilmington, New Bern and Greensboro. Between four and five hundred negro laborers have left the Wilmington section during the past month or so, it was stated, while 20 men were reported to have left Greensboro last week to accept places with a coal company in Pennsylvania. Only a few negroes have left the New Bern section, it was reported, but large numbers are said to have left Kinston and Goldsboro.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

DR. HAYNES TALKS TO NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON NEGRO EXODUS

(By the Associated Negro Press)

New York, July 3.—Recently at Mother A. M. E. Zion Church an Industrial Program was presented by the Urban League, having for its principal speakers Dr. George E. Haynes and Mr. Darwin J. Meserole.

James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, presided and told of the problems that daily come before the attention of the Urban League offices.

A.J. Allison, Industrial Secretary, outlined the future program of the Industrial Department and called attention to the fact that on account of the increaser eNgro population in the last few months more and bigger opportunities and openings must be made in industry for Negroes. The employment service was shown to be taxed to the limit during this present influx and the League had functioned as a clearing house and wonderful cooperation had been given by practically all agencies in social welfare work.

Jesse O. Thomas, Field Secretary, commenting on the point in Dr. Haynes' speech that in ten years Negroes in the South would vote just like they do in the North, said that he wasn't a prophet but that he thought the South would remain the same for some time yet, unless conditions of industry in the North continued to call Negro labor from the South.

Dr. Haynes on Migration

Here are some points by Dr. Haynes: "When a crisis comes industry is disorganized. Those who are employed by business and commercial enterprises are thrown out. No one is going to meet the situation. We shall have to study it and see how we can meet it.

"In my study of the Negro migration to the North, the relationship between the migration of Negroes to northern centers and the turn of industry and financial circles, that in 1806-1870 there was the trend of increasing industrial expansion. In 1873 that dropped. In 1900 there was an increase until 1910. In 1914 when the World War came, there was a chnage of labor; the doors of industry opened to Negroes, consequently a flood of Negroes.

The net number of Negroes in the North 1870-1910 was about 10,000 per year; between 1910-1920 about 34,000 per year. When business demands for labor you have three times as many coming every year as have been coming in other years.

"U to 1910 the proportion of Negro men in the average Northern cities was about from two to three out of ten in industry. Colored women was one in ten in industry. The Negro has gained a hold in Northern industry. From now on the employers in the basic industry are going to have Negro employees as a regular part of their labor force—that is a part of the increasing migration.

"There are 56 cities with 10,000 or more Negroes; 38 of those cities are in the South."

In closing Dr. Haynes said that Negroes had tried in the past to hold jobs in big industry by making his stay a personal matter with the boss, but he appealed that just as white labor and capital have clashed on a military basis, the Negro must fight his way into industry on the basis of efficiency and service.

In talking on unemployment, Mr. Meserole said:

"The situation is so serious that it moves us all to do something. To-day we face the bringing up of civilization. We have a civilization which is so inhuman and the process by which it works that at last the time is right when it should be destroyed."

NEW YORK HERALD
JULY 1, 1923

Garvey

THE PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY. Edited by Amy Jacques Garvey. The Universal Publishing House.

ACTING as his own lawyer, Marcus Garvey has introduced epoch making innovations into court procedure. It is a pity that he will not be his own Casanova. Instead he has relinquished to his better half the task of compiling his epigrams, essays and speeches. His wife said that her primary purpose in compiling the book was "to keep a personal record of the opinions and sayings of my husband during his career as the leader of that portion of the human family known as the negro race." She has quoted his epigrams, his political essays and two of his speeches.

Emphasis on race priority is the keynote of Garvey's doctrine. He says to his own people: "Be as proud of your race to-day as our fathers were in the days of yore. We have a beautiful history, and we shall create another in the future that will astonish the world." "I believe in a pure black race just as how all self-respecting whites believe in a pure white race, as far as that can be." "I believe that white men should be white, yellow men should be yellow and black men should be black in the great panorama of races, until each and every race by its own initiative lifts itself up to the common standard of humanity."

Marcus Garvey believes that Africa for the Africans is a necessity to preserve race purity. Otherwise there can be no peace. "There is no other way to avoid the threatening war of the races that is bound to engulf all mankind, which has been prophesied by the world's greatest thinkers; there is no better method than by apportioning each race to its own habitat."

MOBILE ALA REGISTER
MAY 20, 1923.

PRESS ON NEGRO MIGRATION.

Although the movement of negroes northward is said to be still in progress, yet it appears that the appeal to which they are responding is an artificial and temporary one. The North has offered higher wages than the South because of the competition for labor. This competition has been due to the centralization of industry in the North. In this connection, therefore, those who study the question in its wider aspects perceive that before long, with the great trend of industry southward, the Southern demand for labor will rectify any present tendency to migrate. Indeed, it would not be surprising if, within ten years, the migration should be reversed, and not only colored labor but also white labor be traveling southward. The negro, therefore, will find himself economically in much stronger position by remaining where he is and working himself into the growing demand for labor in the South.

This, however, does not assist in the solution of the Southern farm labor problem, which has been rendered more acute by the migration, for, remarks the Tampa Tribune: "According to the report of a government investigation, 32,000 negro farm hands have left Georgia for industrial centers of the North —thirteen per cent. of the total number of negro farm hands in that state. South Carolina has lost 22,700, or three per cent., and Florida about two per cent. Alabama has lost ten thousand, Arkansas 15,000 and Tennessee forty-five hundred. All this has taken place within a year. The effect upon the cotton crop alone may be easily understood. . . . Dr. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, believes that conditions in the South as regards the negro are so rapidly improving that this migration will soon cease."

As to the serious depletion of farm labor, the New Orleans Times-Picayune takes the hopeful view that negro migration "would probably operate to make easier the enlistment of white settlers. . . . We cannot expect to balance negro migration with white migration in a single season or a single year. But as the white colonists are settled here and there over the South, upon terms that are fair and under conditions favoring farm success and community content, the movement this way will, before very long, begin to march under its own power." The Atlanta Journal likewise believes that there is a southward movement of whites which more than offsets the northward movement of blacks, and says: "More persons than ever before have means to visit this region when their northland is locked by rigorous winter; and, once having a taste of a clime where December is almost if not altogether as pleasant as May, many become permanent residents." The Journal also quotes Forbes' Magazine to the effect that "experience has proved that it is easier to attract workers to pleasant climes than to districts where extreme heat and cold alternate. Not only so, but the output per worker is greater when climatic and living conditions are favorable than where they are less favorable." In the long run the South has nothing to fear in this competition for population, especially as industries multiply and health conditions are made superior to those elsewhere.

The Wall Street Journal looks at the practical results of the migration as affecting the cotton crop and ventures the opinion: "This movement of the colored people is not like the spring migration of the birds that go north for the summer, but is mostly a permanent change of habitation. A continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future while demand is on the increase. Like the boll weevil, the negro now is to be counted in the market as a bullish factor." The Columbia, S. C., State realizes the situation and considers means of checking the migration. The State concludes: "The one way by which white people can prevail upon the negroes to stay is to give them something to stay for. The time has passed that negroes are helpless to get away. Northerners are inviting and assisting them." The State suggests two ways of stemming the tide. The first is to attach them to the soil by "encouraging and assisting them to buy lands and establish homes." The second method proposed by the State "is for the whites to co-operate with and enlist the negro leaders in trades and professions, in endeavors to dissuade negroes from leaving."

It appears, however, that the real solution of the labor problem caused by negroes leaving Southern farms is to encourage better methods of farming. All will not leave the farms, either white or black. But the number per unit of tilled land is bound to be reduced and is being reduced. That being the case, the Southern farmer must take a leaf from the book of better farming and learn how to farm more acres with less help and do it better. As preliminary to this, it is necessary to adopt methods that will increase the yield per acre. Intensive farming is fuller of results and of profits than extensive farming. It is much easier, cheaper and more profitable to raise a bale on one acre than on four acres. As long as labor was plentiful and cheap, the low yield per acre was compensated for by farming more acres. Now that labor is scarce and high, every acre must do its duty. Where there has been hand labor, there must be machinery, and where there have been a dozen mules, each drawing a one-horse tool, there must now be a tractor or teams with modern equipment capable of taking the place of several men.

Each acre must be sown with the very best of seed of varieties that will make the highest yield, and each acre must re-

whatever enrichment of soil is ...d profitable. The negro may cease going north, but he will still leave the farm to some extent, for the sake of higher wages in factories. Agriculture can and will so adjust itself as to compensate for his loss.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN
MAY 28 1923

The Negro South and North

Negro migration from the South to the North is considered by the New Orleans Times-Picayune with reference to its bearing on the future of industry in the South and, by implication, of the social and political development of the region. A growing number of southerners, the newspaper notes, accept the situation "philosophically, even cheerfully," finding consolation in the fact that as the North grows blacker the South grows whiter, and recalling that white immigration has been discouraged in the past by the preponderance of Negroes; also that labor-saving machinery has made up in other parts of the country for much of the loss of farm labor.

Two Carolina newspapers are quoted as viewing developments without alarm. The Columbia State declares that "it is nonsense to pre-'tend that South Carolina would not 'be tremendously improved were '400,000 of its 800,000 Negroes to 'migrate in the next 10 years, so 'that the commonwealth would have 'two whites to one black." The Charlotte Observer predicts "the 'incoming of the tractor, the mod-'ern supplanter of the Negro and the 'mule."

This is a hopeful view and reflects a realization of factors which must enter into policies for the full development of the South's natural resources. A mere reduction of the number of Negroes to a point where foreign immigrants are greatly in demand will not, however, operate automatically to attract such immigrants. In the first place immigrant groups tend to flock to those regions where their "nationals" are settled; a considerable movement to the South would be pioneering, which would hardly be undertaken in the absence of special inducement. And it is perhaps not so much the color line as the labor conditions line that discourages such enterprise. The immigrants from southern Europe, notably the Italians, who would be expected to find the climate of the South more congenial than would those who come from cold climates, have hitherto been attracted chiefly to laborer's employment in city construction work, railroad building and the like. They do not look much like potential cotton field hands.

The optimistic note from South Carolina perhaps reflects the growing importance of cotton manufacturing in that state. Its growth will call for recruits of skilled and semi-skilled labor; but this development is largely independent of the Negro problem, unless there is more than is apparent to the theory that white workers don't like to go South just because there are so many Negroes there.

However, the continuing exodus of Negroes seems to presage a new era of much importance both to the South and to the North. It is not impossible that the problem which it presents will prove more serious in the latter region than in the former. In spite of handicaps upon the Negroes' welfare and progress the two races in the South have developed a certain modus vivendi which has on the whole resulted in tolerable and fairly decent relationships. So far there has been comparatively little friction between the races in the North, though the wartime immigration period was not without its disquieting, if not ominous, outbreaks.

The first requisite of a policy which shall reduce the danger of friction to a minimum is, of course, the fair treatment of the newcomer. He should have opportunity to maintain a proper standard of living; should have free access to the public schools, adult as well as child; should be encouraged in the exercise of good citizenship as well as constrained against unsocial conduct; he should be given equal treatment before the law. The enlightened and public-spirited citizens of both races must co-operate more fully than they have done to see that these first principles of policy are maintained.

URGE ANTI-LYNCH LAW

TO END NEGRO EXODUS

Atlanta, June 16.—Baptists of this State have entered the fight to prevent the further migration of Negroes North. A state law to stop lynching is suggested as one remedy for the evil which is making nights sleepless for the Georgia farmer.

The Christian Index, the weekly State publication of the Baptists, carries an article by W. W. Alexander, prominent Atlanta man, urging the anti-lynch law. His discussion is headed "Let's Stop Shoving." The exodus of the Negro is ascribed to the "shoving of the South," rather than to the "pulling of the North."

Mr. Alexander states that 100,000 persons have left Georgia farms within the alst six months. Of them, 80,000 were Negroes. The result is 12,000 abandoned farms. The Negro Baptist organization of the State is quoted as saying the colored rural churches have lost 50,000 members through the migration.

"Mob rule," "peonage" and terrorism inspired by anonymous warnings to leave the community are mentioned as helping to drive the Negro away. If the Legislature will but organize a State police force, give the Governor the power to remove sheriffs, delinkuent in protecting prisoners enact an antl-lynch law and stop peonage, fewer Negroes will leave, Mr. Andersno suggests.

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 16, 1923

SOUTH ACTS TO END LYNCHING AND STOP NEGROES' EXODUS

TAB

Georgia Baptists Foster Movement When 12,000 Farms Are Abandoned.

Copyright, 1923 (New York Evening World). Press Publishing Co.

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Gov. Hardwick, ex-Gov. Dorsey, the Rev. E. J. Forrester of the State Board of Education, Prof. J. Phil Campbell of the State Agricultural College and many other distinguished Georgians are said to indorse the program suggested.

PHILADELPHIA PA RECORD
MAY 15, 1923

The South is getting uneasy at the loss of its black workers. Better wages and a greater degree of security are drawing the negroes to the North. Meetings of white men have been held through the South to discuss the labor problem, and these are beginning to be attended by both whites and blacks. Gloucester county, Va., is the first county in the South Atlantic States to employ a negro agricultural extension agent for work with negro farmers. In that county this work has been done for 16 years. Undoubtedly, many of the negro farmers are very ignorant and could make themselves far more comfortable if they were taught better methods of farming. In Connecticut the labor shortage is so severe that large industrial plants are organizing to bring negro laborers from the South. They are brought in parties of 30. Returning prosperity and restrictive immigration laws are said to be the causes of the labor shortage.

KANSAS CITY MO JOURNAL
MAY 7, 1923

South Fights Negro Exod

The whole Southern cotton ... up in arms over fresh effo... of Northern employers to lure Negro farm laborers to Northern industrial operations. With cotton chopping well under way and at a time when every available worker is needed to help cultivate the crop, the situation of the planters, so far as labor is concerned, has become more acute than at any time since the war. Dispatches from Memphis, Chattanooga, Mobile, Macon and Jackson, Miss., indicates that thousands of Negroes have left for the North and West in the last week.

Mass meetings have been called for sessions in every county courthouse in Mississippi on May 19 to discuss plans to prevent workers from deserting the growing crop, and state officials, chambers of commerce and other civic organizations throughout the South are combatting the promises made by labor agents of higher wages elsewhere.

SEP 28 1923

NEGRO WOMEN URGED EXODUS

Negro Work Superintendent Says Colored Race Striving for Better Times.

Chicago, Sept. 28.—That negro women, striving for better conditions for themselves and their husbands, and better educational and other advantages for their children, are behind the migration of southern negroes from the plantations to the northern cities, is the conclusion of the Rev. Dr. W. A. C. Hughes, superintendent of the department of negro work of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Dr. Hughes, himself of negro blood, has made a wide study of the conditions and reasons causing the southern negroes to migrate to the cities and factories of the north.

"Behind the industrious, hard-working negro man in this present migration, is the negro wife and mother," says Dr. Hughes. "The constant dread that a son or a husband will say 'too much' is the ting that is wearing threadbare the nerves of the negro woman of the south. Added to this is the lack of opportunity for her child, and she is the driving power of the present movement from the south."

Illinois seems to be the favored locality, according to Dr. Hughes. "More than 100,000 negroes have left 11,000 farms in Georgia alone," he declared. "A late survey of negro congregations in rural communities of the Atlanta conference substantiates the estimate that 2,500 negroes have left ...kes county alone. W. W. Long, of Clemson college has found that 50,000 negroes had left 41 counties. The delta regions of Mississippi lost 12,000 workmen in the last six months of 1922.'5'

Dr. Hughes has found many cas... of team-work on the part of ... sources a number send one or two ... to go north. By pooling their re-turn send most ... impoverished negroes who wanted ... of their group north, and these in ... up the remainder.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

ALBANY GAZETTE
JUNE 12 1923

Unfair Conditions

From the Savannah Press.

A Southern woman, now in New York, writes to a friend concerning negro emigration from the South to the North and East.'

She points out that the negro is not welcome in New York. If he commits the slightest defection he is set upon immediately by the rough class and inhumanly treated. Then the climate is severe and changeable, the tenement houses are dark, and rents are high. They do not understand all that; they think only of the increase in wages.

Of course, all these things are not exposed by the emigration agents who are urging Southern negroes to go North. Some of the emigrants say that they are trekking Northward because of "unfair conditions" in the South.

Now, "unfair" labor conditions have been charged in every section of the country and in every country in the world. This is not the complaint of one race or of one section. Ask the white laborers of the North if they think they always have a "fair chance."

Why are there numerous strikes and industrial crises unless it is that some of the laboring class feel that they ought to better their condition? There is a constant effort on the part of labor everywhere, in every country and every clime, to improve their condition.

We believe that the Southern negro is making a mistake in leaving his old home in the South expecting to find ideal conditions in the North. He will find his standing in the wage scale and before the courts more unsatisfactory than in the South and he will run up against a system and conditions with which he is not familiar and which are not in sympathy with him. He may find that it is better to bear with the imagined ill he suffers than to fly to others which are mysterious and irremovable.

1863 Fremont, Ohio Messenger.

OCTOBER 30, 1923

The Negro Migration

Negro migration from the south to the north is variously accounted for, and there is difference of opinion as to the permanence of the movement. But the voluntary removal of 478,700 laborers from a dozen states in Dixie within the 12 months ended August 31 last is a phenomenon whose significance should be determined. As the nearly half a million migrants are described as laborers, the inference is the count applies only to the males who have sought new fields of activity. A fair assumption is that their removal will be followed by that of hundred of thousands of females and children, if this movement has not already begun in force.

The department of labor collected the figures of negro migration and its representatives sought also to find the meaning of it. Some southern spokesmen think it is a temporary manifestation of desire to profit from high wages in the north and that cold weather will drive most of the men "home" this winter. Others attribute it to restlessness and profess to believe that the migrants do not all come north but move from place to place in the south so that in reality the southern states are not losing their colored populations to appreciable extent

Never before has there been a greater disposition on the part of northern capitalists to invest in the south A new day has been awakening for the land below the Mason and Dixon line. An abundance of cheap labor has been one of the attractions for northern enterprise. This will fade, though, if that labor is driven out. And the great loss will fall on the south, which has no greater need than industrial development. Beginnings have been made on a large scale. They will come to an end if the conditions that have attracted are permitted to vanish. The south cannot afford to view with complacence the departure of its negro laborers. The fundamental cause of their removing in such large numbers should be ascertained and remedies applied. Unless this be done the development of the south will be retarded many years.

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE
SEPTEMBER 12, 1923

A JOB FOR NEGRO LEADERS.

Arthur M. Evans, who made a tour of the wheat country of the West last July to study the unrest there and the causes for it, went through the negro section of the South Side in Chicago last week to talk to negroes who left the South this year. He found many from the Greenville and Clarksdale regions of Mississippi. They are out of work and they hear the South "a'callin.'" They said higher wages had brought them North, but that they would rather live in the Yazoo delta. They receive much higher wages in Chicago, but the cost of living there is high and the temptations to spend money in dissolute living are numerous.

Mr. Evens then went to Mississippi to investigate. In the Gazette of yesterday he told some of the things he had learned since coming South. He found that negro farmhands in Mississippi have fuel for the hauling and can, by a minimum of labor, live on the fat of the land. They can have chickens, milk and vegetables that at Chicago prices would be beyond them, even if wages were twice as much as they are.

Yesterday a Little Rock business man received a letter from a negro who lived 47 years in the South. He left here a few months ago. This negro, T. E. Ellis, is well known to the negroes, and to many of the white people, of Little Rock. He has been in Chicago since he left this city and has investigated conditions among the negro migrants. He corroborates Mr. Evans. Ellis wrote:

Since I have been here I have observed that my people are taking more to worldly things. Poolrooms are open on the Lord's day, drink stands of all kinds, throwing dice and gambling, and moonshine made and sold in every nook and corner. You can go into almost any house and get a drink of moonshine whiskey.

In the South the negroes are taught to be religious and they live like people. I am forced to say that the South is the best place for my people. Up here they are living in damp basements, they are subjected to all kinds of diseases. Some of the old buildings are filled with gas fumes and in some of the two, three and four story buildings in alleys there is no air except what comes through windows. Thousands are living mixed—negroes in basements, Polaks on second floor, Mexicans on third.

Ellis says it is now difficult for negroes to get work in Chicago and that there are from 300 to 400 after every job. He concludes his letter with this:

Down home my people used to own cows, hogs, chickens, mules, horses and sheep, get plenty of fresh air and grow to be strong men, but I am afraid the life our people are living up here will wreck them and the coming generation.

The Gazette has said frequently, in discussing the exodus, that those negroes who desire to leave the South should be allowed to go unhampered. The migration is not now so much a matter for the white employer of negro labor as it is for negro leaders. Other labor can be, and is being, employed. Ellis, who is a preacher, has standing among his people here, and they will believe what he has written. Negro leaders might find it a good investment to send a commission of prominent members of their race to Chicago, and to other cities where Southern negroes are flocking, to investigate the conditions under which Southern negroes are living. If Ellis' statements are borne out it would be wise for the negro leaders of the North, as well as the South, to organize to keep negroes in the South. But it is a matter for negroes to handle. Already the planters, as Mr. Evans points out, are employing white farm hands from the hill country, who appreciate the possibilities of the fertile lands the negroes have left.

Some of the negroes who have gone North will return to the South, but the evils that Ellis found—the liquor and the gambling—will keep many of them there.

THE MANUFACTURERS' [illegible]CORD

Atlanta Independent

The Manufacturers' Record, published in Baltimore and edited by Richard H. Edmonds, is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, business or trade journals published in the world. The Record addresses itself most largely to the economic growth and expansion of the country in general, and particularly to manufacturing and business production in the South. As a rule this great trade journal is fair, and when it is not fair, it is no error of the heart, but grown out of the information upon which it acts.

In its discussion last week of the gradual return of Negroes South our esteemed contemporary is largely in error. In the first place its proposition that the Negroes are returning in appreciable numbers is erroneous, and the sources from which it gets its information are not authentic. Second, the reasons assigned for the gradual return of the Negro South, are the reason that forced him to go North, and he is not likely to return South until the conditions which force his exit are removed. 10-18-23

The Record sets up editorially that some of the industrial centers in the North to which the Negro migrated, have not received him with a cordial welcome, and cites the happening at Johnstown, Pa which is an exception to the rule of the cordiality by which the Negro has been received North. It is true that in some centers in the North the Negro is not wanted for economic reasons, and it is equally true that there are plenty places in the South from which Negroes have been driven and expelled from the community, for no other reason than one Negro was charged with crime. We have several counties in Georgia from which every Negro was driven five or more years ago and have not been permitted as yet to return. A white man is not even permitted to pass through one of these counties with a Negro chauffeur. Negroes have left these counties and gone North. Does the Record think that any man, black or white, who has been thus treated in his native home, will return from any place where he had been permitted to make bread, to a place where he was driven from with shot and shell?

There have been some outbreaks between the whites and blacks in the North, but it was among the lower strata of the whites, and instances have occurred and a plenty of them, in the South where a Negro could not find one white man in the county who would protect him in his home and the enjoyment of his life and his property.

There is a lot of talk in newspapers about Negroes returning from the North with tales of woe but in most cases they are manufactured, and we have a case in mind where the return of one Negro was repeated twice in the same

newspaper, in order to make an impression on Negroes who had not yet gone. Occasionally a worthless Negro, who was worthless in the South, migrated North and was worthless there, returned South. But as a rule, they have not returned and are not going to return. If the Record would follow up its observations, it would find that the Negroes are still going North by the hundreds and thousands. If the Negro should return to the South, as the Record predicts, he would find nobody in the country, white or black, to furnish him work or to give him bread. He would have remained here in the fields and on the farms if the white farmer had given him sustenance, but the white farmer is both unable and unwilling to divide his bread and opportunity with the Negro with the view of keeping him here.

The class of Negroes who have been migrating North, as a rule have been that class that works with the hands, who are used to looking to and depending upon themselves for sustenance. When in the South they did not look to the Southern white man for bread only as he earned it, and in the North, he has followed the same well-known policy. The white man in the South is no more in the habit of feeding idle, care free Negroes than the white man in the North is, and our neighbor mi understands the situation if it concludes.

Our problem is greatly aggr vated by the unwillingness of the white press to state the truth. As a rule, everything it says about the Negro is against him. He is not given credit for anything. The policy of the average daily paper is to hold him up to public ridicule and contempt and to parade his vices and obscure his virtues. He gets no credit for being a trustworthy, reliable labor factor; but is always decried and warned that he will be displaced by a set of motley foreigners who neither speak our language or invest a dollar among us after they earn it.

The South had just as well meet this question squarely and honestly. It is going to be driven to it. The Negro is not going to stay anywhere he is mistreated, denied the right to vote, circumscribed in his opportunity to make bread, and where he lives in a state of terrorism day and night. We desire to say to the Record that the Negroes are not returning. We live in Georgia, the state from which more Negroes have migrated than any other state. We have lost possibly 200,000 in the last two years, and they continue to go. We are about over the state every week, coming in contact with the Negroes in Georgia in church, society and other ways, and our observations are that they are going in alarming numbers and not returning in any community except for a visit or to gather their relatives and little holdings they left behind, with a view of taking them to the East North or West where every American can enjoy freedom of speech and the opportunity to make a dollar and live in a decent house and educate his children. The Southern farmer is just as much in the lurch in gathering time as he is in planting time, and is as much in need of Negroes to gather as he was to plant.

The reports upon which our contemporary based its editorial are not authentic. See editorial in another column.

CYRUS O FORUM
JUNE 6, 1923

THE NEGROES IN OUR COUNTRY

We have called attention before to the number of negroes from the southern states who have been moving north. This movement has been accelerated during the past year.

A South Carolina newspaper which has recently conducted an investigation commenting on this fact made this statement:

"It is generally accepted as a fact that at the present time the whites outnumber the negroes in South Carolina. This condition has not existed heretofore in perhaps a century."

The negroes constitute about one-tenth of our population. They know no other country, no other allegiance, and no other institution. They need care, they need direction, they need help. But with those things furnished them, there is a great future for them, and they are of a great help to America.

In a recent address Dr. Robert R. Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, said:

"In the sixty years that have followed since Emancipation, negroes in America have come into the possession of 22,000,000 of acres. The greater part of these holdings is in farm lands, of which the vast proportion are found in the southern states. Within recent years large numbers have migrated from the south into the industrial centers of the north, but it is still true, and will in all probability remain true hroughout the history of the nation, **that the negro population will remain largest in these southern states and that the same section will be, as it is today, the scene of the negro's greatest development.**"

Negro Situation Serious in Chicago

ANDERSON, S. C., Nov. 2.—Dr. J. R. Young, who recently returned from attending the convention of the College of Surgeons in Chicago, stated that the negro problem in Chicago was getting to be a very serious one. The hospitals had to make stringent rules in regard to taking negro patients, as soon as the cold weather came they began to be overrun with negro patients, so that now they only take the cases which are serious. One train load of negroes left Chicago for Memphis while Dr. Young was there.

LEAVING GA. AT RATE OF 1500 PER WEEK

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 20.—According to a report made by the State Department of Commerce and Labor, in spite of the inducement offered by the courts of Geoergia to give the colored people better treatment if they remain, they are still leaving for northern territory; and at the alarming rate of 1500 a week.

STILL A MIGRATION

There have been reports of late from the Chicago district and other Northern industrial centers of a large surplus of negro laborers caused by the thousands of negro emigrants from Southern states in the last few years. Many of them are idle with little prospects for employment, and warnings against further influx of negroes have been sent broadcast. Yet, in the face of all this, it is reported that there is in prospect a negro hegira from Georgia of 300,000, and that Georgians are making a careful study of the causes of this unrest with a view to relieving it, if possible. The South needs this labor, but the negroes need the present Southern opportunity still more.

It has lately become more apparent that reports of an acute labor shortage sent out by some of the big industrial interests of the North were propaganda with the purpose of obtaining an abundant supply of cheap, ignorant labor from Europe and other foreign countries which could easily be controlled as in former years, and with little or no thought of effects upon the standard of citizenship or the public welfare. Herein lies a national menace. The capacity of the great American melting-pot is limited. There has been an equally dangerous disregard of the industrial stability of this nation through these unprofitable migrations, unprofitable to industry and labor alike. A halt on this sort of thing would be beneficial.

The Negro in the North.

Again comes further proof that the best place for the negro is in the South among his friends. This time it is Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, where Pittsburg officers were called upon to prevent mistreatment of members of the negro race in Stowe township. Following the killing of a white man 70 years old and the wounding of his daughter last week by a negro who made his escape, all negroes of the community, most of whom are employed in the steel plants, were ordered to leave. Coming so closely upon the action in Johnstown, Penn., where nationwide attention was attracted to enforced exodus of negroes from that city, this incident would seem to represent the general attitude in that section.

It also goes to show that human nature is pretty much the same the country over, and that like reactions will be caused by like conditions and circumstances. Where work is not plentiful white men often take strenuous means to express their resentment at being supplanted in their jobs by members of a different race. The fundamental difference between the North and the South in this respect is that in the South the negro is not brought into that close and direct competition with the whites that largely prevails in Northern plants. In the South the negro's work is laid out for him. His tasks are such as do not interfere with those performed by whites. As a result both races have an understanding of their rights, and it is rare that race clashes in the South grow out of direct competitive conflict. It may take time for the negro to realize and appreciate this, just as it may require long experience for Northern labor agents to realize that it is bad economy to lure negroes away from the South for jobs hitherto occupied by whites. Many thousands of negroes have gone North but thousands of them are already returning.—*Birmingham Age-Herald*

COLORED WORKMAN SOUNDS WARNING

According to the Acipco News, of Birmingham, Ala., a colored workman sent in the following warning to his colored brethren about leaving home for the North:

"Friends, let me frankly speak unto you out of my heart and from my own experience and that is—this, we all ought to know that a lemon or orange or bonanor will not grow in the north because the climate is cold.

"An' we ought to realize that as we are southern raised people that we cannot—stand the northern states because a stream cannot get above its sorace. an every man ought to love his own home rather than else where for a bird can fly high but he hafter come down to get his food. an also remember that the Proticitle Son went away but instead of increasing his wealth he decreased and had to come home on account of starveashion so remember that an think before you speak on look—before you leap for fear you might leap in trouble an then it will be too late an remember that we will fine no heaven no where on earth we go."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement

THE BONE OF CONTENTION

SOME YEARS AGO when shipping by way of canals was popular the experiment was tried of manning a small boat completely with Colored help, the one exception being a white steward—so the story goes. The first day out the captain, to show his authority, ordered the steward to black his boots. When the steward indignantly refused the captain ordered some roustabouts to throw him overboard. While he was struggling in the water the captain loudly called: "Folkses what's workin' wid me come forth from de starboard an' larboard of dis here ship, cast your eye on de water an' dah view de enemy. My God, what a nation we is!"

WHICH BRINGS US TO THE POINT that we must be "some pumpkins" here in the United States, for the spotlight is constantly turned upon us. If "the best white citizens" of certain communities are not lynching one or more of our number we come in for a lashing either for remaining in a certain section and becoming a menace and a nuisance or leaving a certain section and causing financial loss and much mental discomfort. Just at present the press city authorities and the general public are trying to settle to their own satisfaction the question: Why are Negroes leaving he South in droves?

HERE ARE THE REASONS as expressed by a few newspapers. The Houston (Tex.) Post observes: "Georgia is bothered by migration of the Negroes, so to put a stop to this practice of the Negro looking for a better job somewhere else, one solon has introduced a bill making it a felony for any labor agent, licensed or unlicensed, to recruit labor in Georgia for out-of-the-state employment. The expansion of industry shall not affect Georgia. The influence of the growing demand for labor will be stopped at the Georgia line. The category of crime will be enlarged to encompass the offense of offering a Georgia citizen a better job outside the state."

"THE NEGRO goes North because unskilled labor is worth more there than it is in the South. He is governed by the same law that peopled the American colonies, for the greater part, and which today brings the immigrant to our gates," remarks the Atlanta Journal, while the Christian Science Monitor says: "He receives a wage of only $1.25 a day through middle Georgia. In the past the plantation owner have furnished him with a cabin to live in; every week he got as rations three pounds and a half of bacon and a peck of meal; he also usually had a little vegteable patch and could keep a cow. However, the bad crops of the last two years reduced the plantation owners' ability to finance such labor and eliminated the extras."

IN A FEW WORDS General J. P. Jervey, city manager of Portsmouth, Va., hits the nail on the head. He holds: "The question of labor, after all is an economic one, and Negroes, the same as white workmen, will go where financial returns and living conditions are best. It is a simple matter to keep them here. Only two things are needed—simple justice and better living conditions."

WE DO HOPE our white friends will get the matter adjusted as quickly as possible to their own satisfaction and have their minds as easy on the subject as ours are. We deeply appreciate the interest taken in our welfare and in our every movement, but there are other groups who go to make up our citizenry also worthy of attention, and we would be the last ones in the world to deprive them of such marked attention. We have had the center of the stage quite long enough; permit us to make at least a temporary exit.

Chicago Defender
9-1-23

COTTON OR THE NEGRO—WHICH?

The New York Herald is greatly disturbed over the migration, and says it "should alarm all who are interested in cotton whether they wear it or sell it." Lamenting that both the North and South are being hurt the Herald says:

> The remedy for the evil is simple, but there is no sign that Congress will apply it. Even the Southern members are reported to be afraid of amending the immigration law to admit the European labor that the North needs. The labor organizations want the bars kept up and the politicians are afraid to buck them. The result of the present law is high rents and high prices generally. In the South, where many plantations have had to reduce their cotton crops a great industry may be permanently injured. Until the immigration law is made sane both the North and South will suffer.

No conclusion can be reached from the Herald's line of reason other than Mr. Munsey, Yankee born, a capitalist and a prominent figure in the Republican Party; is more in favor of aliens settling in the North than the American Negro. "Bring in the illiterate laborer from Europe, but keep on the plantations down South natives who also seek industrial freedom," is the sentiment expressed in Mr. Munsey's editorial.

N. Y. Age
11-24-23

Thousands of Europeans want to get into this country to better their economic status. The New York Herald wants to help them realize this ambition; but it opposes the movement of full-fledged American citizens to settle in the North not only to better themselves economically but to escape from lynchings, Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement and rank racial discrimination.

Instead of the Herald indulging in a lot of silly talk about the Southern Negro going into "a region where the climate is not suited to him," and urging the amendment of immigration laws to admit Europeans by the boatloads, would it not be more timely, certainly more effective, if the South were told in plain language just what it must do to keep its Negro citizens from deserting that section?

Even the ingenuous scheme advocated by the Herald to keep the Negro on the plantation would fail for the source of discontent among Negroes is in Dixie. What would the flooding of the North with aliens have to do with keeping the persecuted and poorly-paid Negro on the plantation?

Not one word of protest was heard from Mr. Munsey when thousands of Negroes were drafted and either brought North or sent to France to uphold the honor and integrity of this country to fight for democracy, but now he should remain in a section of the country where wages are notoriously low, stand untold abuse because of his color, while immigrants are brought to this country to take advantage of big wages offered by Northern industrial plants and vested with full citizenship.

We ask Mr. Munsey, is he more concerned in cotton than he is the Negro?

MEMPHIS, TENN. Com'l-Appeal
DEC 3 - 1923

NEGRO FAMILIES COME SOUTH WITH I. C. AGENT

247 Families Leave Chicago Today for Mi...

Southern Press Clipping Bureau Chandler Bldg
June 24

INAUGUR...

R. J. Carm... General Passenger ... for Illinois Central, Sta... Plan to Return Negroes Southward.

The first big contingent of a concerted movement southward starts today from Chicago when R. J. Carmichael, assistant general passenger agent for the Illinois Central and Yazoo & Mississippi Valley railroads, loads 247 negro families on a special train destined for various Mississippi plantations.

This trainload will reach Memphis early Monday morning in charge of representatives of several Mississippi planters and railroad men who have worked with Mr. Carmichael in fostering the movement southward.

More than two months ago Mr. Carmichael conceived the idea of returning to the south some of the negroes who traveled north in search of work at high wages. He made a survey of the situation in Chicago and learned that more than 17,000 negro men and women were out of employment and would face the bitter cold of the winter months, depending upon charity, unless they returned to the south.

Following his survey and acting upon the idea he had conceived, Mr. Carmichael prepared and forwarded to agents of the Illinois Central and Y. & M. V. railroads in Mississippi questionnaires. These questionnaires when filled in by planters and plantation owners supplied him with the necessary data and the real work started.

Copies of these questionnaires were printed in The Commercial Appeal and the idea as worked out by Mr. Carmichael was helped along by this newspaper as much as possible. As the days passed by more questionnaires were received and correspondence followed with the planters who evinced an interest in the matter.

Mr. Carmichael maintaind his connection with various organizations in Chicago interested in the welfare of the negroes there and started plans for the first big movement southward. Meantime large numbers of negroes, disillusioned at the tales of fabulous wages paid in the north, learned that the labor markets there were flooded, and those who were able in many instances returned to the south of their own volition.

The regular passenger train from Chicago yesterday brought more than 200 negroes from the Windy City. These negroes had saved enough money to return south without appealing for outside assistance and represents an independent movement.

Mr. Carmichael left Memphis Friday for Chicago to arrange for the first of a series of special trains that will bring negroes to the south for work on plantations. This train will have on board 247 negro families, selected to fill the special requirements of various southern planters and plantation owners.

To To Work On Arrival.

The train will leave Chicago late today and will pass through Memphis early tomorrow morning. The negroes on board the train come to the south with their railroad fare paid and with jobs awaiting them at various points in Mississippi. In many instances they will return to communities from which they migrated during the general exodus to the north.

"With the right kind of co-operation from those who are in need of negro labor, I will be able, I believe, to supply those planters who want negro families to carry on properly the business of the southern plantations," Mr. Carmichael said before leaving for Chicago.

"Owing to conditions in the north, with the labor market flooded, and the disposition of certain organizations to have these negro men and women returned south, I believe I will be able to supply all demands and that in a comparatively short time the south will have recovered many of the negro laborers which it lost when there was a general exodus north."

Since Mr. Carmichael started his campaign two months ago, he has had responses not only from southern planters in need of labor but has had letters from heads of various welfare organizations in the east, requesting him to extend his activities to eastern cities as well as to Chicago.

Baltimore Asks Aid.

Rev. John W. Patterson, supervising president of the Bible Society, Inc., of Baltimore, Md., wrote to Mr. Carmichael early last month, urging that the latter's activities be extended to Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and the east generally. This letter explains fully the situation so far as negro labor is concerned in the east and shows the acuteness of the situation. The letter follows:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 14, 1923.
Mr. R. J. Carmichael,
General Passenger Agent,
The Illinois Central R. Rd.,
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Sir:

I have had my attention called to your kind activities in trying to make it possible to give colored people employment in the southland. We wish to extend to you our most sincere thanks for the kind consideration and interest you are taking in these poor people.

Many colored people are out of work, up into the many thousands, in the city of Baltimore, Md., in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa.,

and the east. The situation has become so alarming that I very recently called the attention of the president of the United States to it.

Now will you kindly advice whether you can employ for some of the unemployed colored people in this section, that we may co-operate with you in relieving these people to some extent at least.

With very great desire to hear from you, we await your early reply, and beg to remain,

Yours very truly,
JOHN W. PATTERSON, (Rev.)
Supervising President.

Mr. Carmichael has gathered from his activities that charitable oragnizations in the north and east anticipate a rather acute situation there during the winter months unless some steps are taken to return some of the idle negroes to the south and for that reason they are co-operating to the fullest extent with the campaign originated by Mr. Carmichael.

Aside from the individual acts of negroes in the north in returning to the south, Mr. Carmichael expects this first trainload of negro families to serve only as a starter for a tremendous movement originating in Chicago and possibly extending to eastern cities in which solid trainloads of negroes will return to the southern farms to be received gladly by farm and plantation owners and a resultant relief of the serious labor shortage that handicapped the south throughout the recent cotton season.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
TIMES NOV 6-19

NEGROES DRIVEN AWAY BY HOUSING CONDITIONS

Officials of the health department are inclined strongly to the belief that feegrabbing is not the only cause for the exodus of negroes from Chattanooga, declaring that bad housing is another prime reason for the dislike manifested by colored laboring people for this city.

The department, declared one of the officials yesterday, is doing everything in its power to remove this cause, by requiring owners of rental property to put the houses in good condition. Every inspector has instructions to make a fine tooth comb search of his district for houses that are so badly in need of repairs or changes in sanitary facilities as to render them unsuitable for human habitation. Notices have been served on property owners recently concerning a number of houses, and at the expiration of the time allowed for compliance, reinspections will show whether the owners are obeying the ordinance or whether other steps by the authorities will have to be taken.

Houses owned by Carl White, located at 818, 822 and 824 East Twenty-third street, were found by inspectors to have leaky roofs, windows and inside walls in bad repair. At 354 and 356, on the same street, houses owned by Will Smedley had roofs so leaky that repairs are essential. Still another house, at 315 East Twenty-fifth street, J. W. Wagner owner, was shown on the inspector's report as being really fit only for demolishing, but he is being given a chance to repair if he desires. Otherwise the matter will be referred to the condemnation board. The houses at 2300 and 2302 Baldwin street, also owned by Mr. Wagner, were found to have leaky roofs.

GREENSBORO N C NEWS
OCTOBER 14, 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

Editor of The Daily News:

What I am going to say regarding the migration of the negro from the south does not apply to North Carolina so much at the present, as the movement from this state is negligible, when compared to that from states further south.

And furthermore, from what I have been enabled to learn by inquiry and investigation I am advised that hundreds of negroes have left the state solely for the purpose of taking advantage of the higher wages in the north and they intend to return home to their families, when cold weather sets in up there.

They have not yet pulled up the stakes, burnt the bridges behind them, and gone elsewhere to live permanently.

Moreover, they will not do so, so long as they are given a chance to enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" along with other humans, by being safeguarded from mob violence, low wages, poor housing conditions and inferior educational accommodations.

A similar guarantee, however, cannot be assumed for other members of the race in some states farther south, for the reason that they have not received, as a mass, the humane treatment and consideration accorded the negro in the Old North state.

The above assertion is not intended to convey the impression that North Carolina is a perfect paradise for the negro, notwithstanding the reason, as given me by one migrant for moving from South Carolina into the state last spring was that he had heard it was "God's country."

The black man loves the sunny climes of the south, for that is his natural habitat and he would prefer to live and die there, if social and economic conditions were more tolerable.

On the other hand, however, he loves liberty and fair play much better than life.

Occasionally, when in conversation with a southern migrant as to why he left the south, would intimate by asking the question, "Aren't you afraid it will be too cold for you in this part of the country?" Without hesitating, he would reply, "No, my God, I'd rather take my chance of freezing to death up here, than run the risk of being roasted alive, tied to a stake down south."

The southern white man holds the remedy for this migration. And if he is going to permit his selfishness and his prejudices to obstruct his plain duty in the premises, in the end he will be the loser. A case in point as to how the man-power of the south is being lost, I need only name the state of Georgia, from which during the past three years over 200,000 negroes have left, not to count the hundreds of thousands that have gone for good from other southern states.

According to figures, recently released by James S. Peters, president of the Georgia Bankers' association and also an authority on economics conditions, the following news item appeared a few days ago in an Atlanta paper:

"According to a survey made by Mr. James S. Peters of Manchester, Ga., president of the Georgia Bankers' association, the loss this year to Georgia alone, through the migration of negroes, will approximate the huge sum of $27,000,000 or an amount that would have permitted the expenditure by the state of nearly $175,000 for colored schools in each of the 155 counties. Mr. Peters claims that in the wake of the departing negroes 46,674 vacant farm houses and 55,524 plows are left."

With the exception of a few hundred stragglers and loafers here and there, the thousands of negroes, who have left the south and tasted the sweets of real manhood in the various places to which they have gone, will never willingly return to the semi-slavery, which prevails in some sections of his much beloved "Dixie land."

They are gradually finding new and permanent homes elsewhere; and in the meanwhile, there still rings in their ears the good old plantation melody:

"No more, no more, my Lord,
I'll never turn back no more."

Moreover, excepting the loafers, the great majority of the migrants are finding opportunities open to them to become useful and they are taking advantage of it, thanks to the late world war and the restricted immigration laws, the result of it; so that it cannot now be truthfully said, as was wont to be said before the late war, that the south is the only place where the negro can find a chance to work at his trade or anything else.

In corroboration of the above statement, I subjoin the following editorial, appearing in the Minneapolis Journal, September 26:

"SKILLED WORKERS AMONG NEGROES."

"In studying the extensive migration of negroes northward, the department of labor is surprised to find so many skilled hands among them. In the past year Georgia has lost 32,000 negro workers, South Carolina more than 22,000 and Arkansas 15,000. Of all negroes taken on the payrolls of northern factories and industrial plants, the department of labor finds that 38.57 per cent are skilled workers.

"This fact speaks well for the colored people. Many of them have evidently taken to heart the advice of such leaders as Booker T. Washington and have fitted themselves for places as trained workers. In the north they have found openings in such lines as steel, iron, leather, machinery, tobacco, automobiles, cement, paper, rubber and glass.

"Not long ago, when Judge Gary complained of a shortage of help in the steel mills, he was asked by a negro leader why he didn't employ more colored help. It is a fair question, for it points one way for industrial managers to avoid a shortage of help without resort to cheap foreign labor and by better distribution of the hands that are available.

"There is undoubtedly a growing field for the colored man in this country both in skilled and unskilled employment, and there is likely to be, so long as immigration is closely restricted. By preparing himself for a definite place in the industrial order, the negro advantages himself and helps the nation to solve one of its pressing problems in the best way."

CHAS. H. MOORE.

Greensboro.

NEGRO MIGRANTS TO NORTH WOULD RETURN

Employment Agency Reports Hundreds Are Idle.

WEST POINT, Miss., Nov. 30.—For several years the farmers of this section have been troubled a great deal over the migration of the negroes to the north, causing them a great deal of inconvenience, and a change in their general mode of operating their farms.

It would seem now that the shoe is about to be placed on the other foot, and Mr. Negro will have to suffer for the inconvenience which he has caused. The following letter, which has just been received by Jesse L. Felger, a planter living in the western part of the county:

"Dear Sir—Am in receipt of your letter of Nov. 24, 1923, in regard to supplying you with first-class negro labor, such as families and farm hands. We have no less than 200 families who recently came up here from Mississippi looking for high wages and good places who are now willing to return home at once.

"The work in Chicago is very dull, they cannot get any work to do, and they will be more than too glad to return home, and if you will send a representative here I will guarantee you that I will get you 200 good families who we realize will give good service and will be satisfied in going back home, and I shall look for you at your earliest convenience. Respectfully yours,

"GOLDEN STAR EMPLOYMENT AGENCY,
E. M. MORRIS, Prop."

Mr. Felger thinks that he will send an agent for the negroes, as he has a great deal of swamp land to clear and put into cultivation. The desire of the negroes to come back to Clay County is not meeting with a great deal of favor here, due to the fact that since their departure the lands that were once in cotton are now in hay meadows and pasture which pay a great deal better than any other kind of farming.

THE MISTAKE OF THE NEGRO.

Will the negroes who have gone from the south this year to northern industrial centers return when they find that northern winters are not like those of the south, and that their lot in the north in cold weather will be one of suffering? Agriculturists have expressed the belief, in discussing the subject, that great numbers of negroes who have been led by promise of high wages and social equality to leave their homes in the south, will return when extreme cold weather really sets in. The southern negro is poorly equipped to stand cold weather. Even such cold weather as comes to the south causes much suffering among them, for they fail generally to make preparations for winter and many are found to be without food, clothing or fuel when winter is at its worst. In the north, it is asserted, pursuing the same tactics they do in the south, the negroes must of necessity have a very hard time during the severe winter. Some southern agriculturists are telling the labor department at Washington that the winter months will probably see large numbers of these negro emigrants returning. Local conditions in some southern communities unquestionably contributed to some of the negroes leaving the south, but the chief reason for the exodus was not so much discontent with their lot here as the lure of high wages and more equality. That they have found the promise false and are facing the problem of existing under conditions far more unfavorable than they ever faced in the south is the penalty they are paying for their unfortunate move.—Vicksburg (Miss.) Herald.

SOCIAL CENTER PREVENTS NEGRO EXODUS TO NORTH

Plantation Community Project Keeps 1000 Workers Contented.

Clarksdale, Miss., Dec. 1.—Although 1000 negroes are employed on the Matagorda plantation in this county near Jonestown, not one of them has been lured to the North in the last year by rosy pictures of a land of milk and honey. Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Hood, the owners, have solved the labor problem on their 4200 acres of land by providing a community center, good homes and schools. The negroes are contented and do not want to leave. During the last year a few have been expelled, owing to bad behavior but not one has left of his own accord. Some of the negroes have resided on this place for fifty years.

The contentment of the negroes is explained in the personal interest in their welfare which is taken by the owners. Several months ago a community center was erected on the plantation. It provides a gathering place for all meetings, a dance hall; is equipped with a moving picture machine, and radio. The community center is operated by the negroes, who are responsible for its success, but it is supervised by Mr. and Mrs. Hood.

A moving picture show is operated each night. An admission of 5 and 10 cents is charged to defray the expenses of films. Each Saturday night following the picture show, a dance takes place. Music is supplied by the Matagorda orchestra, composed of the best musicians the plantation affords.

In addition to educational pictures that are shown, Mr. and Mrs. Hood provide noted negro speakers from a distance. Yesterday Wallace Battle, president of the Okolona Industrial school addressed an audience of 600. He told the negroes they owed the white men loyalty and a full day's work. He said it was the white man's duty under the law to provide good homes, schools and protection.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

GIST GIVES INTERESTING FACTS AND FIGURES ON MIGRATION MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN NEGRO NORTH

The Manufacturer Monticello, Ark.

Result Special Survey Throughout Cotton Season Given by Statistician

Advertiser

BY E. W. GIST
Agricultural Statistician

If one could be so genuinely impressed by all the discusion going on relative to negro migration at the present moment, one would feel that another Exodus were about to be written and that another race were about to move bodily from its former habitat to some other new and untried country.

Every conceivable type of newspaper and newspaper writer in this country has within recent weeks and months discussed this subject. The south has been deluged with inquiries, official and unofficial, seeking to determine the volume of the movement of the negro from his former dwelling place and the reasons which are inducing the migration. Sometime ago the governor received such an inquiry from a southern newspaper; then the secretary of state has been circularized by anxious inquirers from several directions; the commissioner of agriculture has had many such questionaires, and other sources of information have been sought.

8-13-23

Most of these have been referred to the agricultural statistician, evidently in the belief that he must know all about it. Not only have all sorts of newspapers from all sections of the country made diligent inquiry, but many special writers have joined the search for knowledge.

Doubtless most of these inquiries were suggested by a real desire to find the facts and to correlate them with economic probabilities relating to southern conditions and especially to cotton production. Some of the intense seeking after understanding, however, is understood as a mere desire to write and sell a story. Between the two the subject has come in for really more discussion than its importance warrants.

Migration of Negro

Fortunately at the beginning of this crop season, and at the beginning of the discussion of this question of negro migration and its possible effect on the 1923 crop, the statistical service of the government made a practical inquiry into and a study of the movement. Also careful attention has been given to other such movements in the past and the service, through its state representatives on the ground, is in position to speak more or less authoritatively and with some degree of accuracy. Since these inquiries are continuing, with apparent unsatisfied desire for the facts, it has occurred to the writer to again give the public a plain statement of facts together with some evident correlary motives and probable results largely in the hope that ia may serve as one answer to all anxious inquirers.

Special Survey

The special survey on this subject made about the first of last April, was reported from the Washington office in the following language:

A general movement of southern negro farmers to northern industrial centers is indicated in a special survey of southern farming districts made by the United States Department of Agriculture. The survey throws additional light on farm population figures recently issued by the department, showing a net movement from farms to towns and cities of 324,000 persons, including men, women, and children in the South Atlantic states in 1922.

High industrial wages is given as the chief reason for the reported migration. Boll-weevil conditions last year, which made cotton growing unprofitable for a number of negro famers, unrest among returning negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from farms during and after the war, and breakdown of the contract labor system are given as contributory causes.

Approximately 13 per cent or 32,000 persons of the total number of negro farm hands or laborers in Georgia have moved North during the past 12 months, the report shows. The movement goes on, although crops for the present season are already started. A large abandonment of acreage is reported, and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season. The situation in Georgia is much worse than is generally realized, the report says.

The movement from South Carolina since September 15, 1922, is placed at about 22,750 negroes, or about 3 per cent of the total negro farmer population. The movement from Florida is estimated at about 2 per cent of negroes living in or near farming communities.

From Alabama comes the report that approximately 3 1-2 per cent of the whole body of negro farm workers have moved North since the last crop season. Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 negro farmers, or lation. Movement from Kentucky has about 3 1-2 per cent of the negro popubeen very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina, and Oklahoma no movement is reported. Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent of the total number of farm hands. Tennessee a movement of about 4,50 negroe farmers since April 7, 1922. The farm labor situation in Texas apparently is not as serious as in the Eastern cotton states.

Of the 324,000 persons referred to above as having migrated from the farms of the south in 1922, which includes both white and black, about one-fourth only were actual workers, the remainder benig women and children not working. Some 75,000 persons were found to have gone back to the farm, leaving a net loss of workers of about 65,000. The movement of negroes shown in the report quoted above had continued on until the time of making the inquiry around the first of April, and seems to have been somewhere near 6 per cent of the negro farm population leaving southern farms since the last crop harvest. In addition perhaps an equal number left the farm for industrial work within the respective states. In Alabama this number was in excess of those going to other states, due to the existence of a tempting industrial area around the Birmingham district.

Confining ourselves, however, to the exodus of the negro, concerning which much interest has been manifested and much propaganda has been scattered abroad, at this time it is entirely feasible to determine what effect the movement has had on farm conditions. The negro farmer is a grower of cotton and corn almost exclusively. In those states where the report quoted above shows any material loss of negroes from the farms the following statement shows the combined acreage planted to corn and cotton the present season as compared with that grown in 1922:

	1922	1923	Increase or Decrease
Alabama ..	6,448,000	6,477,000	25,000
Arkansas ..	5,194,000	5,140.000	—54,000
Florida ..	874,000	959,000	85,000
Georgia ..	7,851,000	7,961,000	110,000
Louisiana	2,891,000	2,920,000	29,000
Miss. ..	5,996,000	5,833,000	—163,000
S. C.	4,120,000	4,029,000	—91,000
Tennessee .	4,287,000	4,281,000	6,000
Virginia ..	1,927,000	1,930,000	—27,000
Texas	17,854,000	18,947,000	1,093,000
Total..	57,472,000	58,477,000	1,005,000

Gain Shown in Georgia

The only material loss in crop acreage, as measured by the two crops which the negro deals in to any extent at any time, is seen in Mississippi and South Carolina, in the former of which a loss of 2.7 per cent in total area planted was experienced and in the latter disclosing a loss of about 2.5 per cent.

In Georgia, where the movement was said to be the most serious, an actual gain of about 1.5 per cent in total area planted is shown, and in Arkansas, where a movement of 3.5 per cent of the negro was found, a loss of only a little over 1 per cent occurred in the two crops. Alabama shows a slight gain and Louisiana a gain of about 1.0 per cent, while Texas comes forward with a gain of 6 per cent. An aggregate gain of slightly less than 2.0 per cent is shown for the entire area from which any movement of negroes was disclosed. Most recent reports indicate that this acreage is in a fair state of cultivation, with nothing worrying the farmer except the probability of weevil damage. The latter could not be expected to be dissipated if all the negroes that ever came into existence were back on the southern farms; in fact, if the weevil knows how to pray, he is doubtless petitioning whatever gods he looks to for the negroes to come back so that he may have a better chance for existence.

Since the facts at hand settle the question as to what effect the negro migration has already had on southern farm economy, and it is apparent that such effect has been at most negligible, we are thrown back on the purely academic phase of the discussion. Of course the absence of the negro, in what ever volume such absence may exist, may have more effect on the situation at harvest time. What that shall amount to will depend upon the size of the crop and the weather during the harvest season. We have seen a few crops damaged but none lost for lack of harvest hands; somehow it usually finds its way to market before the next planting time.

Same Loss Shown

It is idle to deny that the exodus of negroes has brought some serious loss to individuals. Some large landowners dependent upon negro tenants for the occupancy and cultivation of their lands, have doubtless had to see them lie idle and brings no rents; others have had to curttail their operations. To these individuals the conditions are of course serious; but no question embodying national or sectional economy can be measured by its individual importance.

When the effects of any such condition as this are negligible to the body politic, the individual must solve his own personal problems. Neither the government nor the state nor society may properly lend its offices to the solution of a problem which is purely individual and spasmodically so. If one has large areas of land which has been utilized by negro tenants, and those tenants see fit to move off to other fields of labor, some other disposition must be made of those lands as will solve the personal problem involved. If other lands have been thrown into the breach by other workers, as appears to be the case at present, the interests of the community have been served and the individual has been simply left to find his own remedy. This may be a cold-blooded view to the individual concerned; but the same course is pursued in all other lines of human activity. The merchant, the iron maker, the banker, the miner who can not find labor to produce when production is being accomplished by others, is merely left at the post.

In these columns, on May 13, the writer discussed this question from a purely statistical point of view. The data given at that time disclosed: (1) That the natural increase by the excess of births over deaths of the negro had fallen from an average ratio of 19.3 per cent from 1860 to 1900 to a ratio of 11.2 for the period of 1900 to 1910 and to 6.5 per cent in the period of 1910 to 1920; (2) that the migration of the negro from the south to other sections of the country had amounted to about 382,000 from 1860 to 1910 and to about 525,000 during the period of 1910-1920, the two figures representing net loss by migration; (3) that the movement from country to city within the southern states during the latter period had amounted to about 705,000; (4) that we still had with us in 1920 more than twice as many negroes as we had in 1860; (5) and closed with the conclusion that negro migration, both to other sections and to the local cities had proven much more disastrous to the negro as a race, in the loss of his producing power, than to the economy of southern agriculture or southern industry.

To these facts we would like to add what was disclosed by the census of 1910 that the migration of the negro, both intersectional and intersouthern up to that time had been in almost exactly the same ratio as native white migration during the same length of time. At the date of the 1910 census of all the negroes living in the Southern states, 1,460,000 were found in states other than those of their birth; at the same time 4,280,000 of the total population had likewise migrated. The ratio of the two figures to each other is almost exactly the same as the ratio of the negro to total population in the Southern states.

Therefore to that date migration is shown to be an individual and not a racial movement. While the figures are not at hand for the last ten year period, it is admissible that the negro has moved more freely than the native whites. Prior to 1910 the negro moved from Northern states more freely than from Southern; it is altogether likely that he is still doing so. The free negro during slavery times moved in the same way, back and forth from state to state; now that they are all free to come and go, they have the same roving disposition which attaches to all unsuccessful and consequently dissatisfied human beings.

Stimulated Recently.

If, as is probably true, negro migration has been stimulated in recent years and still more recent months, about the only thing left to reason about is the cause and the probable effect on the negro, since it is already apparent that the effect on local Southern economy is negligible. A great many writers have suggested a great many reasons for the increased unrest among the negro as a class, assuming that it is apparent as a class. The advent of the boll weevil into the cotton fields; discontent born of a wider view of life while in the army at home and abroad; the breaking down of labor contract systems in the South; and high wages in industrial pursuits are the chief reasons advanced.

It may well be admitted that the weevil was the first factor to start a renewed disposition to move from the farms. This is borne out by the fact which has been shown, that the increased movement started even before the world war and the beginning of high wages in public works. The first effect of the weevil in all sections has been to disturb such credit systems as existed in cotton states; it has been quickly discovered that under weevil infestation old methods of culture and old cropping systems were inefficient; it has become rapidly apparent that brawn must be backed with brain to grow cotton inspite of the weevil. None of these changes has found ready response among negro farmers, and consequently they

have failed to grow cotton successfully with the weevil unless directed by close white supervision. It had become quite the custom in many sections to give the negro tenant a mule and 25 acres of land, arrange for somewhat meagre credit for supplies, leave him to grow cotton as he would, and collect from him at harvest the rent for the land and the store bill. Wherever he failed to produce enough to pay, and in too many instances was this true, he collapsed as a farmer. Being accustomed to that method, he did not take readily to working as a hired hand, if indeed the landlord desired to work him that way. So that, with a reduced yield, a price was necessary to bring the necessary aggregate income which, except under stress of very high price levels, could not obtain. Consequently he began to fall away from his former occupation and seek other habitations.

Glare of White Way.

The negro was perhaps no more affected by the glare of the white ways which he first saw during the war than the young white man from the farm. Undoubtedly many of them were induced to seek employment in the cities from motives of pleasure seeking, but this reason has always obtained and has drawn many white men away from the farm. Living conditions, as relating to housing and feeding, are not to be considered seriously as a controlling factor; for the reason that in the negro districts in most cities living conditions per se are not superior from the standpoint of comfort and sanitation to those of the farm. There may be a more pretentious house to live in than the old cabin home, but an examination of the two will impress most people that the farm cabin is much more conducive to a long and peaceful life.

The peculiar psychology in which the negro is grounded perhaps makes the possession of cash to spend an inducement, but so it is to many white youths as well. Various desires are more easily satisfied in the city which appeals strongly to most negroes and, unfortunately, to some whites as well. Altogether, it is hardly true that the cities as such have drawn more negroes than whites from the farm; in fact, all available data confirms this view.

The contractural relations of the negro tenant to the landlord in the South have not been consistent with the views of a great many people, and yet without them agriculture could not have arisen out of the ashes of slavery. The negro, who had been property himself, when freed had nothing except his land and what it would probably produce.

Upon the contractual relations of the two was built the credit of the South after the Civil war. With that credit a great section was rehabilitated and became a powerful factor in our national wealth. The relation of landlord and tenant has never been ideal for either one of the other of the parties. With a more dependable credit system, such as is now widely enjoyed, the farm worker should be either a long term tenant or a hired laborer as his capacity makes wise. The negro, largely a creature of habit, refuses to be a hired hand on the farm. When he fails as a farmer he quits the business. In this way the change of labor methods has influenced the migration of many negroes from the farm, and not, as many believe, because of any peculiar viciousness inherent in the labor contract as practised in some Southern sections.

High Wages Attract.

High wages in industrial pursuits has drawn many negroes from Southern farms, and many more whites as well. Whether such temptation will keep them away remains to be seen. With high rents to pay, costly fuel to buy, table expenses to be paid out of the weekly wage, and many other tills open for the daily earnings, the negro may find the flame not worth the candle. It is of course his privilege to work where he pleases; he will probably please to work where he thinks he gets the better returns.

So far as Alabama is concerned, the reasons whatever they are, are merely academic. The negro migration so far has not curtailed the cultivated acreage, and the community is no worse off. The future may disclose that it has been a good thing for all concerned, except the negro himself. We have pointed out before that life in the city has raised his death rate and lowered his birth rate until only a couple hundred years will see his extinction unless he comes back to his natural habitat on the Southern farm. As far back as 1860 a statistician of the United States census pointed out the excessive death rate of the free negroes in Boston and Philadelphia and Providence.

Some few writers are still attempting to bring to the fore the lack of equal rights activities of the Ku Klux Klan lynchings, and like causes for negro migration. If space writers can find a market for such rot, let them enjoy the proceeds. Those are subjects which no intelligent writer familiar with existing conditions will discuss. The migration has not been so great in volume as to be of serious moment as yet to Southern agriculture as an economic system; individual damage is an individual problem; the reasons constitute a problem which belongs to the negro; the results must be borne by him. Why talk any more about it?

NEGRO LEADER TO SPEAK.

MARION, Ark., Aug. 31.—Rev. J. M. Williamson, president of the National Rural Industrial Association, an organization to spread thrift among the negroes and to bring about a better understanding between the white and negro races, will speak here Sept. 4 at 8 o'clock. The Rev. Williamson comes to Crittenden County well recommended by the Mississippi Chamber of Commerce and leading bankers of that state. It is stated that the association has accomplished much among the negroes in the south. He points out to them the folly of listening to labor agents from the north.

SPRINGFIELD MASS. REPUBLICAN
JULY 11, 1923

IMMIGRATION OF SOUTHERN NEGRO NOT FELT HERE

Springfield's Industries Not Affected and State Employment Bureau Reports Few Applicants For Work

The exodus of hundreds of thousands of unskilled Negro laborers from southern states, which is reported as having brought about "appalling" conditions of labor surplus and housing shortage in industrial centers of the mid-West and in Philadelphia, has been without noticeable effect in Springfield.

The Negro has apparently passed New England by in his rush direct to the center of industrial development In Springfield among the 75 men a day who seek jobs at the State Free Employment agency, not more than two are Negroes and they are familiar faces there.

The Chamber of Commerce hasn't any indication of a recent large Negro influx. Springfield's industries haven't felt it. Rev William N. DeBerry says there hasn't been any. For the four years before 1921, he says, a survey showed about 1000 Negroes were newcomers to Springfield. There has been a steady immigration since, but the movement has not been accelerated above the war-time trend

THE NEGRO MOVES NORTHWARD

13% of Georgia's Negro Farmers Move To Industrial Cities In Twelve Months Says Department Of Agriculture

A special survey of farming districts in the Southern states made by the Department of Agriculture indicates a continuance of the general movement of the Southern Negro farmers to Northern industrial centers. For instance: it is estimated that 13 per cent, or 32,000 of the total number of Negro farm hands of Georgia, have moved North during the past twelve months, and that the movement continues even in the midst of the planting season. Somewhat similar estimates come from the farming sections of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas; and still smaller, though important movements are noticeable from Kentucky, Louisiana and Tennessee.

Unprofitable cotton growing due to boll weevil, conditions of unrest among Negro troops who experienced more attractive living conditions away from the farms following the war, and the break-down of the contract labor system, are cited by the Department of Agriculture as contributary cause of this new migration.

There has just been issued by the Committee on Conservation and Advance of the Methodist Episcopal Church a steropticon lecture dealing with the causes and results of this movement of Negroes away from their Southern farms, and also indicating the means which can be taken to arrest an exodus which threatens the entire agricultural life of several states. The lecture is entitled "The Negro in the Rural South" and may be obtained free of charge from any of the Area offices of the church.

The lecture shows the great development in education, in culture, and in economic and social standing of the Negroes since 1866. It shows the passing of the old log cabin home, of the log school house and of the dingy unattractive cabin church. The new and modern homes and schools and churches, including colleges and universities, are pictured on the screen. There is shown the program of the Methodist Episcopal Church for providing adequate church biuldings, well trained pastors, community houses, visiting nurses and social welfare workers for the Negro peoples in the rural sections of the South. Only the development of such a program can check the migration movement which must prove disastrous to Southern agriculture.

A companion lecture entitled "The Negro in the City" treats of the new conditions of housing, of sanitation, of health, of church, and of school, which the Negro meets away from the farm and in the modern industrial cities. Here, too, is shown Methodism's program for the development of the race under these new conditions of living.

out of the South.

Mr DeBerry is ready to substantiate the reports of a great flood of Negroes to northern cities, however. They are seizing the present industrial opportunity to escape injustice, disenfranchisement, lack of educational advantages, poverty and violence, he says. He puts lynching at the head of the causes that are driving the Negro out of the South. He believes that despite temporary crowding in some cities, the newcomers are finding the opportunity they left the South to seek.

JUL 17 1923

Advises Negroes To Remain South

Bristol, Va.-Tenn., July 17—Declaring that "the south is the best place in the world for the negro," Prince Madarikan Deniyi, of Lagos West Africa, in an address here last night urged southern negroes to turn a deaf ear to advice that would cause them to migrate to the north.

"In the north," the prince said, "the negro finds more tribulation than hospitality and favor. Don't bite the hand that feeds you. Many of those who pose as your friends and induce you to move to the north, get $2 per head for the negroes who act upon their advice. Many of the black suckers who went north with promises of better conditions have returned to their homes in the south disillusioned."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

READING PA xxxx TRIBUNE
APRIL 25, 1923

THE AWAKENING SOUTH

Ever since the Civil War the South has been so accustomed to its Negro labor that it could not conceive of a substitute. The farmers and factory owners looked upon the race as an attachment to the ground and they therefore were indifferent in their attitude toward it. The Negroes suffered all sorts of indignities; they were bullied at every cross roads and lynched for the slightest provocation.

The war taught the Negroes that there was something more to the world than the scrubby corn patches or marshy cotton fields he had always worked. It bared for him all kinds of opportunities in the industrial centers with shorter hours of labor and better pay. And the result was that they simply migrated north. Approximately 32,000, or 13 per cent. of the Negro farm hands, have quit the state of Georgia alone, while all of the southern states have been consistent losers to some extent.

As long as the Negro knew of nothing else the South was quite satisfied to keep him subdued. But now that he has found something better, something more profitable, the South is becoming alarmed. The planters of those sections are growing fearful that the labor left will be insufficient to work their fields. Their frantic attempts to hold it, however, have apparently come too late. For the Negro is tired of the long hours of labor, the small pay and the mistreatment and he is moving to a place where he believes that he will receive an occasionally courtesy.

PITTSBURG PA TIMES
MAY 16, 1923

An Awakening in Mississippi.

The significance of the following resolution acknowledging the duty of giving a square deal to Negroes is that it was adopted by a meeting held in Jackson, Miss., a state in which concern for the welfare of an important human asset has for long been conspicuous by its absence:

We must improve living conditions, improve working conditions, look after the health and sanitary problems of our laborers, and see that they get proper churches, schools and places of amusement. Every man and woman in the State must see to it that the laws protecting the Negroes in their lives and property are rigorously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs, regardless of race or color; and that there be the fullest co-operation between the white man and the black to insure amicable relations, efficient service and mutual profit to both.

It may not be too late for the South to avert economic disaster which is threatening through the migration of the colored population, especially of agricultural districts, to Northern industrial centers. But the pinch of poverty of essential labor is being felt. This accounts for measures being taken with intent to stop the migration and if possible attract back home those already flown. The resolution quoted is noteworthy for the admission it makes of the truth of virtually every charge published over a long period against the inhumanity of the South against the black people. The awakening is belated, but there may yet be time to quiet the unrest and restore contentment to the breasts of the Negroes. How earnest are the leaders of the new movement, how conscious they are of the necessity of changing the drift which their own shortcomings in the past have compelled, is evident from the fact that the reforms finding favor are those which Northern students of Southern conditions long have advocated.

A conference of Negroes and whites at Jackson adopted a set of principles to meet the situation emphasized by the migration. There is to be a campaign for a $1,000,000 endowment fund for the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute, a Negro vocational school that has been a positive factor in keeping blacks in its neighborhood contented and improving interracial relations. Throughout the state the mental attitude of the whites is changing. It is an excellent sign.

ALBANY N Y PRESS
MAY 8, 1923

EDITORIAL DIGEST

THE increasing negro migration from the south is accepted as being due almost entirely to the shortage of common labor in northern industries, which have resulted in wage advances which attract the worker from the farms. But there is a very decided difference of opinion among the editors of the nation whether the newcomers will be permanent residents, and whether, also, their leaving will seriously injure the south.

It is the high wages and better conditions that are attracting the negroes northward, the Boston Globe says, arguing that "if scarcity value begins to operate in the distribution of better conditions for the unskilled, the so-called labor shortage will not be without its benefits. When there are enough jobs to go round, those who work at them are not likely to be treated as hunkies." Other things directly responsible are "lynching" and "terrorizing," the Brooklyn Eagle thinks, but "if planters would compel fair play for the negroes, recognizing their rights under the Constitution, no temptation would draw the negro away from the cotton states. Climate, home ties, race inertia, all are powerful forces against wage offers. But the planters have preferred a different policy and have only themselves to blame if labor is leaving them." In some respects this view has the endorsement of the Chattanooga News, which feels "the time is surely coming when living in the south will have to be made more attractive for the negro or else we are going to lose the advantage we have had because of his amiability as a day laborer." The exodus from the farm is in no way sectional, but the "south has no means of replenishing its depleted supply," the Philadelphia Bulletin points out, while "the limited acreage and reduced crops which are likely to result may be to the financial advantage of the favored ones who can carry on and possibly realize higher prices, but no section can prosper when a large part of its potential wealth-producing resources must remain unutilized." On the ground the Columbia State says the majority of negroes are leaving the cities and towns rather than the country and "less than half of those leaving have been farmers."

To this line of reasoning the Reading Tribune interposes sharp objection, insisting past brutal treatment is being resented because "the war taught the negroes that there was something more to the world than the scrubby corn patches or marshy cotton fields he had always worked. The negro is tired of the long hours of labor, the small pay and the mistreatment and he is moving to a place where he believes that he will receive an occasional courtesy." In resenting such a suggestion the Petersburg Progress and Index Appeal insists "northern men do not understand negroes and negroes who go north from the south never come to understand northern people. Southern people are inclined to feel that the negroes who are leaving will come back, just as they have done in years past. But meanwhile the emigrants are leaving this section without an adequate labor supply, to say nothing of the evils they are bringing upon themselves."

100,000 LEAVE GEORGIA FARMS SINCE JANUARY

11,000 Farms Abandoned and Crop Loss $6,000,000.

5-23-23.

ATHENS, Ga., May 22.—One hundred thousand persons have left farms in Georgia since last January 1, according to figures compiled by county agents throughout Georgia, grouped at the state college of agriculture and made public late today by Dr. Andrew M. Soule, president of the institution. The figures include both white and negro farmers, who, according to the figures, have abandoned more than 11,000 farms.

Most of those who have deserted the farms have left the state, it was said. Placing the average value of products of the abandoned farms at less than $200 each, it was pointed out that the migration in less than five months have been approximately $6,000,000.

The actual number of negroes who have left Georgia within the five months is estimated to be 98,960, and attributing to each of these the ability to earn [illegible] the productive value of the population that has left Georgia in five months would in the course of a year amount to more than $25,000,000, Dr. Soule stated.

In obtaining the figures made public, Dr. Soule stated that agents in

NOT WANTED IN THE NORTH.

The Reading Tribune 6-13-23

It will interest negroes of the South to know that while the Southern people are encouraging them to remain in the South, some of their old champions and make-believe friends in the North are appealing to State authorities to do whatever they can to stop negro migration to the North.

The New England Chamber of Commerce on June 2 addressed a memorial to the New England Governors urging that they use all influence at their command to put a stop to the movement of negroes to New England. The memorial declares that when the negro leaves the section where he was born and is understood, and removes to a Northern State, where the climate is more rigorous and conditions foreign, he not only does himself an injustice, but at the same time works a hardship on members of his race who are already established in New England.

Commenting upon the significance of his memorial the Anniston Star well says,

> The plain truth is, according to the statement of the New England Chamber of Commerce, the negro is not wanted in the North. He is regarded as the Southern white man's burden, and the Northerner resents any gesture in the nature of shifting that burden. He has preached equality for the Negro for many generations, but now that he has the black brother in his midst in large masses his practice does not conform to his preachings; for the negro is not only denied equality, but is fortunate if he is accorded ordinary civility.
>
> The labor departments of the several New England States estimate that at least forty per cent of the negroes that have migrated from the South are out of work and dependent upon charitable organizations. A serious problem has been created in those centers that are already congested with a large foreign population, and in order to stop the trend the New England governors have been called upon to take appropriate action.
>
> The Southern negro who has gone to New England is extending his education. He is learning the difference in the attitude of the New Englander and the Southerner toward him. He is finding out, we dare say, that in time of unemployment and

distress in New England he is not as well treated or as sympathetically received by the whites as he is in the South in the time of unemployment and distress.

More than that, he is encountering peculiar hostility among the foreign white elements in the North to which he has not been accustomed in the South.

Up there the negro finds himself in competition with white labor of foreign birth or extraction in greater measure than he encounters in the South. And once personal economic rivalry is aroused, there is relentless bitterness between men. The negro is not strong enough to deal with it, and he must lose in every contest, as he learned in Chicago and East St. Louis in the riots.

New England wage labor was an important spring behind the issues that led to the War Between the States. It resented the necessity of competing with slave labor in the South. Products of slave labor in the South sold more cheaply than the products of free labor in the East—and so New England's free labor became morally incensed at the injustice of slavery!

The black slave's white competitor in New England swarmed into Kansas and Nebraska to outvote the slave-holders from the South and keep the institution out of those States. And the swarmers were animated by economic rather than moral motives.

Now the same element, supported by the propertied classes who patronize the Southern negro, are alarmed lest a few of our black folks go to New England to find work!

The spectacle is both amusing and pathetic.

PROF. MOTON OF TUSKEGEE ON NEGRO MIGRATION

Discussing the negro migration northward from the South, Professor R. R. Moton, Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, writes the Manufacturers Record as follows:

"In many ways, I consider the Manufacturers Record the strongest exponent of Southern development and I am very glad to learn that my letter to the New York Times is in harmony with your own ideas on the subject, as you have expressed them in the editorial referred to.

"I have had the feeling for some time that the thing for us to do, who live and believe in the South, is to face squarely our difficulties, racial and otherwise, and to use every means ourselves to remedy the situation.

"Undoubtedly the South is now entering upon a new era of economic and industrial development, and unless something is done, the North, with the present scarcity of labor in the industrial centers, will embarrass us by its strong and flattering bid for negro labor. There is even now a shortage of labor, especially on many plantations and provided the immigration bars are not let down this section will experience still greater embarrassment. Negroes are leaving the South and will continue to do so; and I have been surprised at the comparative ease with which, in spite of some hardships and friction, they have adjusted themselves to Northern conditions.

"Here in the South, we can offer conditions equally as attractive as the North, and in some things very much more so—certainly along essential lines, and in the last analysis, those are the lines that really appeal to the negro.

"I have felt very happy over the fact that the South itself is taking the initiative in seeing that the negro gets here in the South the things which many are seeking in the North. This, I feel, can be done without sacrificing the South's highest standards and best traditions. In meetings of editors, business men, educators and planters, I have taken this position with candor and vigor. That is, in my opinion, the quickest and best way to stop migration.

"Without doubt, economic opportunities for the negro are far superior in the South to those offered in the North, as the record of negro progress shows. No part of America offers a better opportunity for real progress for both races than the South, and I think the race problem for the world will be worked out down here. It is being done now with a success and satisfaction which, in spite of cross-currents, is almost a miracle when the whole situation is considered.

"This institute which my distinguished predecessor has built up here in the heart of the South has always had the heartiest co-operation and support financially and oth-

PEORIA ILL. TRANSCRIPT
MAY 30, 1923

THE MASON-DIXON BARRIER

The Negro problem in the south has suddenly changed from a social to an economic one. The migration of Negroes to the north where higher wages and better living conditions obtain has so alarmed white residents of the southern states that organizations are being formed to do social work among the black population so that economic conditions will be improved.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that it is interesting to note the sudden activity of the whites in the south. They have suddenly discovered the Negro population an economic asset of which they were not aware. The cotton raiser had taken it for granted that after he had planted his fields, labor would be there to pick the staple. Since there is little diversified industry in southern plantation territory, Negroes had no opportunity to work except as cotton pickers or tillers of the cotton field.

The migration of Negroes to the north has been heavy during recent months, and the present efforts toward social work among the blacks obviously are motivated by the sudden realization of the whites that they need the black laborers. How hard the south has been hit is disclosed by the statement of Governor Parker of Louisiana. He says that since November, one railroad has carried away "more than fifty-five thousand laborers from the delta lands of the Mississippi." Now comes the plea of officials of the American Cotton association to buy a bale of cotton and store it so the price can be raised and growers can get enough money to hire the comparatively scarce labor that is left.

Sympathy may be extended to the south in her present misfortune. Still, the blame does not rest upon the blacks of that section. It rests upon the whites and the war. The war taught Negroes a mobility for labor purposes which they had not previously possessed. Uprooted from their natural environment to go overseas, thousands of young colored men acquired a sophistication which did not harmonize with the lazy life of sunshine and cotton about the cabin door. Ambition was aroused. The lure of high wages was too great to resist, and the stimulation of industry which followed the war increased the opportunities for economic advancement of Negro laborers. The south has accepted the blacks as a natural heritage. The abundant labor supply has not been good for the region, and there has been no appreciation of any need in the south to better the condition of the blacks. They have been tolerated, exploited, and sometimes abused.

Consequently, the migration probably will be good for the economic status of the Negroes in this country. It probably will create new social problems in the manufacturing centers of the north. Nevertheless, it will teach the south the value of contented labor, and may be the spur that will prick the indolent southerner to appreciation of his blessings, thus forcing him to engage in new welfare work among those people who have for so long provided him with a supply of cheap labor. This plentiful supply of labor has relieved the planter of the necessity of careful, much less intensive farming. He was confident labor would be at hand when planting and picking times were at hand, and without a great deal of effort he could farm his vast acreage with an occasional resorting to seasonable help. This made casual laborers out of the Negroes. The north offers them steadier work, and the war taught them it was easy to move.

The migration of the blacks to the north is the last lowering of the Mason-Dixon barrier. If it teaches the south to place more reliance on machinery and scientific farming, and gives to the north a greater supply of labor, the economic improvement which will result will be of greater worth than the danger of social problems which may follow the rising tide of color in a few manufacturing communities.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

Some Problems of Migration.

The migration of Negroes from the South may prove a good thing not only in giving them wider and better opportunities, but also in stimulating a wider interest of the more fortunately situated members in this group.

There has been a noticeable effect on the racial relations in all centers where any appreciable number of migrants have gone. In Chicago or Detroit old residents tell you that things are not what they used to be in the matter of race relations. In Baltimore some of the large department stores are beginning to show a disposition toward unfair discrimination.

All of this serves to emphasize how thoroughly linked are the interests and well-being of every colored man and woman in this country. We cannot rise as units. We must do so as a RACE.

Most of the centers are setting up machinery to handle the problems arising out of migration. Baltimore will pay and pay dearly if she neglects the welfare of these migrants allowing them to shift as best they can in an already highly-taxed community of bad housing and living conditions.

Boston Leaders Warn Dixie Negro To Stay at Home

Officials of New England Chamber of Commerce Bring Matter to Attention of Governors.

MIGRATION BECOMES SERIOUS PROBLEM

Forty Per Cent of Thousands Who Migrated Unemployed and Dependent on Charity.

Boston, Mass., June 2.—Setting forth that the negro of the south is not bettering himself in any way by migrating to the New England states and that he is not improving his condition by removal to this section but is, in fact, creating considerable hardship not only for himself but for the northern members of his own race who really resent his arrival, officials of the New England Chamber of Commerce today brought the matter to the attention of the New England governors in an effort to put an end to the steady stream of southern negroes arriving in the greater industrial centers.

That the migration of the southern negro has actually become a serious problem to many New England communities is now a recognized fact. The recent statement issued by Governor McLeod, of South Carolina, has received widespread circulation in this section. Never before has the position of the New England states relative to the negro question, especially the southern negro, been so ably presented.

Concur With Statement.

Municipal authorities of New England, industrial chiefs and the press concur with Governor McLeod in the statement "That it is well for thoughtful colored people to bear in mind that the exodus of the negro from the south is by no means entirely the southern white man's problem. He can, of course, in time recover, and will.

"It is primarily the problem of the negro. He goes to a new home, different occupation, different climate, different surroundings, and must find his way among another entirely different class of white people than those among whom he has been accustomed to live."

According to the labor departments of the several commonwealths, fully 40 per cent of the many thousands of negroes who have arrived here from the south this year are now unemployed, and dependent upon charitable organizations.

Race Prejudice.

As pointed out by the South Carolina executive, race prejudice prevails in New England. A northerner will readily deny this but the treatment accorded the southern negro, not only as an individual, but en masse, furnishes the proof. The southern migrant, out of employment, without subsistence, has found it useless to appeal to the northern negro. Under the existing circumstances, the attitude of the latter is neither surprising nor unexpected.

Governor McLeod hit upon the existing New England situation when he declared that the southern negro is wanted here only as a laborer and is not welcome by other than those in whose employment he goes.

RAILROAD REFUSES TO SEND PREPAID TICKETS TO SOUTH

Atlantic Coast Line Turns Down Transportation for Insurance Agent

The Chambers of Commerce of the South have combined and requested the railroads to stop issuing prepaid transportation to Negroes, in order to curtail the remarkable migration of Negroes to the North.

This fact was brought to light here last Friday when S. W. Rutherford, secretary of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company, applied for a ticket over the Atlantic Coast Line, to be delivered to a Mr. Oliver, in Savannah, Ga., so that he could come to Washington and join the sales force of the National Benefit.

On Friday, June first, Mr. Rutherford telephoned the local office of the Atlantic Coast Line and asked the price of a ticket from Savannah, Ga., to Washington. The agent ask Mr. Rutherford: "Is this for a white person?" Mr. Rutherford answered "No."

Agent: "What is he coming for?"

Mr. Rutherford: "To work for us as an insurance solicitor."

Agent: "Well, come up and make arrangements then."

Mr. Rutherford went over to the office of the A. C. L. 1418 H. St., northwest and deposited $22.24 with L. J. Irwin, Agent, for a ticket to be delivered to C. C. Oliver, in Savannah, Ga.

Friday morning Mr. Irvin telephoned Mr. Rutherford to know for sure if Oliver was really doing insurance soliciting in Savannah and not laboring. He was informed that he was doing insurance work in Savannah and was coming here to do the same work. "If that is the case I think I can get it thru for you," said the agent. Later on the agent called and said that he found it impossible to get the ticket thru.

Mr. Rutherford took one of his clerks with him and went over to the office that afternoon to get understanding as to why the ticket was not sent. He saw Mr. Irwin who told him "To be frank with you, the colored people are leaving in such great numbers until the Southern white people complained and took up the matter with the Chambers of Commerce in that section, and as a result, the Interstate Commerce passed a law to the effect that no more prepaid orders for transportation could be accepted.'

Mr. Shelby J. Davidson, secretary of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., who also accompained Mr. Rutherford asked Mr. Irwin "Does this law have reference to colored people of the laboring classes only?"

Mr. Irwin: "This law refers only to colored people regardless of occupation." "This law has been in effect ever since the World War, but it has not been enforced until recently."

On Monday of this week, Mr. Davidson took up the matter with the Inter-state Commerce Commission and was informed that no such order had been promulgated by the Commission. He was informed that the railroads could issue such an order but there must be no discrimination. When it was called to the Commission's attention that flagrant discrimination was being practiced even by roads entering Washington he was told to file affidavits to that effect and the Commission would investigate the same. Affidavits were filed and the case is in the hands of the Inter-state Commerce Commission.

Labor Emigration Worries Officials

Railroads Take Steps to Aid in Enforcement of Labor Agents Laws.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., June 8.—Emigration of labor from the South has served to stir up the railroad officials. The Atlantic Coast Line railway, through P. R. Albright, vice-president and general manager, will see that state laws against labor agents are obeyed. Local Coast Line officials are in receipt of a circular from Mr. Albright.

All Atlantic Coast Line employes are requested to keep on watch for labor agents. They are instructed to see that labor agents obey the laws of the various states and that they take out a licenes.

Mr. Albright's letter to superintendents and agents relative to the labor situation is as follows:

"You are doubtless aware of the fact that laborers in great numbers are being induced to emigrate from territory served by this Company. If this emigration continues the result will in all probability be a labor shortage, which will seriously interfere with farming and business interests of the communities affected. Whether the movement will result in any lasting good to the laborers leaving this territory is questionable.

"You are, of course, advised of the requirements of the several States through which this company operates, with reference to the licensing of persons engaged in the business of Emigrant Agent, or in hiring persons in a State for employment beyond the limits of the State. It is believed that in many instances the provisions of these statutes are being disregarded and the taxes provided in connection with such licensing are not being paid. Respect for the law, as well as the financial interests involved, require that the provisions be strictly complied with.

"It is suggested that you bring this matter to the attention of the local authorities and also Chambers of Commerce and other organizations in your respective communities, and that effort be made to see that the hiring of the State is done only by those properly authorized so to do, and that the requirements of the laws are strictly complied with.

"I am enclosing copy of circular issued with reference to this subject.

"Signed, P. R. Albright, Vice-President and General Manager."

ARKANSAS BISHOP SAYS STAY IN THE SOUTH

(Preston News Service)

Wabaseka, Ark., June 8.—Rev. W. T. Pope, presiding elder of the Wabbaseka District of the A. M. E. church in an address at the second quarterly conference urged his hearers to banish fear of harm from the white people of the south.

"Banish all fear of harm coming to you as a race through any organized movement," he told his audiences, "and do not be misled by the state law requring the registration of fire arms for it merely is a tax to aid the schools. We have no reason to believe that a migratory movement will give any more substantial relief than in the past. There are those who are ready to play on your fears and profit by your sacrifices if you throw up all you have labored for. Keep your faith and face the future resolutely. Every foot of southern land has been consecrated by the sweat and labor of our fathers. Let us stay here and reap the benefits.'

Some Negroes expressed the fear that Rev. Pope was being paid by industrial and agricultural interests to use his influence in this direction. Many Negroes say that instead of things getting better they are growing constantly worse. The ku klux klan the cheating landlord and lack of educational facilities for the children as well and lack of justice in the courts make the way for ambitious Negroes harder and harder. In fact unbearable. Negroes in all parts of the state say that conditions could be no worse wherever they go. However, most of them prefer to remain in the south, if there whites would only show the slightest signs of modern civilization and justice.

Luring Negroes Away From Work at Waycross

(Special to Pittsburgh American)

WAYCROSS, Ga., June 8. (Special.) That the Negroes are being taken away from Waycross and the vicinity in great numbers by recruiters and causing a shortage of labor on the Atlantic Coast Line railroad, was the substance of a statement issued here today by S. T. Wright, agent for the road at Waycross. The situation is described as serious. Mr. Wright advocates not only punishment of recruiters but an inquiry into the causes of the emigration to the north.

A statement issued by the road urges all employes to report any occurrence of the kind in question to a state officer in order to prevent the Negroes being lured away under promises of high wages. The bulletin refers to the code sections of Georgia, Florida and Alabama, bearing upon persons engaged in business as emigrant agents without having secured a license.

Letters to Editor

MAJOR MOTON ON MIGRATION OF NEGRO LABOR.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., May 22, 1923.

Editor The Advertiser:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter which I have sent to Mr. Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the Manufacturers Record.

Yours very truly,
R. B. MOTON.
May 14, 1923.

Mr. Richard H. Edmonds, Editor,
The Manufacturers Record,
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to thank you for your letter of the 9th. instant. I have not as yet seen your editorial on "Negro Migration," although two copies of the "Manufacturers Record" come to the Institute each week and are read with the greatest pleasure and profit by workers and students as well as by myself.

In many ways I consider the "Manufacturers Record" the strongest exponent of Southern development and I am very glad to learn that my letter to the New York Times is in harmony with your own ideas on the subject, as you have expressed them in the editorial referred to. I shall read the editorial itself, which you are so kindly sending me, with much interest.

I have had the feeling for some time that the thing for us to do, who live and believe in the South, is to face squarely our difficulties, racial and otherwise, and to use every means ourselves to remedy the situation.

Undoubtedly the South is now entering upon a new era of economic and industrial development, and unless something is done, the North, with the present scarcity of labor in the industrial centers, will embarrass us by its strong and flattering bid for negro labor. There is even now a shortage of labor, especially on many plantations and, provided the immigration bars are not let down, this section will experience still greater embarrassment. Negroes are leaving the South and will continue to do so; and I have been suprised at the comparative ease with which, in spite of some hardships and friction, they have adjusted themselves to Northern conditions.

Here in the South, we can offer conditions equally as attractive as the North, and in some things very much more so—certainly along essential lines, and in the last analysis, those are the lines that really appeal to the negro.

I have felt very happy over the fact that the South itself is taking the initiative in seeing that the negro gets here in the South the things which many are seeking in the North. This, I feel, can be done without sacrificing the South's highest standards and best traditions. In meetings of editors, business men, educators and planters, I have taken this position with candor and vigor That is, in my opinion, the quickest and best way to stop migration.

Without doubt, economic opportunities for the negro are far superior in the South to those offered in the North, as the record for negro progress shows. No part of America offers a better opportunity for real progress for both races than the South, and I think the race problem for the world will be worked out down here. It is being done now with success and satisfaction which, in spite of cross-currents, is almost a miracle when the whole situation is considered.

Let me thank you again for your letter and express the hope that upon your next trip to Florida, you may find it possible to visit this Institute which my distinguished predecessor has built up here in the heart of the South. It has always had the heartiest cooperation and support, financially and otherwise from Southern people, among whom are some of my staunchest and most helpful friends.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) R. R. MOTON.
Principal Tuskegee Institute

Waking Up to the Facts.

There are indications here and there that the white South is gradually waking up to the fact that the Negroes are moving in such numbers as to prove a serious inconvenience, at least. Having found that such highhanded measures, as jailing labor agents and arresting or dispersing those workers gathered at railroad stations to take a train, failed to restrain the outgoing tide, the more thoughtful students of the movement have counseled a recourse to other methods of a more pacific nature.

For instance the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*, in a recent discussion of the remedies offered, said, "Why not tell the truth about it?" and concluded with the following suggestions:

We can stifle the restless, migratory spirit of the Negro in the South only by seeing to it life is made a bit more pleasant for him; by giving him wages sufficient to support his family decently; by protecting him in all his rights, social, legal and moral; by giving him an honest deal in all business transactions, and not imposing on his ignorance or credulity.

This may not be pleasant reading for a lot of folks, but it is the cold and indisputable truth, and we may as well face it.

The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* is not so outspoken, as it contends that "opportunity is better for the Negro in the South than in the North." Nevertheless it admits that "here and there Negroes have been robbed and they have been exploited." It further stated that it never had attempted to deceive Negroes and said:

> It does not take much stock in the old sentiment about the old mammies and the old uncles. It has never condoned a lynching and never will; the lynching of a white man and the lynching of a Negro are violations of the law, and when any group of men start out to do something that is unlawful they do a harm to the republic which, if persisted in, will destroy it. The *Commercial Appeal* believes that the Negro under the law should have his rights, he should have the property that he earns. Down here we believe that he is coming into these things.

These admissions and concessions by such leading exponents of Southern white opinion show that the thoughtful leaders of that section are arriving at a proper understanding of the reasons underlying the departure of the black workers. Whether they can so impress these reasons, and the necessity for changing the conditions that underlie them, so that they may be remedied, remains to be seen. It is something gained to have obtained acknowledgment that the migration movement is not without substantial cause and that cause is not wholly economic in its origin.

With these Southern newspapers disposed to admit the truth of the situation, it ill becomes such Northern advocates of cheap labor as the New York *Herald* to endeavor to gloss over the facts.

Negro Migration Proving Menace In Northern Cities

Chief of Health Bureau Proposes to Vaccinate All Negroes.

Philadelphia, June 1.—Proposals for a federal insurance section and vaccination against smallpox of negroes migrating from the south were presented to the United States public health service at Washington today by Dr. James V. Cummings, chief of the bureau of health.

They will be formally made by the visiting health department. He said the plan was not received enthusiastically by the surgeon general's department because of the lack of funds for federal regulation and inspection.

One proposal made by Dr. Cummings, for the regulation of the northern migration, was a requirement that a vaccination certificate must be shown before a railroad ticket is granted. The menace is not confined to Philadelphia alone, he said, but to all cities to which the unvaccinated southerners are migrating.

The movement north which has been under way for several months has resulted in smallpox outbreaks in a score of cities, officials said. In every instance these outbreaks have been traced to arrival of large crowds of negroes from southern districts.

It was said today that an appeal will be taken to higher officials in Washington in an endeavor to have some plan worked out. Reports from other cities have indicated they may join in a general movement to check the influx from the south. Just what steps will be adopted likely will be determined at a conference of health officials of various cities which may be called for the near future.

Colored Labor Displacing Orientials

Seattle, Wash., June 1.—It appears that the Oriental problem that has given this section so much concern will be largely worked out through the migration of Negroes from the South. Many of the migrants have come to California and settled. They are being hired to replace the Japanese and Chinese domestics and to perform other labor that heretofore has been done almost exclusively by these Orientals.

Hundreds of prominent families in this city have in the past year discharged the yellow men and engaged Negroes to take their places. The colored men and women are popular with their employers as they so readily adopt themselves to the habits of the natives.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Southern Railway Proves Route of Migrants' Exits From Dixie Cotton Fields

Trains Passing Through Greensboro Nightly Bear Hundreds of People Hurrying From the Southern Agricultural Belt to the Industrial Plants of the North

GREENSBORO, N. C., May 31.—The Negro exodus from the cities, towns and fields of the south to the north, "the promised land," is shown to be of ominous proportions by actual figures, first-hand facts, the accuracy of which can not be disputed. Here at the "gateway" of North Carolina, also the gate for the northward bound, information gathered from a source reliable and conservative shows that a steady stream of migrants is pouring to the steel mills, to the building centers, to the boom industrial centers beyond the Potomac, west to the Mississippi.

For example, Southern train No. 32 one night last week, carried between 190 and 200 people with tickets reading to points north of Washington. Twenty-two of them caught the train here, others were from points in the state south of here. And No. 32 is only one of five trains daily going to Washington or north of there upon which they may ride, and there are seven days in each week.

So large is the traffic north that it has become a problem to railroad managements, the Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard as well as the Southern. It is a one-way traffic, with the windows of the Jim Crow cars filled with faces staring out with curious eyes. There are "boll weevil" natives, pushed out from the cotton belt by the "billion dollar bandit." There are unskilled migrants from villages, towns and cities, and many skilled carpenters, bricklayers and concrete workers, speeding in a steady stream, day and night, at the behest of labor agents, who are said to be combing the state, offering high wages.

It is stated here that the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Ohio are taking a considerable part of the migration, which is interesting in connection with the recent statement of Elbert H. Gary, that the immigration restrictions should be relaxed in order to help supply a labor shortage, followed by Hon. Emmet J. Scott's article, calling Gary's attention to "eight million to ten million" Negroes in the south available for work in his plants and others in the north and northeast.

Greensboro is for some of the migrants from the cotton belt, a rest ing place, a stop-over, a place t work a while before embarking upo the trip into a wholly unknown land A considerable number of them hav wintered here, working their wa gradually to what they have bee told is a better land.

on the theory that after all it is a good thing for the negro to get out of the country into the city—out of the south into the north."

While it is true that, temporarily, there is a temptation of high wages in the city, this will be of short duration, and every white man and every colored man in the south should make it his business to call to the would-be migrant's attention—whether he be white or black—the absolute folly of leaving the south in answer to this lure of high prices, which has, in the end, its evil consequences.

High Wages Temporary.

The high prices being paid labor at the present moment by the industries cannot continue, because the buying and consuming world will not long stand for the high cost of the product. There is now a strong movement on foot throughout America to so amend the immigration laws as to permit the entrance of enough labor from Europe to supply the industries for their ever-growing needs. It would be well for our people, who are standing in the way of the amendment to these laws, to understand that as long as the European is shut out the south must continue to pay the penalty of and ever-growing shortage of labor. The needs now. When the European labor comes industrial plants of the north are twenty-five to fifty per cent short of their actual —eager for work at any price—then a large percentage of the negro laborers will be supplanted, and his last condition will be worse than his first, for it will be hard for him to get back home and to be re-established on the farm. The negro can buy lands of greater value at a lower price in the south than he can in the north, and the southern man will loan him the money to pay for it. This should be emphasized and every negro who does not understand it should be made to understand it, rather than to be misled by statements of Professor Work's, in which he says there are some fifteen thousand farms reported in New York; in Pennsylvania six thousand; in Michigan, eighteen thousand; prices of from $15 to $100 per acre. And he says, in some instances, the lands can be had at from $10 to $15 per acre. He failed to state that such lands are not worth a tinker's damn and, in fact, have no value.

I find that, regardless of the depression in farm product values, no choice lands in Illinois or Iowa—where I have traveled this week—can be had for less than $250 to $500 per acre and that they will not produce any more dollar's worth of stuff per acre than the cotton lands of the south, which can be had at from $15 to $50 per acre.

We are being justly criticized by the northern industrial man for not using more improved machinery on farms. We go upon the theory that it can't be done—whereas the western farmer goes upon the theory that it can be done—and does it! To illustrate: I had a short visit with a German farmer in Iowa who actually plows, seeds and harvests a crop of 70 acres—30 acres in corn; 20 acres in wheat and 20 acres in small grain, meaning oats and barley. How much help do you suppose he uses? Four horses and plenty of farm machinery—no single days of extra work does he require. I would say that this was physically impossible, and still other farmers tell me that the statement is in keeping with what other men are doing. So the use of farm machinery will go a long ways towards solving our present problem. But, even at that, I hope that this tide of migration can stop from the south for the benefit of all concerned.

The average negro is a conservative man and will listen to reason. We must take a little more time in having meetings with him, and discuss economic questions affecting their welfare. But nothing can be accomplished by radical advice such as is being engaged in by Professor Work.

JOSEPH O. THOMPSON.

J. O. THOMPSON WRITES FROM CHICAGO OF THE NEGRO EXODUS.

Editor The Advertiser:

Anent the controversy at Tuskegee over hospital matter, wish to remind the public that Booker Washington's policy was to allay not to foment trouble between the races. He did not insist upon this or that right, but wanted to know what was the best thing to do to compose the differences arising from time to time between the races, as he knew that amity between the races was the first requisite for the progress of the Tuskegee Institute.

Robert Moton is the Booker Washington type, and is conscientiously trying to follow in his footsteps.

It is well enough, however, to keep in mind that there is a radical element among the negroes that think only of insisting upon rights, whether they be real or imaginary, regardless of consequences. It is this element that sought to mob Dr. Washington in Boston, and here and there over America sought to break down his influence for good.

The fight that the whites and negroes of the south have before them is to root out or minimize the influence of the radical element—a very good start to be made in cases like that of Professor Monroe M. Work, director of research and records, Tuskegee Institute, who, in a subtle way, is doing all he can to reverse the policy of Tuskegee, and if Major Moton fails in his work there it will be because of such men as Work, who have no good feeling toward the white men of the south. Such men of both races are inimical to the best interests of the community, for racial and sectional prejudices have no place in the minds of right-thinking men.

There are no serious differences between the races of the south which time will not cure, and those differences will be worked out by the thinking men of both races, and not by prescribing a cure-all of migration to other sections as a remedy.

Prof. Work, in February number of Opportunity, says, among other things:

"We are at present working largely

Back to the Farm

IT takes temerity today even to utter these words. The tide is turned city wards. It is needless to argue against the force of gravity. Social movements often times have the inevitability of natural law. Migration moves to the city as the waves tend to the shore. Moralizing is as impotent in one case as the other. We may at least philosophize upon the consequences, although we may not be able to affect them. The city element is gaining upon the rural population as the illumined upon the darker aspect of the waxing moon. The orb is now more than half-full. The actual majority of our population is now found in urban centers with the tendency still in the ascendency. According to the law of diminishing returns there must shortly be reached a point when it will prove less profitable and less pleasant to migrate to the city than to remain in the country. The tide will not turn till that point is reached. 5-17-23.

The Negro as a mass floats upon the tide of social movements, without far-seeing aim or purpose. He is swept to and fro by the ebb and flow of the industrial current. The individual is in quest of the immediate gain and glare of city attractions, heedless of the entailing results upon future generations. The country produces food supply and raw material. The city puts a secondary value on the raw material by manufacturing it into the forms required by fashion and use. It serves also as the center of distribution. The Negro so far has not become an essential factor either in trade or manufacture. We are, of course, watching with eager interest the results of the vacuum in the labor market growing out of the world war. This will determine whether or not the Negro has a permanent place in the industries of the North. This, however, is but a part of the problem. The place of the Negro in the life of the cities in the South and West is of no less importance. The race, be it remembered, is not only flocking to the Northern cities from the South, but is leaving the rural portion of Northern states for the big centers, and is also deserting the Southern farm for city life in that section. The city will undoubtedly develop quickly a professional class of selected individuals. But whether it will produce a sustaining middle class of independent dealers who are not daily dependent upon the weekly payroll for their daily bread is the biggest question involved. On the farm such a middle class is rapidly developing. The number of Negroes who own or are acquiring their own farms is the most hopeful sign in the industrial progress and promise of the race. To give up such bright prospects for the sake of becoming day laborers or wage earners in city industries may prove to be an unwise exchange. The Negro, as a mass, is undoubtedly better suited to agricultural than to urban industries. He has a better chance of becoming his own proprietor and a controlling as well as a contributing factor. This has nothing to do with the political or civil aspect of the question. The Negro who seeks better opportunities in the North and West might find them on the farm as well as in the city. As the white man is abandoning the farm the Negroes should snatch them up. He should value what the white man resigns. In but a little while the farmer must resume his rightful place in the economic life of the nation. Booker T. Washington was fundamentally right. Comprehensively speaking, the Negro is better off on the farm. The temporary tide of migration to the Northern cities should not be allowed to obscure this outstanding fact.

The Negro Migrant

THE Negro migrant moves with the birds, northward in the Spring and southward in the Fall. In both instances the motive is economic. Peoples everywhere move from regions of lower to regions of higher wages as the water flows downward or the sparks fly upwards. Other motives enter, but economic considerations dominate. The economic policy is always short sighted. The capitalist seeks immediate dividends, the laborer a higher rate of wages. 5-12-23

Half of the social evils of the world are due to economic shortsightedness. The love of money is the root of all evil. The poor Negro laboring unt a burden of heavy oppression in the South naturally enough seeks the easiest means of escape. But a wiser philosophy would require that we consider the ills to

which we fly as well as those whose sting we feel. We should consider calmly and judiciously the condition of the Negro massed in segregated sections of our northern cities for the next fifty years. Whether it would not be wiser if a greater number would take to the farms which are being abandoned—north, south, east and west. Whether the opportunity and genius of the race is not better adapted to agricultural than to urban activities. Race statesmanship must ponder deeply over these queries.

EXODUS TANTAMOUNT TO A WHOLESALE STRIKE.

Newspapers in the South are daily featuring the exodus of Negroes from that section. A recent issue of a daily paper from Jacksonville, Fla., carries three columns on the subject. It appears that steamship lines touching at the port of Jacksonville have given notice that they will have to curtail their service unless something is done to retain sufficient labor to load and unload the ships.

It has been found that increases in wages for dock laborers from twenty-five to thirty-five cents an hour, of ship laborers from thirty to thirty-five cents an hour, and of gang heads from thirty-five to forty cents an hour, have had no appreciable effect.

Lumber companies in Florida and in southern Georgia and southern Alabama are also feeling the pinch and are taking part in the discussion. Some of the leading lumber men have stated that "the convict leasing system and the fee system in the smaller camps have been working badly as regards Negro labor." One statement declared that "A Negro arrested is a Negro convicted" in the average justice court.

This same Jacksonville paper carries a long letter from Mr. N. K. McGill, a prominent colored attorney of that city. It is a plain, outspoken letter on the situation.

The consensus of opinion in all of these southern journals is that something radical must be done and done quickly. From a state as far north as Virginia comes an editorial statement in the Richmond "News-Leader" that "The South, finally, must improve the living conditions of its Negro workers, who are now in a veritable migration and are going wherever they have the promise, however illusory, of better things. They no longer are held back by timidity or by ignorance of the outside world, as once they were, and many of them are pathetically susceptible to the lure of high wages, even for temporary employment. If the South is to retain these Negroes, it must make them as contented as is practicable. In some places, this calls for better treatment and freedom from fear; everywhere it means better homes and, generally speaking, better pay."

This northern movement of Negroes is in effect a wholesale strike. In this migration the colored people of the South are bringing into play the economic power of their labor which is naturally more effective than any mere appeal to sentiment. They are exercising a power which is forcing consideration on the part of the white South and which is bound to bring about beneficial results.

However, for the good of the white South it is necessary that the entire condition be taken into consideration. If white people of the South go on the theory that Negroes are leaving merely because they will get a few cents more an hour for their labor, they are proceeding along a mistaken theory. In this exodus we have an exemplification of the truth that man does not live by bread alone. The Negro in going North is in quest of more than mere bread.

It will also be a mistake for the South to feel that a little more kindness of treatment will alter the situation. Underneath the whole condition is the desire and determination on the part of the Negro to be treated as a man.

FARM LABOR CASE ACUTE, BANK SAYS

Richmond Reserve Reports on Migration of Negroes to North.

BUILDING TRADES HURT

(Special to Pittsburgh American)

RICHMOND, Va., June 8.—The scarcity of farm labor has become more acute as a result of the continued migration of Negroes to Northern industrial centers, and farmers who depend upon day labor, "are finding it difficult, and in a few instances impossible, to secure help to plant normal crops," the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond said today in its monthly review of labor conditions in the Fifth Federal Reserve district.

Next to farm laborers, the greatest scarcity seems to be in the building industry and allied fields, including lumbering and brick making. Skilled workmen principally are needed in construction work, while lumber mills can furnish employment to many unskilled laborers, it was stated. A serious shortage exists, both in logging camps and in mill yards, according to the review.

Factory Supply Sufficient

There is a slight scarcity of labor in box and shook plants, the bank said, but the supply of workmen in the textile and other manufacturing lines, including tobacco, fertilizer and furniture plants, is sufficient for present needs.

"Practically all industries in the district are operating as fully as the available labor permits," the bank's statement said, "and, as mentioned last month, there has been a tendency to raise wages is some industries, but on the whole there has been but little competitive bidding for satisfactory labor. Manufacturers appear willing to curtail operations somewhat rather than advance manufacturing costs too greatly by increases in operating expense.

Fear Repetition of 1920

"The experiences of 1920 are still fresh in the minds of manufacturers, and they realize that, unless costs to consumers are kept within bounds, consumption is likely to be affected, and they are now watching very closely the consumer's reaction to every change in the costs of manufacturer which may increase the selling price. In this district the workers themselves have some appreciation of the situation, and while there appear sporadic strikes from time to time, labor on the whole is reasonable and no serious disputes have arisen during recent months."

Negro Segregation in the North.

Negroes in the southern states who are giving ear to the alluring call from the north of high wages and unrestricted privileges, would do well to read an item in the day's news from Cincinnati and compare its meaning with the rosy promises being held out to them by labor agents and others. The particular item concerned the trial of a young negro from Alabama who had been arrested on several occasions charged with burglary and receiving stolen property. The trial judge was unusually severe on the defendant and, in the course of his condemnation, said:

> The case is further proof that the many thousands of negroes now in this city from Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama have demonstrated the absolute and immediate necessity of the segregation of that race, not only in this city, but in all northern cities, and the constant listing and police surveillance of that race in order to protect the northern whites from their influence. Induced by crooked labor agents to flock to the north in search for high wages, the recent repeated mobbing of police officers while engaged in the enforcement of laws against immorality and gambling by negroes shows another need for the immediate action by police heads to effect segregation.

Whatever may be said of lynchings and mob violence in the south the records show that in all such cases the guilty parties only are in danger from the wrath of the mob. But in the north, as testified to by happenings in East St. Louis, Springfield, Ill., Chicago, Washington, D. C., and elsewhere when the mob spirit is aroused against the negro it vents itself in the wholesale slaughter of all members of the race, whether guilty or innocent. What has happened in these and other northern communities should warn the negro against the supposed benevolent and kindly treatment he is promised up there. And now comes Cincinnati with another warning against putting confidence in the promises that the negro will have unrestricted rights to live where he pleases and go where he pleases.

The negroes of the south who are getting along very well where they are will do the best sort of service for themselves and their families if they let well enough alone. Instead of diminishing their troubles they are going to increase them by their northern exodus.

N Y C EVE WORLD
APRIL 13, 1923

Urban League to Discuss Migration of Negroes

Problems created by the great migration of Negroes to Brooklyn will be discussed Monday night at an open meeting of the Brooklyn Urban League and the Lincoln Settlement Association in the hall of St. Peter Claver's Church, Ormond Place and Jefferson Avenue.

Congressman Hamilton Fish jr., former Captain in a Negro Regiment of the New York National Guard, will be the principal speaker. The meeting has been indorsed by District Attorney Charles J. Dodd. He said:

"The Brooklyn Urban League, as part of a national movement working in forty cities in the East, Middle West and South, is approaching the local situation with the knowledge and experience gained in such broad contact with the inter-racial problem. Its leadership in developing better understanding and cooperation between whites and blacks is of the utmost significance in such a populous industrial centre as Brooklyn and is sure to win public approval and support."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

South's Interest in Negro Migration

The prospect of a better day for the negro in the South arises from the development of new interest in conditions under which he lives among intelligent and influential groups of Southern white people, notably those comprising the dominant religious bodies.

It was only a few days ago that the press chronicled the actions of the Women's Missionary Council of the Southern Methodist church, representing 1,000,000 Southern white women, and of the Southern Baptist convention, representing more than 3,000,000 Southern white Baptists, in condemning lynching, and appealing to the members of the organizations to serve in developing anti-lynching sentiment.

Now comes the advance notice that the commission on temperance and social service of the Southern Methodist church will sponsor a conference at Lake Junaluska early next month on the causes of negro migration from the South. The subject will be gone into thoroughly by speakers of both races who know conditions in the South, and an honest effort will be made to discover the underlying, as well as the surface, causes of the dissatisfaction of the negroes in certain sections, and their desire to emigrate to other States.

Notable among the speakers will be former Governor Roberts of Tennessee, E. Marvin Underwood of Atlanta, Ga., the widow of the late Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee institute, and officials of the various commissions on inter-racial relations, sponsored both by the church at large and missionary bodies.

The conference will have access to a great store of information on the subject gathered by various women's organizations in the South which have been devoting themselves to a study of the race problem, with the view of bringing about a greater degree of co-operation and harmony between the white and black races, and improving the relative position of the negroes.

Out of such a conference as this, there is sure to come much to encourage the negro to remain in the South and to assist in working out his salvation in his native land.

These participating in the movement for better racial relations are the sincere and practical friends of the negro—people who know his history, his temperament and his capabilities—and patriotic citizens who are concerned about the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the members of both races in the South. Negroes who have sacrificed everything they had to accept tempting offers elsewhere may find in the long run they acted precipitately.

Another purpose these various conferences serve is to dispel the erroneous idea rather widely held in the North that the South is ignoring the cause of the negro, and is trying to hold negro labor by force. They prove that the South is giving intelligent and friendly consideration to the negro's case.

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 18, 1923

Negro Labor Is Returning To Southern Cotton Fields

Negro labor, which was drawn to Northern factories and industrial plants by prospects of high wages, is beginning to drift back to the cotton fields and Southern factories. From Cleveland comes a report that the number of Negroes seeking employment in local factories and steel mills has fallen off one-half.

Industries in other Northern cities which have been depending largely on Negro labor make similar reports concerning the movement back South.

Cities all over the South indicate that the field hands are returning. Many of the workers say they were misled by labor agents in regard to wages and working conditions in the North. Nevertheless, in many sections the returns do not yet counterbalance the departures.

BACK TO THE FARM.

It takes temerity today even to utter these words. The tide is turned city wards. It is needless to argue against the force of gravity. Social movements often times have the inevitability of natural law. Migration moves to the city as the waves tend to the shore. Moralizing is as impotent in one case as the other. We may at least philosophize upon the consequences, although we may not be able to affect them. The city element is gaining upon the rural population as the illumined upon the darker aspect of the waxing moon. The orb is now more than half full. The actual majority of our population is now found in urban centers with the tendency still in the ascendency. According to the law of diminishing returns there must shortly be reached a point when it will prove less profitable and less pleasant to migrate to the city than to remain in the country. The tide will not turn till that point is reached.

The Negro as a mass floats upon the tide of social movements, without far-seeing aim or purpose. He is swept to and fro by the ebb and flow of the industrial current. The individual is in quest of the immediate gain and glare of city atractions, heedless of the entailing results upon future generations. The country produces food supply and raw material. The city puts a secondary value on the raw material by manufacturing it into the forms required by fashion and use. It serves also as the center of distribution. The Negro so far has not become an essential factor either in trade or manufacture. We are, of course, watching with eager interest the results of the vacuum in the labor market growing out of the world war. This will determine whether or not the Negro has a permanent place in the industries of the North. This, however, is but a part of the problem. The place of the Negro in the life of the cities in the South and West is of no less importance. The race, be it remembered, is not only flocking to the Northern cities from the South, but is leaving the rural portion of Northern states for the big centers, and is also deserting the Southern farm for city life in that section. The city will undoubtedly develop quickly a professional class of selected individuals. But whether it will produce a sustaining middle class of independent dealers who are not daily dependent upon the weekly payroll for their daily bread is the biggest question involved. On the farm such a middle class is rapidly developing. The number of Negroes who own or are acquiring their own farms is the most hopeful sign in the industrial progress and promise of the race. To give up such bright prospect for the sake of becoming day laborers or wage earners in city industries may prove to be an unwise exchange. The Negro, as a mass, is undoubtedly better suited to agricultural than to urban industries. He has a better chance of becoming his own proprietor and a controlling as well as a contributing factor. This has nothing to do with the political or civil aspect of the question. The Negro who seeks better opportunities in the North and West might find them on the farm as well as in the city.. As the white man is abandoning the farm the Negroes should snatch them up. He should value what the white man resigns. In but a little while the farmer must resume his rightful place in the economic life of the nation. Booker T. Washington was fundamentally right. Comprehensively speaking, the Negro is better off on the farm. The temporary tide of migration to the Northern cities should not be allowed to obscure this outstanding fact.—Pittsburgh Courier.

HARRISBURG PA TELEGRAPH
MAY 23, 1923

THE NEGRO HEGIRA

THE deep concern which the South (and North Carolina in particular, as illustrated by the arrest of a man hiring men to come to Harrisburg to work) is now feeling over the emigration of negroes to northern states has its origin in the operation of the law of supply and demand. Negroes are coming North, not because they desire a change for the sake of change, but because there is a much greater demand for their labor in the North than in the South. The fact is that the negro is not a migratory individual. He is a home-lover. Only unusual inducements in the form of better compensation, better treatment, and better opportunities, could cause negroes in large numbers to leave the South for the strange surroundings and more rigorous climate of the North.

If the South is suffering great loss by reason of the migration of colored workmen, that section has only itself to blame. This is practically admitted in resolutions adopted by an organization of businessmen in Georgia asserting that "the situation may be bettered if the best element of the white people work together to eliminate, so far as may be, any injustice done to the negro, and to secure for all of them good living conditions and fair treatment, and to show them that they are in reality far better off in the South than in any other section of the Nation."

Labor is leaving the farms and going to the cities because it gets greater compensation there. People who are alarmed over the danger of underproduction of food must make up their minds that if men are to be kept on the farms the farmers must have a better income. It is the law of supply and demand that causes farmers to leave the country and go to the city. When a sufficient number of farmers have left the country to reduce production and cause scarcity of food products, there will be higher prices and greater profits for agricultural producers. The shifting of population will correct the present inequalities.

"Delmonico's is dead." Too, bad, but at that it never had anything on the late lamented Jim Russ' Senate as an eating place.

MILWAUKEE WIS JOURNAL
MAY 20, 1923

The South Discovers the Negro

The south is alarmed at the migration of its negroes. As it sees them trekking north to answer the call for man power in industrial centers, it suddenly discovers that they are useful below Mason and Dixon's line, and is taking steps to keep them there.

In Mississippi a well-defined plan is taking shape for the advancement of the negro and the creation of conditions under which he will be contented. This includes improvement in living standards, working conditions, health and sanitation, education and justice. At a state conference a resolution was passed which contained this sentence:

"Every man and woman in the state must see to it that the laws protecting the negroes in their lives and property are rigorously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs, regardless of race or color; and that there be the fullest co-operation between the white man and the black to insure amicable relations, efficient service and mutual profit to both."

Such a resolution carries hope. If the south had looked on the negro as a human unit years ago, instead of a creature to be repressed and exploited, it wouldn't be losing its negroes today, and it would have solved the negro problem. The south said it knew how to handle the negro, and though its methods did not appear right to enlightened men of the nation, it has had its trial. And it has failed.

The south is getting a lesson out of the success of the Normal and Industrial institute near Utica, Miss., a vocational school modeled upon Tuskegee. There 500 negro boys and girls are educated each year and sent back into the surrounding region. As a result the negro community is prosperous and there has been no migration northward from Utica. Now, in its new enthusiasm, Mississippi proposes to raise a million dollar endowment for the institute.

The negro problem, reduced to its essentials, is one of handling and developing a race living within confines controlled by another race. Hill Billy politicians, nullifiers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, southerners of the old order, and secret organizations opposed to the negro, have tried and lost. There never was any chance that they could succeed. But in Tuskegee and Utica and in this new attitude in Mississippi there is promise.

LABOR PROBLEM IS GIVING CONCERN TO ALABAMA FARMERS

Members of Legislature are Casting About for Remedy; President Winburn Writes of Situation

GEORGIA LOSES 228,938

ATLANTA, GA., June 23—Within the past three and a half years 228,938 negroes have migrated from Georgia to the north, according to figures compiled today by the Georgia Bankers association. During the first six months in 1923, 77,500 negroes left the state and for the same period 69,913 white people have deserted the farms of Georgia, the figures show.

As a result of this exodus from the rural communities, the report states, 46,674 farm dwellings in Georgia have been left vacant, and estimating thirty acres to the plow, there are 55,524 idle plows. Labor shortage on the farms is estimated at 70,743 on June 15.

The hegira of the Alabama farm laborer to the North is causing no end of concern of leading farmers of the southern section of Alabama who visited Montgomery during the week. Members of the legislature who are also members of the recess committees are casting about for some method of legislation which might in effect serve to keep the labor on the farms. So far it is said, no solution has been found.

The most interesting contribution on the subject of negro migration received at the capitol during the week was a letter written by W. A. Winburn, president of the Central of Georgia railroad to a farmer in Georgia. The Georgia farmer had written Mr. Winburn calling his attention to the exodus of negroes from his farm and asking him if he was interested in any legitimate effort to stop this migration.

Mr. Winburn from Savannah wrote the Georgia farmer as follows:

"Indeed I am interested in this migration of negroes to the North, which you present so forcibly in your letter of June 11. I was particularly impressed with your thought that the farmer is not only losing man power, but actual cash advanced. Your statement of the case is but one of many indications of the gravity of a situation which is causing the railways no little concern.

"I do not know of any railroad, although each wants and needs every dollar of revenue it can secure, that encourages labor to leave its territory. On the contrary all their efforts are devoted towards attracting new people to the communities they serve."

Railways Interested.

"I must confess, however, that I do not see how railway officials assist in apprehending labor agents. Some of these men operate within the law, though many do not. The railways are common carriers and cannot refuse business. Suspicion of illegal activity is scarcely sufficient ground for court action.

"Even if temporary efforts to arrest immigration agents should prove successful, such remedy would be only temporary and palliative and would not get to the root of the trouble which has both economic and social phases.

"The press, the public and particularly the railways are acutely aware of the situation, and are discussing it at some length and with considerable vigor. But in my opinion none of us is getting anywhere. To my mind the whole matter is a job for the next congress to handle. I do not think anyone else can solve the problem.

"We cannot in justice attach blame to northern industry, for the present prosperity of the South is due to domestic demand for southern products and if northern industry is to handle southern cotton and lumber, it must have labor. At the present time the sole available source of supply for this labor is the South.

Entirely With Congress.

"It seems obvious, therefore, that the present disastrous condition will continue until such time as congress amends in some particulars the existing immigration laws. Economic conditions in the South are such that its people cannot afford to put the stamp of approval on immigration laws designed to create a shortage of labor, in the interest of labor unions, the leaders of which are today taking advantage of the opportunity to demand wage increases in excess of what industry can or will pay. Witness for example, cessation of building operations in New York where the trade unions are demanding wages in some instances as high as fifteen dollars per day.

"It is important that the immigration and alien labor laws be so framed that, while keeping out the horde of undesirables, no less attention be

BUFFALO N.Y. EXPRESS
MAY 14, 1923

A resolution calling upon the people of Georgia and the South generally to use their efforts toward checking the migration of negroes to the North was adopted by the Georgia Manufacturers' association last week. The resolution further recommended, which is a heap more practical, that steps be taken to better the living conditions of the negro and to eliminate whatever injustice is being done to the negro in the South. That's the solution. If the South wants the negro (and it cannot do without him) let it treat him right.

N Y C TIMES
JUNE 18, 1923

WHERE NEGROES STAY.

To the discussion of the causes of negro migration from the South an instructive contribution is to be found in The Morning Herald of Durham, N. C., under date of June 13. It consists of a statement made by Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of that city. He is a colored man himself, and is vouched for by the editor of The Morning Herald as a man of good judgment and with such a reputation among men of affairs in both races as to demand a hearing for him when he discusses any question concerning the negro. Mr. Spaulding does not undertake to show why colored men leave the South. He contents himself with indicating the reasons why they stay there.

In the city of Durham there are nearly 8,000 negroes who live on peaceful and friendly terms with their white neighbors. Several tobacco factories and hosiery mills give steady employment to large numbers of col-

PITTSBURG PA. PRESS
MAY 17, 1923

What Draws the Negroes Northward

THAT the whites of the south are beginning to be alarmed by the northern migration of their Negro labor is indicated by a circular put forth by the Georgia Manufacturers' Association, calling upon the people of that state to do everything in their power to bring the migration to an end.

It is pointed out that the methods to be used to induce the Negroes to remain are suggested only vaguely. If any injustice is being done to the Negro it is to be eliminated. Where living conditions are discovered to be bad they should, the manufacturers suggest, be improved.

The real trouble is of course kept in the background by the bulletin. If the Negro received full justice with his neighbors in the south and if his living conditions were equal to anything obtainable in the north he would doubtless stay where he is and save traveling expenses. But the south segregates him—puts him into the Jim Crow car and otherwise discriminates against him in a manner and to a degree that in the north are unknown. This better treatment in the north, added to the higher wages paid in the northern cities, is a lure against which the southern manufacturers are likely to compete in vain.

methods. The Durham Morning Herald did a useful thing in publishing so striking a comment on "the migratory movement which is sweeping through the South today."

ored men and women, and care is taken to insure them good working conditions and a decent livelihood. Mr. Spaulding declares that the people of Durham show a desire to make the negro population a permanent and valued part of its citizenry. The vote is not denied because of color, and adequate educational opportunities are provided for the negroes. There has never, asserts Mr. Spaulding, been a lynching in Durham, and "colored men are given an honest hearing in the courts."

Such a story does not, of course, cover all the facts in other parts of the South, but surely the example of Durham ought to be taken to heart by other cities and sections that are so much wrought up by the migration of negroes to the North. The problem is confessedly complicated. It has its political side and its racial aspects. But, after all, it is a human problem, and the experience of Durham points the way to solving it by human

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"We cannot in justice attach blame to northern industry, for the present prosperity of the South is due to domestic demand for southern products and if northern industry is to handle southern cotton and lumber, it must have labor. At the present time the sole available source of supply for this labor is the South.

Entirely With Congress.

"It seems obvious, therefore, that the present disastrous condition will continue until such time as congress amends in some particulars the existing immigration laws. Economic conditions in the South are such that its people cannot afford to put the stamp of approval on immigration laws designed to create a shortage of labor, in the interest of labor unions, the leaders of which are today taking advantage of the opportunity to demand wage increases in excess of what industry can or will pay. Witness for example, cessation of building operations in New York where the trade unions are demanding wages in some instances as high as fifteen dollars per day.

"It is important that the immigration and alien labor laws be so framed that, while keeping out the horde of undesirables, no less attention be

BUFFALO N.Y. EXPRESS
MAY 14, 1923

A resolution calling upon the people of Georgia and the South generally to use their efforts toward checking the migration of negroes to the North was adopted by the Georgia Manufacturers' association last week. The resolution further recommended, which is a heap more practical, that steps be taken to better the living conditions of the negro and to eliminate whatever injustice is being done to the negro in the South. That's the solution. If the South wants the negro (and it cannot do without him) let it treat him right.

PITTSBURG PA PRESS
MAY 17, 1923

What Draws the Negroes Northward

THAT the whites of the south are beginning to be alarmed by the northern migration of their Negro labor is indicated by a circular put forth by the Georgia Manufacturers' Association, calling upon the people of that state to do everything in their power to bring the migration to an end.

It is pointed out that the methods to be used to induce the Negroes to remain are suggested only vaguely. If any injustice is being done to the Negro it is to be eliminated. Where living conditions are discovered to be bad they should, the manufacturers suggest, be improved.

The real trouble is of course kept in the background by the bulletin. If the Negro received full justice with his neighbors in the south and if his living conditions were equal to anything obtainable in the north he would doubtless stay where he is and save traveling expenses. But the south segregates him—puts him into the Jim Crow car and otherwise discriminates against him in a manner and to a degree that in the north are unknown. This better treatment in the north, added to the higher wages paid in the northern cities, is a lure against which the southern manufacturers are likely to compete in vain.

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER
JUNE 18, 1923

WHERE NEGROES STAY.

To the discussion of the causes of negro migration from the South an instructive contribution is to be found in The Morning Herald of Durham, N. C., under date of June 13. It consists of a statement made by Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of that city. He is a colored man himself, and is vouched for by the editor of The Morning Herald as a man of good judgment and with such a reputation among men of affairs in both races as to demand a hearing for him when he discusses any question concerning the negro. Mr. Spaulding does not undertake to show why colored men leave the South. He contents himself with indicating the reasons why they stay there.

In the city of Durham there are nearly 8,000 negroes who live on peaceful and friendly terms with their white neighbors. Several tobacco factories and hosiery mills give steady employment to large numbers of colored men and women, and care is taken to insure them good working conditions and a decent livelihood. Mr. Spaulding declares that the people of Durham show a desire to make the negro population a permanent and valued part of its citizenry. The vote is not denied because of color, and adequate educational opportunities are provided for the negroes. There has never, asserts Mr. Spaulding, been a lynching in Durham, and "colored men are given an honest hearing in the courts."

Such a story does not, of course, cover all the facts in other parts of the South, but surely the example of Durham ought to be taken to heart by other cities and sections that are so much wrought up by the migration of negroes to the North. The problem is confessedly complicated. It has its political side and its racial aspects. But, after all, it is a human problem, and the experience of Durham points the way to solving it by human methods. The Durham Morning Herald did a useful thing in publishing so striking a comment on "the migratory movement which is sweeping through the South today."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

MIGRATION IS OKEYED

Cambridge, Mass., July 5.—(A N C)—"The present migration of Negroes from the South is a natural progress which will result in good." James Hardy Dillard of Charlottesville, Va., said in an address at the Harvard alumni exercises today.

225 IN NEGRO EXODUS.

Wage Earners Quit North Carolina County for Increases.

HENDERSON, N. C., June 27.—Approximately 225 negroes have left this county for northern and eastern points during the last few months, according to J. C. Anthony, county farm agent. Most of the negroes departed from the agricultural sections, it was stated. A few white youths also were reported to have left for northern points as a result of rumors of higher wages.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
JUNE 27, 1923

WANT NEGRO IMMIGRATION TO MICHIGAN DISCOURAGED

LANSING, Mich., June 26.—Young negroes are flocking to Michigan industrial centers by the hundreds, according to a report made to the State Administrative Board today. The report, submitted by L. Whitney Watkins, Commissioner of Agriculture, and Carl Young, Labor Commissioner, blames unrest prevalent among young negroes since the war and conditions in the South for the influx.

The report asks that the State Administrative Board appoint a committee to make a survey of the situation and prepare to take care of the increased negro population. Other recommendations of the commissioners are that the immigration of negroes be discouraged, that negro farm colonies be established and that authority be given to keep in close touch with the welfare needs of the negroes.

CLOSING FLOOD GATES ON SOUTHERN MIGRANTS

Labor Authorities Give Warning That Crest of Opportunity Is Past

THERE are decided bearish tendencies evident in the demand for colored labor migratory from the South, steady streams of which have been directed to Northern industries since November 30, 1922.

A strong impression prevails that the tide of Northern migration has arrived at the crest of demand, for this year at least, and employers are disposed to assimilate the supply already on hand into useful and economic functions of their production. Cleveland, O., where large numbers of these migrants have lodged, is the first to announce that there is an available man for every job in that center, and fear is expressed that winter will come and find within its gates large numbers of unemployed among this class. Consequently, B. C. Seiple, State Superintendent of Employment Service in Ohio, has requested the Department of Labor to broadcast a warning that further placement of the migrants in Cleveland would be impossible.

While steel and its dependent industries, automobiles, rubber and glass are straying short-handed to keep up a high-powered pace of production, there is a disposition to put the brakes upon other industries using unskilled labor.

The reopening of immigration for the fiscal year on July 1, whereby 71,563 aliens gain entrance monthly, has probably affected the demand for labor. Records show that the proportion of males among the immigrants above that of the females ranges from 96 to 98 per cent, from which the conclusion is drawn that industries will receive from the monthly yield of these entrants an average of 25,000 men. This number just about equals the monthly migration of colored men from the South since November 30, 1922. While the monthly yield of immigrants is being absorbed, the northward trend of colored labor will be arrested, giving Southern farmers and manufacturers a breathing spell in which to count the casualties and cover up their labor losses.

Public road-building, railroad rehabilitation and general construction employing unskilled labor go steadily forward, and the colored labor lately arrived from the South is deeply absorbed in these activities. A survey just completed by the Department of Labor shows that a remarkable number of colored skilled laborers have been taken on in these lines. In twelve Northern States the number of skilled workers has increased 60.34 per cent in one year. A knowledge of the trades at which they are employed was acquired while they were in the South and they have been successfully adjusted to the present skilled requirements of the North.

But more than half of the summer season is gone, and winter, which always brings a check and a retrograde shift to the movements of this labor, is being contemplated, as is suggested by the situation in Cleveland. Immigration will continue to grind until its 1924 quota of 357,803 is exhausted, outdoor colored labor will seek indoor occupations, the work of harvesting will be finished and the cities and industrial centers will be crowded, while workers will not be wanting.

Stimulated by wide publicity, the Northern movement of colored labor continues; but in face of these facts it should be the part of wisdom to keep the stream within its banks, because an overflow would be detrimental to all concerned. Idleness of these workers in Northern cities during the winter would be as unwelcome to the civil authorities as to the migrants themselves, and an extension of the movement should be carefully considered with especial regard to difficulties in placement which seem apparent.

PHIL H. BROWN,
Commissioner of Conciliation, United States Department of Labor.

WHITE MERCHANTS OF SOUTH FEAR BANKRUPTCY BECAUSE OF EXODUS

WHITE MERCHANT WANTS TO MOVE NORTH

White Storekeepe Wants to Move His Store From Georgia to Pennsylvania Avenue

(Baltimore Afro-American.)

Baltimore, Md., June 21.—That reaction is setting in on the South for its unfairness to its proleteriats was admitted by a Southern white man in an interview with a representative of the Afro Friday.

The visitor who was in the city in quest of a suitable location for a business in this city has operated a department store in Savannah, Ga., according to his statement, for more than twenty years. He came to the city for the purpose of buying an established business in some part of the city largely populated by colored people.

He dropped in to O. Shapiro's, who operates an Army and Navy Store, 817 Penn Avenue. After introducing himself to Mr. Shapiro he began to ascertain the status of his business, saying "I own a department store in Savannah, Ga." Mr. Shapiro informed him that he at one time ran a store in Albany, Ga.

Not many words were exchanged before the Georgia gentleman began to make overtures relative to buying Shapiro out.

At this jucture the gentleman was asked by a representative of the Afro: "Are you contmeplating moving to this section?"

"Yes," said the stranger, "I am losing too much money down there." "My trade is mostly 'niggers' and more than twenty-five thousand have left in the past six months, and more are leaving daily. The train I came up on was crowded with 'niggers' going to different cities in the North. We merchants and farmers are sure to go into bankruptcy if we dont' stop them.

"How are you people going to keep the Negro in the South?" asked the inquiring reporter:

"I don't know how we are going to do it—and I am not caring—all I want is a suitable location up here—I am tired of losing money," was the reply.

At this juncture Mr. Shapiro informed the prospective buyer that he would be on the Avenue waiting for the colored brother.

The stranger found that he was being interviewed by a newspaper man and cried out "Don't you put my name in the paper. They might jump me when I go back for talking too much."

The reporter informed the newcomer that he would not be able to build a business among colored people in this section with the Georgia program and that not only would he lose money, he would very likely lose a few teeth unless he dropped the word 'nigger' from his vocabulary.

The Southerner admitted that the Negro was not paid enough for his work on Southern plantations and that the boll weevil was driving them away. He also declared "a lot of good 'niggers' will never leave.'"

The "good nigger" the Georgian referred to is the type of Negro known as "the me-too-boss Negro."

55,522 Plows Idle Down In Georgia

Atlanta, June 27.—Within the past three and a half years, 88,938 colored people have emigrated from Georgia to the north, according to figures compiled her by the Georgia Bankers' Association.

During the first six months in 1923, 77,600 Negroes have left the State, and for the same period 29,-513 whites have left the farms of Georgia, the figures show.

As a result of this exodus, the report stated, from the rural communities, 18,674 farm dwellings have been left vacant, and estimating thirty acres to the plow, there are 55,522 idle plows. Labor shortage on the farms is estimated at 70,743 on June 15.

NEGRO EXODUS LAID TO LABOR DEMAND

55,000 Left South Carolina to Answer Higher Pay Call of North

TOLL OF ALL STATES HEAVY

Fifty-five thousand Negroes have left the State of South Carolina in the last seven months. Probably an equal number have left Georgia and the exodus toll throughout the Southern States has been heavy. What is the magnet with which the North is drawing the Negroes in these unprecedented numbers?

While there is plainly discernible a desire on the part of the new generation of Negroes for better conditions of living, there appears to have been, in addition, a concerted effort on the part of Northern industry to enlist Negro labor.

Robbed of their usual quota of foreign laborers when the immigration ropes were drawn taut, railroad and steel companies of the North have found themselves face to face with an unusual and a critical situation. Foreign laborers were the invited guests. They are the preferred stock, because they are, for the most part, industrious and reliable.

But the fact remains that when Northern employers found themselves sitting at the head of an empty banquet board they sent out and scoured the byways and hedges and lured the Negroes to the feast of good wages.

Employment Agents Successful

A crisis had to be faced and it was met by advertisements in Southern newspapers, which held out the lure of a land of promise and by the scattering of employment agents throughout the Southern States. In some of the States of the South, these agents worked openly. In others, where the statutes provide for prohibitive licenses for those seeking the exportation of labor, the missionary work was done quietly. In both cases it was so effective that Negroes have been shipped in car load lots and by the thousand from virtually every State in the South.

Steel mills have been the principal bidders for the Negro workmen, with the Bethlehem, United States, Bessemer and Carnegie Steel Companies as the leading importers. Other industries also, large and small, have been forced to seek the aid of the Negro laborer in carrying on.

Richmond, Va., has been the clearing house for thousands of the Negroes who have come North. Anderson's Employment Service, of Richmond, has been the most extensive advertiser in the Carolinas and Georgia for Negro labor. One of these advertisements of the Richmond agency sought 1000 Negroes for steel plant work in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Ad Called for 1000 Workmen

Other advertisements asked for 1000 Negroes for work in Steubenville, O., and for Homestead, Chairton nad Braddock, Pa. The lowest pay offered was forty cents an hour and the advertisement set forth that board and lodging could be obtained for only $5.25 a week.

Dozens of these advertisements have appeared, offering work in many cities of the North and Middle West. Some of the larger papers, such as the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer, are said to have refused to accept the advertisements.

In Louisiana and Mississippi newspaper advertisements, for the most part, have been inserted by New Orleans agencies and by a Pittsburgh agent, who signed the initials "H. B. W." Virtually the same inducements were held out to Negro workmen in these notices.

Reports from New Orleans say that many of the Negroes who have left Louisiana and Mississippi for the North have written home that the conditions are not as represented. They say that they are dissatisfied and wish to return home, but are unable to pay their way. In some instances planters are said to have paid some of the Negroes' fares back to the South. One Mississippi farmer is said to have sent transportation for ten of the men.

"The Pennsylvania Railroad is making no organized effort to get Negro help from the South, but the Bethlehem and United States Steel Companies are," is the statement of a Pennsylvania official. "These two companies, I am informed, are advertising extensively in the South, with the result that the Negroes are coming North in droves.

Glad to Come to P. R. R.

"After working for these companies for a short time at thirty-four cents an hour, however, hundreds of the Negroes are glad to come to the Pennsylvania at forty cents an hour, the railroad's standard pay.

"The Negroes apparently do not care who pays their way North. During the war the railroad spent a great deal of money to obtain Negro laborers with rather disastrous results. They will not stick. We use Negroes mostly as track and common laborers. Many of them refuse to do that kind of work and remain idle rather than not have a 'soft job.'"

There is no agreement between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the steel companies, it was pointed out, but "a Negro will walk fifty miles to get one cent an hour more," the official said.

Southern railroads are aiding Negro leaders in doing all in their power to stem the migration. Only the poorest accomodations are provided for the migrants, reports from one State revealed, and some of the railroads have gone so far as to place posters on railroad property advising the Negroes against leaving home.

In addition to those who are assured of work before they leave the South, however, there is an unquestionably large number of Negroes who come North without definite assurances of any kind. Many of these have come to Philadelphia and the acute need of labor here is shown in the fact that none of them fails to obtain employment.

N. Y. TRIBUNE
JULY 16, 1923

The Negro Moving North

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: As to negro migration, the negro realizes that wages in the North are higher, and he also realizes that living conditions are equally high, which offsets any profit to himself. Can we conscientiously say that it is the dollar which makes him crave for the North? Emphatically no. The wages of the North have always been higher.

The negro of to-day is a new negro. He has been taught new ideas and his white brethren are responsible. He fought for his country. He was carried with his pack and gun into a foreign country; he came into contact with dark-skinned brethren, citizens of foreign countries, especially France, who told him of their rights as citizens, and how their country protected them as citizens. Even the French populace were surprised to learn of the Southern negro's treatment in this country and lauded him as being extremely loyal under such conditions.

The negro has played well his part, and is it not fair that he should expect better pay, better working and living conditions and the full rights of loyal citizens?

Here is why he leaves the South: Unjust treatment, failure to secure a square deal in the courts, taxation without representation, denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary, no representation in any form of government, poor schools, unjust pay for and division of crops, insulting of women without any redress, and public torture.

The negro longs for free air, happiness and all that goes to make for a full and free citizenship, and that brings him North. C. OTIS.

Ithaca, N. Y., July 12, 1923.

STATE LOSING LITTLE BY NEGRO MIGRATION

Few North Carolina Blacks Have Gone to the North But Whites Are Moving

MOUNTAINEERS PULL OUT

(By Associated Press)

Raleigh, July 12.—Reports received from about 25 county agents of the state indicate that there has been only a small loss of negro labor from the farms in North Carolina, as compared to losses from states farther south, B. W. Kilgore, director of extension work of State college and the department of agriculture, announced today.

Actual figures compiled from these reports show that 1,270 negroes have left farm work for the industrial centers of the north. Washington county, where 30 to 40 laborers are reported to be leaving each week, apparently is suffering most from a shortage of farm labor.

Another phase affecting labor on the farms as shown by the agents' reports," reads a statement of the agricultural department, "is found in counties like Mecklenburg, where a number of the laborers going to Charlotte receive about $3 a day as compared with $1.25 that the farmer is able to pay. In counties adjacent to Winston-Salem the same condition is arising. In Davie county adjoining Forsyth, County Agent George Evans reports that the farmer is forced to pay from $3.50 to $4 per day for common labor. To overcome this a number of farmers are clubbing together and doing their rush work by community effort.

"Another significant thing found by Dr. Kilgore, as a result of the survey, is that some counties report such labor as is lost is being replaced by other labor coming in from the states to the south. A. K. Robertson of Wayne county reports that more laborers have come into his county from southern states than have left for northern points. In Hertford and a number of other counties where considerable road building is being carried on, the competition for labor has also been hurtful to the farmer.

"On the whole, however, Dr. Kilgore finds that the farm agents do not seem to be very much alarmed about labor conditions in the various counties. A number of them believe that most of the migration northward is from the ranks of shiftless laborers largely from cities and that in the end it will result in considerable good because of this class leaving, and further that farmers will soon begin to depend more and more on power machinery for doing farm work.

"Probably one of the most serious losses which the state is now experiencing is the leaving of young white men from the mountain farms for industrial sections. In Cherokee county some white labor has left, and about 25 to 30 white men are reported to have gone from Clay. However, H. H. Ellis, county agent of Cherokee county, states that more of them go to work in the cotton mills of Gaston county and to other mills in nearby sections than go to the north.

"In Watauga county John B. Steele, county agent, reports, that about 20 white men have gone from this county to West Virginia, Ohio and Michigan this spring, but there has been no movement of negroes out of the county. In Polk county, J. R. Sams finds that a number of the young white men have left the county for northern cities.

"On the whole, however, with the exception of Washington county, there seems to be little concern among the farm agents as to the migration of negroes from this state. One agent notes that those leaving his section are paying their own way to some point in Virginia where they are given transportation funds from there on.

"The farm agents have done considerable work, however, to offset this migration. Director Kilgore states that under the leadership of C. R. Hudson, state agent, a movement was inaugurated early in the year to have the negro agents to begin a campaign among their own people for living at home this year. The white agents were also instructed to assist in this campaign wherever possible, and as a result more negroes in North Carolina are now growing their own food and feed supplies than every before.

"One county agent, W. H. Barton, Richmond county, realizing what had happened in the states to the south where the boll weevil had done great damage, put on an intensive campaign for his live at home program. He enlisted the negroes in the project of the home garden, soil building and the use of legumes. He also reached the colored people in community groups through the negro ministers, who arranged meetings at school houses and churches. Mr. Barton filled several Sunday engagements at churches Sunday afternoons and found that the negroes responded well. In his county alone over 243 negroes were enrolled in garden work, and in a recent report C. R. Hudson stated that approximately 2500 adult negroes had been enrolled in this work over the state as a whole."

Summarizing the reports, Dr. Kilgore said:

"I do not believe North Carolina has as yet suffered a severe loss of farm labor and it is gratifying to know that while a large part of the shiftless element has migrated, still the better class of laborers have realized that it is to their interest to remain on our farms. Those who are leaving are being replaced to some extent by other laborers from the states further south. Of the agents making a full report in this survey only the one in Washington county has noticed a severe loss from the farm and we feel justly proud that our program of work for the agriculture of the state has had some good influence in this matter."

BIRMINGHAM INDUSTRY FEELS NEGRO MIGRATION

Shortage of Labor Menaces Output of Steel, Iron and Coal.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., July 6.—Special to The Advertiser—Shortage of common laborers in the Birmingham steel, coal and iron districts has become serious due to migration of negroes northward and failure of other laborers to drift here, it was declared Friday after an extensive investigation by Ivon W. Bradshaw, industrial editor of The Birmingham News, and a close observer of local conditions for more than 30 years. Industries with every other factor favoring their greatest development since the war time activity, are menaced in both present and future output by this shortage of labor.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

GREAT EXODUS EXPECTED THIS YEAR

Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Ga.

Preparations Are Being Made to Care for People Going North

3-1-23

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 28—(Associated Negro Press)—A careful investigation of conditions throughout the South by The Associated Negro Press, and by authentic reports from the Department of Commerce of the United States Government, 1923 promises two outstanding facts: First, the exodus of colored people from the South will equel and possibly surpass that of 1918; second, there will be work in

THE NEW EXODUS

The exodus of Negroes from the South is assuming propo
tions that are causing great alarm among the white people
that section. The principal newspapers of Georgia are discussin
the question pro and con. Some of them are endeavoring to b
little the whole movement. The Atlanta "Constitution" is incline
to attach small importance to it and to attribute the movemen
such as it is, more to economic than to other reasons.

On the other hand, the Macon "News" regards the preset
situation as a most serious one. It quotes Mr. Stanley, the Con
missioner of Labor of Georgia, who makes an estimate that N
groes are leaving the state at the rate of two hundred and fifty
and upwards a day.

A number of prominent leaders of the African Methodist Epis-
copal Church met in Atlanta and after discussing the situation
issued a report upon it. The report set up that the colored people
"are giving away the earnings of a lifetime; they are ruining our
church membership; they are breaking up our churches to the
extent that they often take the pastor with them." The report
makes a plea for fair treatment. On this point the report as pub-
lished in the Atlanta "Constitution" says, "The 'Constitution' has
pleaded for years that, while we are separate here from a social
standpoint, our interests are common and that the Negro should
be given a fair chance to make the most of himself and family."

We can easily understand how the leaders of the colored
churches in the South feel about this movement. It will very se-
riously affect their organizations. But the churches will not be
the only ones to suffer. Colored business and professional men
will suffer just the same. What the colored leaders, religious,
professional and business, ought to avoid in this situation is exact-
ly what some of them did when the movement was on several
years ago. **They should not appeal to the white people to help
stop the exodus either by persuasion or prohibition. They should
make it an opportunity to demand the removal as far as possible
of the main causes for the exodus. These leaders are in a position
where they do not need to make an appeal. They can make a
strong, unqualified demand and place the burden of responsibility
upon the white people. For example, we have one of these re-
ligious leaders commending the following statement which oc-
curred in an editorial in the "Constitution."**

> **"The Negro belongs in the South. He has shown remarkable physical, mental, moral and material development in the South. He deserves fair treatment."**

That sort of statement is too wishy-washy and sentimental. Why does the Negro belong in the South. Any man worth his salt belongs where he can do best. There is nothing sacred about the Negro having been born in the South. History is filled with examples of men who have left the lands in which their forefathers have lived fo rthousands of years when their conditions became oppressive and they felt that they could better themselves. **If the Negro can come North and better his condition economically, educationally and politically, he would be nothing less than a fool to stay in the South simply because he was born there.**

We hope that this movement will assume such proportions as will make the white South realize that it can no longer treat the Negro as he has been treated and still keep him in the South. We also hope that the colored leaders in the South will take advantage of the opportunity that this movement offers to demand fairer treatment, treatment that will at least include freedom from peonage, a fair share of the educational fund, the right to vote under the same qualifications required of other citizens, common justice in the courts and the abolishment of lynching. However, whether the South concedes fairer treatment to the Negro or not, we hope the movement will keep up. The longer it keeps up, still more will the South be inclined to give fairer and still fairer treatment.

> **But under all circumstances the Negro will be better off if a million or two of them can come out of the South. As we said before, there are too many of them packed up there. This condition makes Negroes cheap in every respect, not only as labor but as life. It will be far better for them to spread over the country. We only hope that they will not crowd into the cities in large numbers. As many as are able should try and get on the land in the Middle West and in the Northwest.**
>
> Let the exodus keep up and let Negroes Northand South, leaders and masses, endeavor to take the fullest strategic advantage of the movement.

practically all of the northern industrial centers from New York to Chicago, and between, and in the far Northwest for all those who desire it.

Thoughtful southern employers are alarmed at the present outlook, and leading newspapers of the South, daily, without exception, are appealing to the public to assist in setting things right in order that colored people may be willing to remain in the south and do the heavy work.

In a number of instances, local laws have been passed, and there is an effort to enforce them, especially as regards the coming into the district and taking workers away wholesale. A remarkable fact brought out by all investigations discloses that grim winter has not halted the new exodus which began early in the summer of 1922.

The Literary Digest, New York, in a featured article reviewing the opinions of both North and South on the subject, reveals the cause as brought out by Lester A. Walton in a special article in the New York World, on which Walton is a staff correspondent Walton began his story by saying: "Every day is moving day in Dixie." Verily, this is true. There seems to be no power that can stop what is going on. Persuasian? That means nothing in the face of continued lynchings, persecutions, the Klux and general oppression, say those who are coming. Force? That only adds to the gravity of the situation, and compels the resorting to devious ways of "Crossing the line."

These people are coming with all their earthly possessions. Many of have friends and relatives who have precceded them; others are aroused by the dreams of a larger freedom. In many of the cities, with the experience of the other exodus behind them, are "taking time by the forelock." They are preparing to not only provide the newcomers with places to live and a hearty welcome, but they are preparing to urge upon them the great necessity of caution in the midst of their new freedom as it is sometimes called.

In Newark, N. J., citizens have grouped together and provided a large hall which is used as headquarters, and from there assigned to their stopping place and work, as for example, at a great national convention.

This method will doubtless be followed in other cities to some extent. Local Urban Leagues are alert in supplying both information and work through their employment department.

Probably the most pretentious arrangements are in progress in Chicago. Leading citizens and organizations are determined that those coming to Chicago shall not be fleeced by sharks and schemers of various descriptions. Chicagoans have learned that many are coming here with the idea of investment; already there has been more building contracting thus than for many years. There is a $10,000,000 fund available for this purpose. Charles S. Duke, civil engineer and Harvard graduate, has been appointed to pass upon the funds for the South Side of Chicago.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

THE NEW EXODUS

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On the other hand, the Macon "News" regards the preser situation as a most serious one. It quotes Mr. Stanley, the Con missioner of Labor of Georgia, who makes an estimate that N groes are leaving the state at the rate of two hundred and fift and upwards a day. New York Times 3/3/23

A number of prominent leaders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church met in Atlanta and after discussing the situation issued a report upon it. The report set up that the colored people "are giving away the earnings of a lifetime; they are ruining our church membership; they are breaking up our churches to the extent that they often take the pastor with them." The report makes a plea for fair treatment. On this point the report as published in the Atlanta "Constitution" says, "The 'Constitution' has pleaded for years that, while we are separate here from a social standpoint, our interests are common and that the Negro should be given a fair chance to make the most of himself and family."

We can easily understand how the leaders of the colored churches in the South feel about this movement. It will very seriously affect their organizations. But the churches will not be the only ones to suffer. Colored business and professional men will suffer just the same. What the colored leaders, religious, professional and business, ought to avoid in this situation is exactly what some of them did when the movement was on several years ago. **They should not appeal to the white people to help stop the exodus either by persuasion or prohibition. They should make it an opportunity to demand the removal as far as possible of the main causes for the exodus. These leaders are in a position where they do not need to make an appeal. They can make a strong, unqualified demand and place the burden of responsibility upon the white people. For example, we have one of these religious leaders commending the following statement which occurred in an editorial in the "Constitution."**

> **"The Negro belongs in the South. He has shown remarkable physical, mental, moral and material development in the South. He deserves fair treatment."**

That sort of statement is too wishy-washy and sentimental. Why does the Negro belong in the South. Any man worth his salt belongs where he can do best. There is nothing sacred about the Negro having been born in the South. History is filled with examples of men who have left the lands in which their forefathers have lived fo rthousands of years when their conditions became oppressive and they felt that they could better themselves. **If the Negro can come North and better his condition economically, educationally and politically, he would be nothing less than a fool to stay in the South simply because he was born there.**

We hope that this movement will assume such proportions as will make the white South realize that it can no longer treat the Negro as he has been treated and still keep him in the South. We also hope that the colored leaders in the South will take advantage of the opportunity that this movement offers to demand fairer treatment, treatment that will at least include freedom from peonage, a fair share of the educational fund, the right to vote under the same qualifications required of other citizens, common justice in the courts and the abolishment of lynching. However, whether the South concedes fairer treatment to the Negro or not, we hope the movement will keep up. The longer it keeps up, still more will the South be inclined to give fairer and still fairer treatment.

But under all circumstances the Negro will be better off if a million or two of them can come out of the South. As we said before, there are too many of them packed up there. This condition makes Negroes cheap in every respect, not only as labor but as life. It will be far better for them to spread over the country. We only hope that they will not crowd into the cities in large numbers. As many as are able should try and get on the land in the Middle West and in the Northwest.

Let the exodus keep up and let Negroes Northand South, leaders and masses, endeavor to take the fullest strategic advantage of the movement.

GREAT EXODUS EXPECTED THIS YEAR

Samuel Taylor

Preparations Are Being Made to Care for People Going North

3-1-23

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 28—(Associated Negro Press)—A careful investigation of conditions throughout the South by the Associated Negro Press, and by authentic reports from the Department of Commerce of the United States Government, 1923 promises two exodus of Negroes greater than that of 1916-1918; second, there will be work in which Walton is a staff correspondent began his story, by saying: "Every day is moving day in Dixie." Verily, this is true. There seems to be no power that can stop it. That means northward for all those who desire it. That only adds to the situation, and compels the public to assist in setting things right in order that colored people may be willing to remain in the south and do the heavy work.

In a number of instances, local laws have been passed, and there is an effort to enforce them, especially as regards the coming into the district and taking workers away wholesale. A remarkable fact brought out by all investigations discloses that grim winter of conditions throughout the South by has not halted the new exodus which began early in the summer of 1922. The Literary Digest, New York, in a featured article reviewing the opinions of both North and South on the subject, reveals the cause as brought out by Lester A. Walton in a special article in the New York World, on parratically all of the northern industrial centers from New York to Chicago, and between, and in the far Northwest for all those who desire it. Thoughtful southern employers are alarmed at the present outlook, and leading newspapers of the South, daily, without exception, are appealing to the gravity of the situation, and compels to devious ways of going. Leading citizens and organizations are determined that those coming to Chicago shall not be fleeced by sharks and schemers of various descriptions. Chicagoans have learned that many are coming here with the idea of investment; already there has been more building contracting than for many years. There is a $10,000,000 fund available for this purpose. Charles S. Duke, civil engineer and Harvard graduate, has been appointed to pass upon the funds for the South Side of Chicago.

"Crossing the line."

These people are coming with all their earthly possessions. Many of have friends and relatives who have preceded them; others are aroused by the dreams of a larger freedom. In many of the cities, with the experience behind them, are preparing to not only provide the places to live and a welcome, but they are prepared to urge upon them the great necessity of caution in the midst of their new freedom as it is sometimes called.

In Newark, N. J., citizens have grouped together and provided a large hall which is used as headquarters,

THE NEW SOUTHERN EXODUS.

Mr. Lester A. Walton in his article in the New York "World" of last Sunday tells of the new wave of Negro migration from the South. Mr. Walton paraphrases Coue as follows: "Day by day in every way the Negro migration wave is getting larger and larger." He states that fifty thousand is a conservative estimate of the number of Negroes who have left the Southern States for the Northwest and Middle West within the past ninety days. He puts down lynching, exploitation, and denial of common justice as the causes behind the exodus. He also points out that the whites of the South are becoming alarmed and that some liberal leaders are urging that steps be taken to stop the movement.

The facts regarding migration which Mr. Walton has set down are corroborated from other sources. For example, in a rural community in one of the Southwestern states there is a branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Last week the National Office of that organization received a letter from the branch which contained the following paragraph:

> "Our branch has scattered very, very much in the last two months, going northwest. We began with upwards of two hundred members and now we are down to about forty, and they are planning to go. The Secretary is gone and the President is planning to go, and several others of which I shall not mention just now, and some of us are in such condition until we can't go. Although the ordeal that we are going through demands our room, yet we are unable to cross the Mason and Dixon line."

Further corroboration is contained in an article on the Ku Klux Klan in the New York "Herald" of last Sunday. In this article it is disclosed that the powerful influences in the South called the Klan off the Negro because the activities of that organization were driving Negroes out of the cotton-raising districts of the South. The article in the "Herald" contained some interesting statistics regarding the falling off in the increase of Negro population in several Southern States in the last decade as shown in the census. We quote these statistics as follows:

> The 1920 census returns indicate plainly the drift of the colored population since the Invisible Empire became a menace.
>
> The increase in the Negro population of Georgia from 1900 to 1910, for instance, was 13.7 per cent., whereas from 1910 to 1920 it dropped to 2.5 per cent., far below the increase due.
>
> At the beginning of the Ku Klux movement Florida was quickly organized and many Negroes frightened or actually mistreated. The increase there from 1900 to 1910 was 33.8 per cent., but that went down to 6.7 from 1910 to 1920.
>
> Alabama was Ku Klux ridden for several years. Her Negro population increased 9.8 per cent. from 1900 to 1910, but decreased 0.8 per cent. from 1910 to 1920.
>
> From 1900 to 1910 the Negroes of Mississippi increased 11.2 per cent., but from 1910 to 1920 they decreased 7.4 per cent.
>
> In Louisiana the Negroes increased 9.7 per cent from 1900 to 1910 and decreased 1.9 per cent. from 1910 to 1920.

This new wave of migration is the most encouraging sign now to be seen in the South. In leaving the South the Negro is bringing into play the strongest force at his command. He is exercising economic pressure, the most powerful that can be exerted, except overwhelming physical force. If migration could bring about influences strong enough to call off the Ku Klux Klan, it can, if it is kept up, ameliorate many other conditions in the South. It is within the possibilities that it could almost entirely abolish the three great evils, lynching, disfranchisement and Jim-Crowism.

Of course, the success of this migration movement depends not only upon the Negro's leaving the South but equally upon his gaining an economic foothold in the North and West. If the efforts which capitalistic industry is making to open the immigration gates and let in a flood of cheap labor are unsuccessful, there will be no difficulty for the Negro in gaining an economic foothold in the North.

If sufficient numbers of Negroes can get their hands on the good paying jobs in the North and West and bring up their children and educate them in the free and civilized states, there will be wrought a greater change in the condition of the race in the next twenty years than can now be imagined.

Certainly, the Negro will meet with opposition in the North, but it will be opposition of a different kind. It will be the opposition which demands only "Can you make good?"

The old idea about the South being our dear old homeland and that we ought to love it and live in it and die in it regardless of conditions is nothing but mushy sentimentality, the sort of sentimentality we get in "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Suwanee River."

The actual fact is there are too many Negroes packed in the South. It makes Negroes cheap, cheap as labor, sometimes cheap as fuel. The country is too big to make such congestion necessary. If one-half the Negroes would come out of the South and go into the industries in the North and upon the land in the Northwest, where they will be free from peonage, the whole race would be many fold better off.

We hope that the migration will keep up.

South Says North's Bad Spot for Us

Chicago Defender

Osceola, Ark., March 2.—Southerners are not going to give up their Race labor without a struggle. Forced to yield to a depletion in the ranks of their farm hands during the late war, Dixie planters are now endeavoring to check with mouth and money the onrush North of these laborers.

One of the favorite schemes of these new saviors of the South is an effort to show those men and women who have stayed at home how badly it fares with those who go away.

Recently a story was published in the local paper, taking a full column, which related the trials of a Luxora (Ark.) citizen who had gone to Missouri, been treated rough and forced to write to his white folks back home for aid. The paper sought to show by this that it is anything but roseate for the Race man who leaves for the North.

Laborers around here do not pay any attention to such notices. In those cases where the tales are not pure fabrication, they know from experience that the men or women telling them are forced to say what they do. And with all that the number who go North and complain are too few to make any noise about.

GADSDEN ALA. JOURNAL
JANUARY 31. 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION.

In speaking of the migration of the southern negro to the north and east the Boston Post says:

"The news reports say that a national negro conference, to be held in Washington, is planning to assist in the migration of 3,000,000 negroes from the south. This is a serious intention and bodes no good for any section of the country, or for the colored people themselves. The planters cannot raise their crops without help. The negro is as much a part of the cotton field as the plant itself. As a laborer under such climatic conditions he cannot be replaced and efforts made to cause him to desert so natural a field of endeavor should be discouraged.

"As a resident of the north the negro must undergo a complete change of life, as likely to be detrimental as beneficial. Our great mill centers would be affected by such a shift in the southern population. Cotton is already high and would as a result increase in price and decrease in quantity. The loss entailed upon one division of states would be of no gain to any other division of states. The negroes are in the south as much through natural circumstances as they are because of any other reason. It would not be an economic but a physical hardship to promote such a change of homes as is contemplated by these conferees."

Many of the northern and eastern papers have long since learned that the negro, as a rule, is not adapted to the climatic and labor conditions of their sections and are fast trying to discourage the migration of the negro from his rightful location. The negroes as a rule who have gone east and north are the worst dissatisfied of the two, and while efforts might be made by interests that want to gain by the migration of the negro, it is not feared that they will leave the south in any appreciatiable numbers, however, if they do, they will come back wiser and be better satisfied by having gone.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

NEGROES ARE GOING NORTH; MANY CHURCHES IN GEORGIA DISCARDED, SOME ARE MADE MISSION POINTS

REPORTS IN ANNUAL CONFERENCES SHOW CHURCHES PRACTICALLY BROKEN UP BY EXODUS—RAILROAD TICKETS SEEM THE BEST INVESTMENT FOR THOUSANDS OF NEGROES.

BISHOP HOLDS MEETING AND ADVISES AGAINST MOVEMENT

Secretary of Education C. M. E. Church Speaks at Conference—Suggests Methods of Settling Conditions—T. C. I. Co. Cited as Example of Helping Labor Conditions.

4/3/23

By J. A. Bray.

Birmingham reporter

(Special to Birmingham Reporter)

Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 2, 1923.

Knowing that your publication is interested in whatever effects the ewlfare of the Race, after visiting many annual conferences in the South and especially the Georgia conferences, I am writing you some observations on the Negro exodus from the South.

I must confess my very great surprise at revelations connected with the exodus of our people from parts of the South as evidenced at annual conferences of the C. M. E. church in Georgia. Travelling on the railroads much and especially on the trunk lines out of the South, such as the Frisco Lines, the Illinois Central and the Louisville and Nashville railroads, I knew that there was a gradual stream of Negroes flowing north, but reports of church membership in the different sections of the State of Georgia showed an alarming loss of members. This was so pronounced that at three annual conferences of the C. M. E. church Bishop R. S. Williams, the presiding bishop, delivered strong addresses cautioning our people not to sacrifice their good homes and property and their hold upon sure positions in industry for an uncertainty. The bishop set aside a night known as "education night" at each conference and had the secretary of education of the C. M. E. church, Rev. James A. Bray, to deliver an address devoted largely to warning against Negroes becoming "panicky" in their immigration movement.

The annual conferences which we attended in the State of Georgia held their annual session at La-Grange, Milledgeville and Atlanta. These three conferences includeu the colored Methodist churches in the southwest, the central and the northern part of Georgia and although we did not attend the southeast conference, we were told by the presiding bishop that the reduction in membership due to the exodus was just as great as in the other three conferencs.

As th writer sat and listened to preacher after preacher read his report to the annual conference, calling out so-and-so many "withdrawn to go north," for there was scarcely a report read that did not state several more or less gone north, the writer became curious to know just how telling the sum total going out of the C. M. E. church in these conferences would show. The presiding bishop who holds the official reports said publicly that between three and four thousand had moved north out of these conferences since their last annual session.

In most instances the rural churches showed the greater loss. Not that a larger percentage had gone north from the rural districts, but many had gone from the dural districts into the cities as well as to the north, and while the city churches showed considerable loss there was some compensation from the rural districts.

Among the rural churches in all three of these conferences at La-Grange, Milledgeville and Atlanta, the bishop and presiding elders had to combine several chudches to make a membership large enough to support a pastor. Some of the smaller towns in which there have been good churches with strong member ships supporting a pastor well, have been so reduced in Negro population, that the churches are practically missions unable to suport a pastro.

In Sparta, eGorgia, the C. M. E. church is one of the oldest Methodist congregations in the South. The sainted and well-konwn Bishop L. H. Holsey, one of the senior bishops of the C. M. E. church, was a member of this church. For many years Sparta Station has been one of the strongest appointments in the central Georgia Conference. Some of the most outstanding preachers of the state pastored this charge. When the report was read by the pastor before the recent annual conference at Milledgeville, the membership of this noted church was so reduced by members going north, that the church was no longer found to be self-supporting and had to be placed on a circuit with another church, after being transferred into another conference. Other towns could be cited as instances, but suffice it to say that every town and city church of the C. M. E. connection, shows great loss.

Royston, eGorgia, a small town on the Elberton Airline Railroad, a branch of the Southern from Toccoa, Ga., to Elberton, Ga., has been a prosperous little town with a large and prosperous rural community.. Rev. J. D. Hudson, the pastor of the C. M. E. church at this point fod five years until December 17th, appointed presiding elder of the Atlanta District, gives the following report: "In one day and to go on the same train this fall Colored people bought tickets to the amount of more than $750. We asked why this expenditure of so much money to leave home. The reply came, "We have come to the conclusion that the best investment we can make in the South is in a railroad ticket to get out."

The writer was anxious to know if other denominations were similarly affected by the Negro exodus. Bishop J. S. Flipper of th A. M. E. church, pdesiding bishop of all the A. M. E. annual conferences in Georgia, visited the C. M. E. conference in Atlanta, December 14, and privately he told us and publicik in an address that the same alarming conditions confronted the A. M. E. church.

The writer visited annual conferences and the tale of the stream of Negroes going north is almost uni-m. There is a large movement from eGorgia, Alabama and Missis sippi than from the other states as we have been able to observe.

Observation and testimony bear witness that those going and those planning to go are not the "riff raff" —not the thriftless, not the most ignorant, but a large precentage of prosperous, industrious and intelligent Negro citizens.

Many of the strongest ministers of the Methodist churches are being transferred to pastor these members who have migratd and have built or bought the finest houses of worship for Negries in the country. Many of the most outstanding Baptist preachers are being called by these members who have gone from our Southland.

In reply to the question put to these people as to why they have gone, are going and plan to go, the almost uniform reply is, "to beeter our condition." We have asked earnestly, seekinfi light, "What are the conditions of which you complain?" The reply, "Poor schools bad condition of travel, ill treatment without recourse, the mob and lynching spirit, denial of fair treatment in courts and we see no hope for better conditions."

The writer makes the following coment:

"The Negro does not really want to leave the South. The warm climate, friendly ties, tender memories and productive soils and some real friends among the whites, make the going away just a little less painful than breaking heart strings.

"But their children must be educated. They want to feel safe as to the protection of their lives and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor. They long for an atmosphere of peace, free from social animosities and strife. They want to feel that the innocent of their race will be encouraged and free from promiscuous attack. They are willing for the guilty to be punished but not that color shall be an evidence of guilt.

"This great exodus can be checked by Southern whites. Should they all encourage the best Negro, and help every Negro to be and do the best as som do; should they all seek to abolish race hatred and race antagonism as some do; the hands that are now going north would turn back with song in their lips to spend the balance of their lives in Dixie.

"There are some great organizations in the South that are doing much to ameliorate conditions. Some great industrial corporations. I want to mention one. Others are doing commendable work in way of better living conditions, better school facilities, and social uplift, and a living wage. But the wditer has had larger opportunity to observe the work of the Tenessee Coal and Iron Company. It can be said with human certainty that no industrial corporation in the South is doing more, in way of promoting settledness of conditions among Negro laborers than the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Their schools for Negroes are models, living conditions on their works good, opportunities for social uplift splendid.

"Multiplication of such work as is being done by such corporations and larger investigation will show more, I am sure, will change the sentiment that the best investment colored people can make in the South is a ticket to leave the South."

MIGRATION STILL ACTIVE.

That the migration of Negroes from the South is still in operation is evidenced by several incidents that have come to the attention of THE AGE. A correspondent from one of the country sections of Georgia wrote that many members of the race in that neighborhood were leaving for the North and West. It was added significantly that since the anti-lynching bill was killed they were more anxious to leave the South than ever before. It was also stated that the better class of the whites were at a loss to know what to do in this emergency, but it seemed that nothing could be done about it, as the Negroes seemed determined to leave Georgia.

The converse of this situation, which can be parallelled in many other Southern States, was recorded by a veteran newspaper writer in a New York evening paper, when he stated that there passed through this city a few weeks ago, a considerable company of men classed as immigrants, although they did not come from a foreign land. They were able-bodied colored men from the South. The conductor of the party said that they had been brought North to work in the great brickyards at Haverstraw. It was stated that in all about 2,000 immigrated from the South to Haverstraw within the past year.

The writer of the article relating to the brick industry suggested that this incident should be brought to the attention of those members of Congress who are opposed to a modification of the im-

migration laws. This great industry, which has been developed in the little town of Haverstraw to such an extent that it manufactures more bricks than any other place in the world, has been largely dependent on hand labor. This type of labor has undergone many changes during the past seventy years. The first laborers were immigrants from Ireland. The were succeeded by French Canadians from the Dominion of the North and later by Italians from across the sea. But the descendants of all these races acquired education and graduated to other pursuits. The immigration laws having cut off the supply of foreign labor, the Southern Negro has now been drafted for this service.

The same process may apply, in fact it already has begun to operate, in other Northern industries that demand manual labor. With the restrictions put upon the ingress of foreign migration and the growing determination of the Negroes to leave the South, it is only natural that they should be absorbed into such industries. It may be that the working of the immigration laws and the demand for manual labor in the North will help provide a solution for the problem of the South and the Negro.

There is need for a wise direction of this migration movement in the right way, so that the influx of this class of labor may be led to the places where it is needed and where proper accommodations may be found for it in the way of employment and housing. Under proper guidance this movement should relieve the conditions in both sections. The South will lose a large proportion of its labor assets, it is true, but this loss should make for a higher estimate of the value of the element that remains. Northern industries on the other hand will gain a valuable force that will respond readily to fair treatment and grow in efficiency under such conditions.

The migration movement should be productive of good to both sections of the country.

Expert Negro Farmers Are Migrating To North

Associated Negro Press.

LUDINGTON, Mich., Jan. 17.—Interest is being shown here in the plan to deflect Southern migrants to farms in this district. It is stated by those back of the movement that a large percentage of the colored people who are leaving Dixie and coming North to escape the disadvantages of Southern conditions are experienced farmers. Much of the land of this district is untenated although it is rich and fertile. Whether the farmers who have been accustomed to growing only cotton could readily adapt themselves to the diversified farming which is the practice here is another interesting question. The North American Homestead Syndicate, 3518 State Street, Chicago, which has a large tract of the land under control and is offered by colored men points out that the State Agricultural Department maintains an extensive farm agent bureau which would supervise, instruct, and help the newcomers to make the best of their opportunities. The farmers of this district are progressive, alert, and prosperous so than an excellent illustration will be had as to how the colored farmer measures up when working in a land of equal opportunity.

ZONING LAW OPPOSED BY NEGROES OF BIRMINGHAM

BIRMINGHAM, Jan. 18.—Pointing out that a "steady stream of negroes are leaving the south," a committee composed of ten leaders of the race today petitioned the Birmingham city commission and through it the legislature of Alabama to go slow in passing so-called zoning law which is now being drafted for introduction at this session of the assembly. The delegation asked that the segregation clause be omitted from the bill.

The committee declared that the bill was not constructive, in that it would cause "unrest" among the negro population.

While the negro is not mentioned in drafts of the bill made public, the committee said that race was undoubtedly singled out in the segregation clause of the bill and that in event of it becoming law, greater exodus of negroes from Birmingham and the state would result.

The delegation told the commission that the "natural drift" of negroes is to community and that "there is no desire to live among white people."

W. Y. C. JOUR. OF COMMERC
JANUARY 25, 1923

Immigration and the Negro.

Just as it has apparently become pretty well realized in the South that there ought to be a large cotton crop next season there come repeated reports from that section to the effect that negro labor upon which cotton production so much depends is scarce and getting scarcer every day. Reviving industry deprived of its usual supply of unskilled labor from Europe is, so it is said, drawing the farm hands from the cotton fields of the South. Some local effort has been made to put an end to this exodus of negroes, as might have been expected, it has for the most part been without success.

It is not likely that the condition thus complained of will be removed (or if relieved at all, without bringing other ills about as great) unless and until we gain our own consent to some sane modification of our existing immigration law. Certainly it is idle not to expect labor to flow to those sections where the best wages and other inducements are being offered. There are some indications that we are beginning to awake to the true inwardness of this situation. That is, of course, an encouraging fact. It must in all frankness be said, however, that there are no signs of Congress arousing itself from its long slumber or from its slavish fear of organized labor, whichever it is that ails it.

URGES NEGROES TO STAY HERE.

PARKIN, Ark., Jan. 8.—Rev. J. E. Gibson, field editor of Dubois Week Bulletin, Memphis, Tenn., lectured to a large audience of white and colored people at Mt. Zion Church here yesterday. The meeting was advertised by the local Chamber of Commerce, and Rev. Gibson was introduced by A. E. Gill, president of that organization. Matters of importance pertaining to the colored race, especially the Smith Dale School, were discussed. The object of the lecture was to promote better relations between the two races, to show to his people that the southern white man is the best friend they have, that the south is the place for them and that it is against their interest to migrate to the north or elsewhere.

Rev. Gibson is doing a great work throughout the south. J. D. Condola, a native of Central Africa, a product of the efforts of African missionaries and a graduate of Howe Institute of Memphis, Tenn., accompanied Rev. Gibson and made a short address.

THE EXODUS OF NEGROES.

In the news columns of The Constitution today are reports from our regular correspondents in various sections of every congressional district relative to the much exaggerated opinions prevailing that the negro exodus from this state has reached such alarming proportions that industrial, and particularly farm labor conditions are menaced, and even seriously handicapped.

These reports are based on careful surveys in their respective localities for the purpose of ascertaining first, the truth as to the relative number of colored people who have moved to other states; and second, the contributing reasons that have caused their exodus.

In the first place while, on the whole, a few thousand negroes have been enticed to the industrial centers of the north and east through the activities of recruiting agents sent into Georgia, the number is not alarmingly large, nor has it threatened normal labor conditions except in less than a score, probably, of the 160 counties in Georgia. There has been a small exodus, of course, from practically every section, but not to a disturbing extent.

In the second place the exodus that has taken place has been due first of all to the depressed farm conditions, influenced largely by boll weevil infestation, and by the relatively small wages paid on the farms by reason of these conditions. At the same time it is undeniably true that mob violence, racial intolerance and terrorizing on the part of a lawless element in Georgia has also been a contributing factor; and while these conditions are probably improving, due to more concerted community action in the interest of strengthening constituted authority, the fact remains that Georgia has been too lenient wtih this element, and permitted it to get too strong a foothold. The state has suffered because of it.

It is also reported, and this is significant, that many of the negroes who have left within the year have already returned; and undeniably hundreds of others will do so when they can sufficiently finance themselves to pay their railroad fares back home.

Weighed in the scale of southern negroes moving to the north, and northern negroes moving to the south, the surplus of the former is not so great, and it will never become a problem of any serious or alarming concern. The overwhelming majority of good and thoughtful and unprejudiced people of Georgia will not permit it to so become.

The northern winter, the overplus of alien labor, with which the negro does not assimilate, the exactions of labor regulations, all make it more to the liking of the negro to stay in the south, where he fits, and among people who after all treat him best because they understand him best.

On the other hand, just as it was in the days of reconstruction following the civil war, a great percentage of the negroes who go north now are a worthless, disturbing, agitating element; and such a class may not succeed better in the north, but the south will not suffer because of their absence.

In the meantime this fact must be kept always to the fore—

That there are irresponsible elements in the south responsible for occasional mob violence, and for inexcusable terrorizing at times, is lamentably true; and the sooner these elements are checked by the strong arm of constituted authority the better for the section, and for the public welfare.

These same conditions prevail in other sections. There are lynchings, and racial riotings, and terrorizing in Illinois and in Ohio, and in New York and in other states. That does not excuse Georgia. And—

Because of that fact there is no excuse for lawlessness in Georgia, but it must not be understood that any alarmingly large number of negroes have left Georgia through these causes.

Farm tenancy, and the distressing conditions that have visited some sections on account of the boll weevil, and the activities of recruiting agents have been the real causes for the exodus movements.

It is to be hoped that industrial and agricultural conditions in the south will so improve, as the indications now point, that a more satisfactory scale of farm wages may prevail.

The negro belongs in the south. He has shown remarkable physical, mental, moral and material development in the south. He deserves fair treatment, and he gets it more in the south, if he is provident and law-abiding, than in any other section of the country.

And there is no occasion for any alarm as to his permanently moving from the south.

Labor — 1923

Migration Movement

ROME GA. NEWS
JANUARY 21, 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS

The situation might as well be faced. The exodus of negroes from the South is continuing. They are leaving this state constantly in large numbers. This comes to us from reliable information. We know of nothing that can be done to stop it, except to take such measures as are possible to relieve the causes.

There is no way of preventing a negro from leaving this state, provided he has the will and the money to buy a railroad ticket, or is able to secure transportation in any other way. This is a free country and the negroes can go where they please.

But the situation is a serious one for the South. The negroes of the South constitute a large proportion of our labor. Our argricultural and industrial interests cannot be successfully promoted without plenty of labor. Those who are promoting the negro exodus by making threats against or rendering life in this section uncomfortable for them should take this into consideration.

Unfortunately, however, such people, as a rule, have no interests to promote and care little or nothing for the progress of this section. They merely want to create trouble and in certain sections have been eminently successful.

In many sections of the South negro labor is practically the only kind we have. There is little foreign labor in the South, a thing for which the South is in a certain sense to be congratulated, when we consider the disturbances created in other sections by this element. Negro labor is better suited to our climate than foreign labor. The negroes make the best farm hands and are to be preferred in many lines of endeavor. The negroes have given little trouble to the white people of Georgia. Of course there are a few criminals among them, but no race of people is exempt from that. Taken as a whole, the negroes of Georgia are about as peaceable and law-abiding as people anywhere in the country.

It is our opinion that if the white people in any section of this state have made efforts to cause the negroes to leave it is a very mistaken policy. We do not believe that there has been any widespread effort in that regard. We are inclined to believe that labor agents are largely responsible for the trend of our negro population northwards. They offer alluring prospects of wealth and social position in the North, which are both impossible and untrue. But this propaganda has proved effective to a considerable extent.

We believe that the Tribune-Herald voices the sentiments of a large majority of the people of this state and section when it declares that the white people of Georgia do not want the negroes to leave and that the vast majority of the whites are disposed to protect them and do whatever else they can to make living conditions comfortable.

EMIGRATION OF 36,331 NEGROES IS ESTIMATED

Atlanta Constitution

Labor Commissioner Makes Analysis of Constitution "Exodus" Reports.

2-11-23

Hal M. Stanley, state commissioner of labor, commented Saturday on recent stories carried in The Constitution on the so-called exodus of negroes from the state. Mr. Stanley has carefully analyzed the reports from all parts of the state, as carried in special news dispatches in The Constitution last Sunday, and shows that these indicate that a grand total of 36,331 negroes have left Georgia.

Mr. Stanley said:

"The Constitution's reports show that the number of negroes who have left the state is 14,345. Other reports gave the number of families leaving as 731. Five to the negro family is small. If we multiply the 731 families which have left from points named by you we have 3,655 individuals to be added to your figures of 14,435, which gives us a total of 18,000. Your correspondents from other counties furnished percentages of emigration. According to these percentages furnished you, Spalding county lost 2,433; Morgan county, 3,353; Putnam county, 6,106, and Columbia county, 6,428, making a total of 18,331 and making a grand total, according to your own figures, of 36,331. In addition to that, a number of your correspondents made no attempt to furnish figures, but in a number of instances contented themselves with the word 'many.' This is true of the counties of Madison, Clarke, Banks and Laurens.

"I was perhaps misunderstood in the statement attributed to me that this exodus did not affect Atlanta, inasmuch as a large proportion of the negroes were of the 'floater' type. What I intended to convey was that the number leaving Atlanta was important only because they came here as a central point from other counties.

"Atlanta has had an average surplus of about 4,000 common laborers, but the floater type is not the kind that has been migrating. A number of leading manufacturers of the city tell me that they have lost all of their good labor and that they are having to depend upon the 'floater' type.

"As to the negroes reported returning, those who return are those who cannot stand the physical examination required when they reach the points to which they are carried, therefore the kind that come back are the kind that we can best afford to lose. It was also stated that northern negroes were coming south as others go north. I don't think this statement is accurate. We do not want the northern negroes to come to Georgia. When a negro leaves the south and goes to the north and stays any length of time, it is best for all parties concerned that he remain in the north.

"The figures furnished this department by the authorities in the various counties and towns differ from yours, but yours are alarming enough.

"When a man desires to leave and locate elsewhere he has a perfect right to do so. I am concerned in curbing the violations of the law by labor and emigrant agents in their efforts to persuade our common labor to leave. I spent weeks in building up over the state a morale among the police officers and sheriffs in the effort to curb the activities of these agents, and I will continue to do so, and I want the help of The Constitution and of the state to that end."

Davis Commends Purpose.

Director Davis, of the bureau of vital statistics at the state board of health, also commented upon the subject of negro migration from the south on Saturday. Dr. Davis, while commending the evident purpose of The Constitution story of last Sunday, deplored the lack of definite figures in many of the special stories from county correspondents. His remarks follow:

"I had hoped that no one would question the figures quoted by Mr. Hollomon in his article on the "Exodus of the Negro from Georgia" for his motive was evident and his purpose commendable, but since Mr. Harmon, has, it is best to consider the accuracy of such statements.

To state that 500 or 600 or 2,000 negroes left Georgia in 1922 simply implies that the correspondent does not know the number and is guessing, the guess being worth no more than the extent of his acquaintance with the facts. Such statements came from 26 counties, including Monroe county. From unquestionable authority I gather the information that since 1920 more than 5,000 negroes have left Monroe county because "they could not get employment or the indorsement of their landlords so that they could make a crop." If the figures by militia districts of that county are desired, they can be secured. Your correspondent states 500.

Such terms as "many" reported from Baldwin, Clarke, Laurens and Madison, "a few" from Wheeler and "considerable number" from Butts show that the correspondent is not in possession of the information and wishes to comply with the request.

The report of the emigration of 11 families from Candler, 7 from Grady and 10 from Lanier bears on its face the results of careful investigation but these statements do not state how many negroes left those counties. The guess of 500 families from Meriwether is rather too elastic to be accepted as accurate.

In 10 of the counties reporting no exodus, that statement is of no importance since, according to the 1920 census, Forsyth county had only 30 negroes, Fannien 88 and Dade 230. The 10 counties had only 2 per cent of the total negro population of the state. In some of the other 26 making a similar report I have positive information to the contrary.

Many Reports Inaccurate.

The quotation of the reports made to The Constitution in a letter to the registrars of births and deaths in each of the militia districts in the state has brought replies from men who, in many cases, know personally the entire population of their districts. These replies indicate gross inaccuracies in that report. Campbell county must certainly have had a considerable exodus of negroes during the past year, although no exodus was reported.

Of the 160 counties in the state, 70 counties were not included in these reports. The negro population of these counties is by no means a negligible element in an accurate consideration of this matter. McDuffie county made no report, yet there has been more than 1,200 negroes who left that county since 1920, which is one-fifth of the total, and yet this is a greater number than was reported from any of the counties making reports, except the 5,000 from Burke and the 2,500 from Meriwether county. It is possible and, in fact, very probable that if the counties not heard from had made an accurate report that the tone of Mr. Hollomon's article would have been materially different.

Without any accurate figures covering the exodus of negroes from Georgia it would seem best to withhold any conclusions based on such reports, and the discussion might well be confined to the social and economic sides of the question which, in a majority of discussions, are not based on exact statements.

GEORGIA PASTOR SAYS PEOPLE ARE LEAVING

The New York Age

The New York Age is in receipt of a letter from the Rev. William A. McCloud of Wadley, Ga., pastor First Baptist Church, Stillmore, Ga., president Walker Baptist Association, declaring that members of his church, convention and association, with their friends, are leaving that section daily for the North, West and other places.

"Since the Anti-Lynching Bill was killed," writes Rev. McCloud, "the Negroes are anxious to leave the South more than ever. They are coming to me seeking advice as to where to get jobs in the North and West. Will you put me in touch with the firms who want laborers, so I can give them the proper advice? The better class of whites are all to pieces to know what to do, but nothing can be done about it. Our people are determined to leave Old Georgia."

COMMERCE GA NEWS
JANUARY 25. 1923

THIS IS THE WAY THEY SHIP NEGROES BACK FROM CHICAGO.

Here is an interesting story of a young Commerce negro, who went to Chicago three weeks ago died of pneumonia, and his remains shipped back for interment: Leo Williams, the young son of Griff Williams, of near this place was the unfortunate. Leo, like his father was a good honest, industrious, law-abiding negro. He had heard of the good times out east and wanted to try it out. So during recent Christmas days, he left for Chicago. When he reached the city the thermometer registered around zero. He was not accustomed to such cold weather and like many others he soon took pneumonia and died. Naturally his parents wanted his remains shipped back home for interment and they came to Mr. M. T. Sanders, an undertaker of this place who began negotiations with a Chicago negro undertaker by telegraph. The Chicago undertaker wired back that the total cost would be $252.00. Mr. Sanders knew this was pure high way robbery, and refused to pay it. A number of telegrams followed, costing some $12.00. Finally Mr. Sanders wired the undertaker to embalm the body and ship it in a pauper's coffin and offered $65.00. The undertaker held the body ten days before shipping trying to force the parents to pay more. Finally he put the remains—not in a coffin, but in a square box, and shipped it. On arrival, the lid was off, one plank had fallen down on the body and jobbed a hole in the head. On the toe a wire tag was placed with the name of the deceased. The express charges was $65.00 so that the total expense amounted to $125.00.

We give the details for the information and warning to other negroes who have the Chicago fever. They had better stay in Georgia. God made the negro, and made the south and he adapted this sunny south to the physical well being of the negro. It is a fact, that since Christmas, six dead negro bodies have been shipped back from eastern states to this immediate community, all of whom, it is said died of pneumonia.

Prominent Negro Leader Discusses Question Of the Negro Exodus

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: I have read your editorial, "The Exodus of Negroes," in Sunday's paper with very great interest. 2-7-23

I think you do the two races a service to enter so largely into a topic which is quietly undoing and depopulating many communities where there is plenty of room for both races and where the negro at one time was happy on the farms and in his churches and all sought to make themselves at home. As you say the boll weevil has almost ruined the employment of my people in certain localities and was the prime cause of their seeking other quarters and communities.

But you well said:

"Mob violence, racial intolerance and terrorizing on the part of the lawless element in Georgia has also been a contributing factor, and while these conditions are probably improving due to more concerted community action in the interest of strengthening constituted authority, the fact remains that Georgia has been too lenient with this element and permitted to get too strong a foothold. The state has suffered because of it."

I had the privilege in October, November and December of seeing and studying my people in large numbers for ten or twelve weeks in succession in eight or ten of the large and small towns and speaking to them. I saw and heard them talk. I saw them in their lowest state, their middle conditions and at their best.

Migration Heavy.

The A. M. E. preachers in this state are required to read an itemized printed report and at eight annual conferences they reported more than six thousand members who had migrated to the north. In several places the churches were ordered sold at the recommendation of the presiding elder for the reason the membership had gone.

The bishop would casually say we have thousands of people in the state who have not been brought into the church. It is the duty of our pastors to get them.

In the last ten days, if the press stories are to be credited, it was advised that the police would arrest negroes who attempted to leave our section.

Much has been said about agents who persuade the negro to leave this section for other parts of the country. Various remedies have been suggested how to checkmate negro migration.

You well say in your editorial:

"The negro belongs in the south. He has shown remarkable physical, mental, moral and material development in the south. He deserves fair treatment."

This statement is the crux of all we are talking and writing about.

As a rule, in the days of slavery there were negroes who loved white people and the white people who loved the negroes and all since the war there has been a large element of white people who felt that it was their duty to be honest and fair to the negroes and would not permit them to be treated otherwise and the most unfortunate of my race felt they could retire at night in their humble homes and while properly deporting themselves they were perfectly safe and had faith in everybody.

And that sort of treatment today will do more good in keeping the mass of negroes on the farm and having them do a full day's work than all the police you can put about them and no agents from any section of the country with any amount of money can disturb them.

If facts and figures are to be trusted the report is on the best authority that our state is short in taxes more than sixty million dollars in its connection with this negro migration. The negro is a great loser in going from the south to the north in more ways than one. I believe the great mass of them prefer to be here. Their educational conditions, their church relations, their chances to own a little home and farm and an opportunity to rear their children are far better than they are in northern climes.

Loss for Whites.

The white people have far more to lose in permitting these colored people to leave the south than the negroes. The remedy is in the hands largely of those who administer the law and those who rule over the people generally.

I'm writing this statement because I believe in you and your paper. I am making these statements because of the position the paper has taken on the condition of the two races since the days of Henry W. Grady, who said, "Let us treat the negro right."

It is the duty of the state, I believe, to treat the negro no less fair than the great men who have made Atlanta and the state what they are.

The best people will ultimately see that the negro masses are treated properly, to say nothing of the classes. It is to the best interest of both races and we will have no permanent peace and happiness and prosperity until that is done.

The negro cannot possibly be in the way or hinder the success of his white neighbor. He has contributed millions to the development of our section. He has been faithful in war and in peace. When he has violated the law he has been given the full penalty. As he has become more intelligent he has granted the right of the white man to rule. Whenever the country required its subjects to go to the front he has done his part. In these fifty-odd years he has managed to get together some valuable earnings. He has been greatly helped and encouraged by his white neighbors in the communities where he has lived and the white people owe it to themselves and to their civilization to give the black people a chance to make the most of themselves and their families and I am willing to abide my time and a large number of the best people of my race will abide their time, for we are taught in the Scriptures that those who hold out to the end will be crowned with everlasting life.

RICHARD D. STINSON,
Principal Atlanta Normal and Industrial Institute.

324,000 NEGRO FARMERS MOVED NORTH IN 1922

High Wages In Northern Plants and Bad Crops Cause, Says U. S. Bulletin

GEORGIA LOSES GREATEST

32,000 Farm Hands Left Cracker State; 22,750 Left South Carolina

Atlanta Constitution
4-27-23
Baltimore Md

Washington, D. C., April 26— A general movement of southern Negro farmers to northern industrial centers is indicated in a special survey of southern farming districts made by the United States Department of Agriculture.

The survey throws additional light on farm population figures recently issued by the department showing a net movement from farms to towns and cities, of 324,000 persons including men, women and children in the South Atlantic States in 1922.

High industrial wages is given as the chief reason for the reported migration. Boll-weevil conditions last year which made cotton growing unprofitable for a number of Negro farmers, unrest among returning Negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from farms during, and after the war, and breakdown of the contract labor system are given as contributory causes.

GEORGIA LOST 32,000

Approximately 13 per cent or 32,000 persons of the total number of Negro farm hands or laborers in Georgia have moved North during the past 12 months, the report shows. The movement goes on although crops for the present season are already started. A large abandonment of acreage is reported, and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season. The situation in Georgia is much worse than is generally realized, the report says.

The movement from South Carolina since September 15, 1922 is placed at about 22,750 Negro farmers, or about 3 per cent of the total Negro farmer population. The movement from Florida is estimated at about 2 per cent of Negroes living in or near faming communities.

15,000 LEFT ARKANSAS

From Alabama comes the report that approximately 3 and one half per cent of the whole body of Negro farm workers have moved North since the last crop season. Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 Negro farmers, or about 3 and one half per cent of the Negro population.

Movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, N. Carolina and Oklahoma no movement is reported. Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent the total number of farm hands; Tennessee a movement of about 4,500 Negro farmers since April 7, 1922. The farm labor situation in Texas apparently is not as serious as in the Eastern cotton states.

DISCUSS MIGRATION IN DISTRICT CONFERENCES

The Christian Recorder
Philadelphia Pa
4-26-23

We have received letters from several presiding elders saying that the subject of migration would find a place in the discussions in their district conferences. We commend this and wish that all district conferences might take up the subject. Get definite data and forward the same to the Christian Recorder. Condensed reports will be made from time to time. Thus the whole connection will have some idea of the facts regarding migration, and upon these facts we can have a program. For the need now is FACTS. FACTS. FACTS.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

PHILADELPHIA EVE. LEDGER
APRIL 3, 1923

NOW MY IDEA IS THIS!

Daily Talks With Thinking Philadelphians on Subjects They Know Best

JOHN T. EMLEN

On the New Migration From the South

IT IS becoming more and more evident that a new and very large migration of colored people from the South is on its way North and that Philadelphia is receiving its full proportion of those who are making their way northward, says John T. Emlen, treasurer of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia.

"It is very difficult to give exact figures as to the dimensions of this movement northward," said Mr. Emlen, "but there is no doubt that it is very large, and to this end our organization has been making a detailed inquiry to discover something of the extent to which Philadelphia and its immediate surroundings will be affected.

Scarcity of Labor

"According to the figures made public by the United States Department of Labor, the net increase in the male laboring forces of the country from immigration during the year ended June 30, 1922, was about 32,000. On the other hand it is estimated that the number of men needed each year for replacement alone in industry is 348,000. This fact, together with the ravages of the boll weevil in certain sections of the South, probably accounts in a considerable measure for the new movement of the Southern Negroes, which may reach startling proportions before fall.

"The average migration from the South for the last thirty years has been about 10,000 a year, with a large increase in the decade from 1910 to 1920. More than 340,000 came during this ten-year period.

"A competent authority believes that a conservative estimate of the number who will come from the South this year will be 100,000. These will be distributed throughout the industrial centers and a few larger cities like Philadelphia, New York and Chicago.

Movement Is Scattered

"Although 10,000 have left the Mississippi Delta between September 1, 1922, and January 1, 1923, there have been as yet no large movements, but rather a sifting through from a widely scattered area. Chicago reports a large influx, while Detroit, Cleveland and Cincinnati also report increases.

"Some of these Negroes have been 'imported.' Some large industrial concerns in Pennsylvania and Ohio have brought several thousands of these workers for their plants, and the same thing has been done by a number of New England concerns.

"As I have said, our own organization is making an effort to discover to just what extent Philadelphia will be affected by this movement. To this end, we have made inquiries through the schools, the churches, the real estate dealers in various sections of the city and other sources which would in any manner come into touch with the newcomers.

"Of these several sources of information, the schools probably show most accurately the trend of the northward migration. Out of eighteen schools in which there is a large attendance of colored children, fourteen show an increased enrollment of newcomers. In one of these schools the increase since September of last year equals nearly 10 per cent of the total number of pupils in the school, while in another the increase of pupils who have come to Philadelphia since the opening of the schools in September is more than 7 per cent of the total number of pupils.

Schools Widely Distributed

"The schools in which this inquiry was made are widely distributed throughout the city. The inquiry was conducted in eighteen schools, of which nine report a total increase of children from the South since the beginning of the present school term of 497 children. Five others report an unusual increase in these pupils, but give no exact figures, and four schools report no increase.

"The numerical increase, therefore, is only 497, but it would have been larger if definite numerical reports could have been obtained from Germantown, Northwest Philadelphia and Tioga, all of which sections reported increases larger than usual.

"On the basis of previous investigations which we have made, it is conservatively estimated that for every two children five adults should be counted. This, reduced to figures, means that for the 497 children the total population which has come to Philadelphia since the first of September last, including the children, is about 1750. Of course, the figures from the three missing districts would add to this total.

"It is encouraging, however, to find from the evidence given by those who are in the best position to judge, that these people who are coming to the city from the Southern States are not the ordinary types of shiftless floating Negroes, but are generally of the more thrifty and responsible type. A colored clergyman in the northern section of the city says that there are large numbers of families coming from the South and locating in the section served by his church. These families, he adds, are the better type of Negro workers. This is corroborated by a colored physician in South Philadelphia, who says that in the last two months his practice has increased about 25 per cent among the newcomers, who are not accustomed to the rigors of Northern winters, and virtually all of whom are above the average in intelligence and thrift of those who came during the previous migration movement.

"An operator in real estate in West Philadelphia says that during the last two or three months there have come to his office more than 200 persons direct from the South. This evidence is corroborated by another real estate dealer, this one in South Philadelphia, who says that a large number of newcomers, all from the South, have appeared in the immediate neighborhood of his own office and that he has discovered the same thing in other sections of the city where business called. The movement, therefore, seems not to be confined to any one or two localities, but to be city-wide.

Some Unfitted for Work

"The Bureau of Constructive Social Service of the Department of Welfare of the city says that quite a number of destitute migrants have appealed to it for assistance within the last few weeks. This indicates that there is a movement of some proportions under way, and that although the claims are well founded that the great majority of these migrants represent those who will add materially to the production needs of the community, there are others coming who are handicapped and unfit, and these, though relatively few in numbers, will probably become an added burden to the city.

"While no definite figures are kept, the State Employment Service is of the opinion that a considerable number of newcomers from the South have and are applying at their offices for work and this has probably been the case also at other employment agencies.

Migrants Hard to Detect

"It has often been asked how these migrants reach Philadelphia and how can one detect them at the railroad stations or the wharves. There is no answer to these questions which can be called absolutely correct, because it is almost impossible to detect accurately and unfailingly the type of Negro who is now coming to the North with the intention to make this section his future permanent home.

"This condition arises because the kind of Negro who constitutes the great majority of this new movement is of the more intelligent and thrifty kind. He wears virtually the same kind of clothing as do others of the better type of his race; he is generally informed as to where he is going; a great many of them have relatives or friends who meet them on their arrival and either take charge of them or direct them where to go, so that there is altogether very little about these persons to show that, when leaving the train or the boat, they differ materially from any others of the thousands of Negroes who may be traveling from Washington, Baltimore or Wilmington.

"One of the investigators states that the movement is 'stealthy,' by which is indicated that instead of large groups coming together, in which case it would be easy to detect them, those now coming are leaving the South in small groups, in families, or even singly, and are scarcely noticed in the throngs of passengers at the railroad stations."

There is, of course, a thoughtless minority of whites, composed principally of residents of cities, who are inclined to discredit the idea that the negroes are moving from the South; and some of these incredulous ones go so far as to say that it would be a good thing if all the negroes left the South—a belief which is economically unsound.

According to the Augusta Chronicle, which realizes that the exodus of the negro workers is creating a real problem, a correspondent of the New York Times, who was born in the North, but who has resided four years in the black belt, writes as follows:

> "One of the impressive features of the 'negro problem'—it is a problem—is that most Northerners and Southerners alike ignore the bromidic fact that human nature invariably displays a monotonous similarity, regardless of locality. The negro in the South is respected and liked, according to his deserts, at least as fully as he is in the North; in fact, there is more kindly feeling for him and more patience with him, for the simple reason that he is better understood here."

On this same point the Augusta Chronicle says:

> The negro belongs to the South. The Southern people are his best friends. He quickly realizes this immediately that he tries to settle down in the North. The South understands him. The North does not. He makes a wretched mistake when he listens to the secret immigration agent who fools him to go North—being paid so much per head for each negro he can induce to entrain for the North.

The whites of the South surely realize that the negro is the logical laborer for the South. The negro belongs here, not only because the climate is suited to his needs but because the South undrstands the negro: or, at least, we of the South assert that we understand the negro and that we are able therefore to treat him fairly.

It may be true that the rigorous climate of the North shortens the life of the negro, or, at least inflicts unusual suffering on him. But no matter how cold the winters in the North, if the negro feels he is accorded greater justice he will not remain in the South if every cotton field should be turned into a watermelon patch.

Among the causes of the exodus of the negro might be mentioned the Ku Klux Klan and night riding; not to refer to the unfairness of some farmer employers in dealing with him as a laborer.

Columbus Ga. Enquirer-Sun

APR 14 1923

How Shall We Solve the Problem of Negro Migration?

The communication on the subject of the negro exodus from Wm. Oats, a negro lawyer of Columbus, should receive earnest consideration. He makes the point that the problem is one to be solved by the whites rather than the negroes, since the former do, in fact, possess the power.

Columbus Ga. Enquirer-Sun

APR 14 1923

Exodus Discussed By Negro Leader

Editor of the Enquirer-Sun:

As I am a reader of your valuable paper kindly allow me to speak a word on a clipping from the Madison (Ga.) Madisonian which appeared in the ENQUIRER-SUN April 11th, 1923, concerning the Negro Exodus.

The Madisonian said, "We believe our farmers and negro leaders are making a mistake in not doing whatever they can to check this movement."

It is my opinion that the negro can do very little toward checking the movement of negroes from the South to other sections of this country. This checking must be done in a large measure by the white people of the South. It is within their privilege and power and not the negro leaders.

There is a crowd of well meaning negro preachers who are trying to keep the negroes in the South and the white people may be impressed that these preachers can counsel with their people and persuade them to remain in the land of Dixie. Many of the negro preachers are sincere, no doubt, in counselling with their people by advising them to remain in the South. However, the negroes have attained a degree of intelligence where they do not regard their prachers as leaders as they did years ago.

It is not the high wages, alone, as The Madisonian indicated, that the negroes are receiving in other sections of the country which is causing this movement from the South. There are many other advantages that they enjoy in the East, Noth and West which they do not and cannot enjoy in the South and for these reasons they are leaving the South each day in large numbers.

The negroes from the South who live North of the Mason and Dixon line write back to their friends and relatives in the South and tell them of the many considerations and advantages which they enjoy over there which were denied them here; and these stories tickle the ears and please the imaginations of the negroes left behind and they are ready to pack their satchels and trunks and leave when an opportunity presents itself.

In their arrival in New York, Chicago and other points they find much truth in that which was reported to them by friends before leaving the South. They find negroes voting, receiving due consideration in the courts and educational advantages which the South did not give them for their children and high wages in addition to all other privileges due to citizens.

The negroes are not leaving the South seeking social equality among the whites of the North but they are seeking political equality as guaranteed to them by the paramount laws of the land.

I am deeply concerned about the movement of my people from the South to other sections of the country but I cannot check this movement. If there is any checking to be done it must be done by the Southern white people for they are truly the powers that be.

The prosperity of the South is dependent upon the development of our farm lands. The scenes resented to one who travels through the South today by our farm land is alarming. The space where the songs of the negro was once heard in the cotton and corn fields by day and where his bright eyes illumined the negro quarter by night is now filled with undergrowth of pine trees, oak trees and weeds of various kinds and the only noise to be heard is the songs of the birds by day and the cricket, whippoorwill and owl at night.

When we meet many of these same plantation negroes in the North and West who once meant so much to the South, he is a laborer, policeman, member of the board of education and enjoying many other privileges as a citizen. They will tell their friends in the South that "I didn't wish to come up here but I had to come to get a man's chance."

I was born and reared in the South and it is my desire to live, die and be buried in Southern soil. I believe the South is the best place for my people and that they ought to reman here. However, I am convinced that the white people of the South and the negro leaders, must check their movement into other sections.

I feel that there ought to be state conferences held in the South composed of both races and that facts should be discussed as they actually exist in order that some definite point of understanding might be reached between the two races by which we can check this movement of negroes from the South to other sections.

I am not suggesting anything for the white people of the South to do along this line. I am only telling the world in plain facts some of the conditions existing in other sections which are inviting the negroes to move from the South.

I am a black man but I am not handing this article to you as a black man, though black, but as a Southern man looking out for the interests of the South where I have every right to feel that all men are equal before the law.

WM. OATS. (Col.)

BALTIMORE MD NEWS
APRIL 30, 1923

The Negro Migration

The rapid migration of the American negro population from the South to the Northern and Eastern States in recent years is well known; but the consequence of the migration upon the negro himself is less frequently appreciated. A recent analysis by the Census Bureau of the statistics gathered in the 1920 census points to some rather surprising conclusions.

It appears that the significant factor in the migration is not that it has been from the South to the North, but that it has been from the country to the city. A great many of the negroes have gone into Northern cities, but at the same time there has been an increase in the Southern urban negro population. In the decade from 1910 to 1920 the negro has replaced the immigrant as the unskilled industrial and urban worker; but life in the city seems to have had a sharply adverse effect upon him.

In 1910 about 27 per cent. of the negroes lived in cities. In 1920 this had risen to about 34 per cent. But at the same time there was an abrupt falling off in the rate of increase of the whole negro population; from 1900 to 1910 it increased by 11.2 per cent., from 1910 to 1920 by only 6.5 per cent. Vital statistics show that during the five-year period from 1915 to 1919 negro deaths outnumbered negro births in every one of the Northern States and in the cities of the South. In 1920, for the first time, the proportion of white children to white women exceeded that of negro children to negro women.

The Census Bureau estimates that by the end of the century the negro population, which was once one-fifth of the total and is now about one-tenth of the total, will have fallen to less than one-twentieth. If immigration should again be allowed, unskilled immigrant labor might compete so seriously with the negro as to drive him back again to the rural South, although one may doubt whether the causes of the migration are not so largely social that a reversal could never take place on a large scale. The day of the negro as only a specialized farm laborer has passed.

ATLANTA, GA. JOURNAL
APR 23 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION FROM GEORGIA TO NORTH IS HEAVY

Atlanta Journal News Bureau, 408 Empire Building.

BY THEODORE TILLER

WASHINGTON, April 23.—The department of agriculture announced Sunday night its reports showing a general movement of southern negro farmers to northern industrial centers. The special survey of southern farm districts also makes specific mention of the exodus of negroes from Georgia, which shows the highest percent of migration of any state.

The survey throws additional light on farm population figures recently issued by the department showing a net movement from farms to towns and cities, of 324,000 persons, including men, women and children in the South Atlantic states in 1922.

High industrial wages is given by the department officials as the chief reason for the reported migration. Boll weevil conditions last year, which made cotton growing unprofitable for a number of negro farmers, unrest among returning negro troops who experienced living conditions more to their liking away from farms during and after the war, and breakdown of the contract labor system are given as contributory causes.

Approximately 13 per cent or 32,000 persons, of the total number of negro farmhands or laborers in Georgia have moved north during the past twelve months, the report shows. The movement goes on, although crops for the present season are already started. A large abandonment of acreage is reported, and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season. The situation in Georgia is much worse than is generally realized, the report says.

The movement from South Carolina since September 15, 1922, is placed at about 22,750 negro farmers, or about 3 per cent of the total negro farmer population. The movement from Florida is estimated at about 2 per cent of negroes living in or near farming communities.

From Alabama comes the report that approximately 3 1-2 per cent of the whole body of negro farm workers have moved north since the last crop season. Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 negro farmers, or about 3 1-2 per cent of the negro population. Movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no movement is reported. Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent of the total farm hands; Tennessee a movement of about 4,500 negro farmers since April 7, 1923. The farm labor situation in Texas apparently is not as serious as in the eastern cotton states.

STIMULATION OF NEGRO EXODUS IS PROTESTED

N. C. Lumberman Says Situation Becoming Acute.

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Declaring the labor situation in the south had become acute, John M. Gibbs of Norfolk, secretary of the North Carolina Pine Association, has written Emmett J. Scott of Howard University protesting against efforts to stimulate an exodus of negroes from the south to the north.

Referring to a recent telegram sent by Scott to E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation suggesting that negroes were available for work in the industrial regions of the east, Mr. Gibbs asked to be put in touch with the facilities whereby the members of the North Carolina Pine Association can draw on the eight million negro laborers which you state are available to supply any deficiencies in the industrial regions of the country."

"Members of the North Carolina Pine Association," Mr. Gibbs said, "are scattered throughout the states of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, in which states approximately 60,000 negroes are employed, and happily so, in the manufacture of lumber. At no time in the past six months have we had a surplus of labor at our mills and in the yards but today is much worse than it was even three months ago and to such an extent that none of the mills are running to full capacity. What is true in the lumber industry is also true in other industries in the states named."

Promise Higher Wages.

Mr. Gibbs said that during the past year wages have increased in the south about 50 per cent, "notwithstanding which, the promise of higher wages and supposedly better living conditions are enticing the negro laborers to points in the north and east from his natural habitat, which when responded to makes for unhappiness in the main, because so many of these bright promises terminate in dismal realities."

In a letter to the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, which made public Mr. Gibbs' views, he said that to change our manufacturing and industrial sections of the south from the practically 100 per cent American citizenship to a large percentage of alien citizenship would prove a serious mishap.

"Unless the full car and solid train movement of the negro population from the south to the north cease, we will surely find our farms and factories under limited cultivation and restricted out turn."

Mr. Gibbs added that "four dollars a day sounds considerably larger than $2.50 per day, but does the man stop to think that it will probably cost him more to live and furthermore that he is absolutely out of touch in times of pleasure or despair with his friends and the one who best understands the negro, namely the southern white man."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

IDLE PLOWS

Idle plows represent an economic loss to any section that depends upon the hoe and the plow for the sinews of economic strength. Here in the South we are confronted with an acute situation in which the idle plow is playing the major part.

One who knows, Jas. S. Peters, President of the Georgia Bankers Association, after a careful survey of the situation in Georgia alone, says that state is cumbered and cursed with more than 50,000 idle plows representing a loss to the state of at least $27,000,000.00. These plows are idle as the result of the withdrawal of hardworking, underpaid society-forsaken Negro laborers from Georgia to the more generous North where they can eke out a better living and find humane conditions for their wives and children out of the more than 45,000 farmhouses they have left vacant behind them. As these humble folk leave, land becomes a wilderness of weeds, and commands no price on the market.

The migration of Negroes from the State of Georgia is thus not only bringing to the state a dead loss of more than $27,000,000 annually in fall off in production, but the loss in land values is staggering. And what is true of Georgia is more or less true of all the Gulf-Atlantic States. A widespread revolution in industry is actually taking place in the South and nobody knows with what tragic consequences to the hitherto rapidly rising fortunes of this section.

And why this precipitate rushing of Negroes from the South. One hint at the reason is made by the prominent Georgian. He says indirectly, that Georgia might have retained her labor supply if in each of her 155 counties she had invested $175,000 for colored schools. But Georgia Pharoh-like, was hard-hearted and did not believe in Negro schools, or Negro education, and Negro safety, and Negro citizenship, and Negro rights, and Negro health, and the protection of Negro women, etc., etc., etc., etc. And the Negro believing increasingly in these and making these a part of his religious creed, has decided to go to other sections where these values are held as sacred for him as for his white neighbor. He does not care if his going away does leave 45,000 vacant farm houses, and 55,000 idle plows, and reduce the fertile land value from $75.00 to zero per acre; and does withdraw from the currents of commerce in the state more than $27,000,000.00. He went, he goes, he will go until he is convinced that here in the South he will be treated as a human being and given every right that belongs to all men in a modern democratic society.

Concerning this going of the Negro from the Egyptian section of the Nation there are two currents of opinion worth notice. E. T. H. Shaffer, writing in the September Atlantic Monthly on "A New South—The Negro Migration," represents that group who undertake to reassure the South that there is no danger of injury to her economic progress likely to result from the migration. "The Negro," says Mr. Shaffer, "has never played any part in Southern industrialism;

"the old system of cotton-growing, where he seems to have been essential. will soon be as dead as indigo culture on the coasts or Carolina; in those new methods of scientific and intensive farming which constitute the one hope of the agricultural South he has shown neither willingness nor aptitude to assume a share.

"In that older South the Negro found an ideal home and congenial occupation. Cotton brought him to America; and so long as the large cotton-plantation existed, he was content to jog along in a shiftless, servile status but a step removed from actual bondage. *But there is no place for such a class either in the new scientific warfare required to grow cotton under boll-weevil conditions or in the intensive struggle which it takes to bring to success a modern diversified farm.*"

And Mr. Shaffer summarizes as among the advantages that the South will gain by the Negro migration, these: the continued and complete disfranchisement of the Negro citizens that remain here; and the desirable perfecting of the crass caste system which he regards as the sine qua non of Southern civilization. And closes his rather confused logic with this significant paragraph: "Such current tendencies cause some to question seriously the ability of agriculture as a calling to maintain its ancient station of dignity and worthiness—*whether it can continue to offer an attractive field for ambition and an adequate reward to labor.*"

Then why should not the Negro, goaded by the inhuman and indefensible farm systems characteristic of the South, seek employment elsewhere in a section where labor is dignified and receives a more adequate reward.

The other and contradictory idea finds its exponent in the press of the South typified by two representative editorial utterances in the TIMES-PICAYUNE and the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION. The former says:

"In its net long-run result the 'Negro migration' should prove helpful. The Northern white and the Southern black have learned by mass contact more about one another, and in shorter time, than they could have been taught by any other method. The Negro who returns South cured of his illusions regarding the North is apt to be better contented and a more useful citizen. Of the tens of thousands of Negroes who were lured to the Northern adventure, many will 'come home' cured of wanderlust and completely undeceived regarding racial feeling in the North.'

The editorial containing these paragraphs was headed "Coming Back." Evidently the PICAYUNE is deceiving itself into thinking that the Negroes are coming back in large numbers "cured of wanderlust," and "undeceived regarding racial feeling in the North," and "cured of illusions," and will be "better citizens."

So the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION in similar vein:

"The Negro belongs in the south; and he belongs to work. He fits in in southern activities, and if deserving the southern white people are his best friends. He is finding it out—even if the lesson has been painfully administered.

"Certain it is when their dream-idols have been fully shattered, the influence of 'a better understanding' will be a general steadying of conditions along the paths that the Negro travels."

Continuing, in its wonted zeal to instill in the Negro the futility of striving like other human beings to better his condition and th fear of even attempting to find a better hom the CONSTITUTION adds this ridiculou little paragraph:

The Atlanta Daily World
The Georgian
OCT 18 1923

SAYS PAPERS CAN CONTROL MIGRATION OF NEGROES

Editor Southwest Georgian:

The subject of migration is constantly being discussed by newspapers all over America. Negro farmers have left Georgia by the thousands, are still leaving and if our economic conditions in the rural districts do not change, others are likely to follow.

At first, only the shiftess farmer left, now the best farmers are going. We do not want them to go. Not only because we believe Georgia is the best place for the law abiding, thrifty, industrious Negro farmer, but because we believe that the law abiding, thrifty, industrious Negro farmer is best for Georgia, and that when he is made to see this point, all other things being equal, the Negro farmer will plough his field with contentment, harvest his crops with satisfaction, and make the soils of Georgia yield forth abundant crops, and it is with this thought in mind, I write you, seeking your earnest co-operation, knowing that the press of the country directs the thoughts of the people and as a result, largely influences their actions.

The newspapers can do more to control migration than all the laws passed by the state legislature to prevent the operation of labor agents, by simply publishing from time to time, something definite and concrete, showing where Negro farmers all over Georgia are progressing, making good crops, owning land and receiving the proper protection due any law-abiding citizen. Force will not make a man live in a free country, but happiness and contentment will, and when thousands of Negro farmers read in the daily and weekly papers of how John Doe did this or that, they become encouraged to do likewise and hundreds who have left, will return to their native land, many of whom wer forced away because of need of necessities of life.

The Negro Extension Staff with its agents located at the Georgia State Industrial College, working under the supervision of Mr. J. Phil Campbell, Director of Extension Work, State College of Agriculture, publishes once a month, a bulletin showing the progress being made by the Negro farmers, farm women, boys and girls. From this bulletin, concrete statements will be released monthly and we will appreciate if you will use this matter in any way you see fit in your valuable paper.

Very truly yours,
E. A. WILLIAMS,
State Agent for Negro Work.

"Quite true it is that the bodies of hundreds of Negroes have been brought back for burial in the south in which they were born, within the last twelve months, pneumonia, small pox, and other fatal diseases demanding an enormous toll."

To these, must be added a word of observation on the ingeniousness of the NEW ORLEANS STATES that seeks to drive home its propaganda by means of whole page advertisements bringing to bear the power of the pen and the imagination of the artist to visualise to the Negro why he should "Stay in the South and work for its development; the South is the Negro's best place for health, wealth and happiness." Reinforcing this plea the STATES tells a tame little story of some "Prince Madarikan Deniyi of West Africa, who delivering and address at Bristol, Va., said:

"The South is the best place in the world for the Negro. In the North the Negro finds more tribulation than hostility and favor. Don't bite the hand that feeds you. Many of those who pose as your friends and induce you to move to the North, get $2 per head for the Negroes who act upon their advice. Many of the black 'suckers' who have gone North with promises of better conditions have returned to their homes in the South disillusioned.'

The advice of this princeling provokes hearty laughter. Immediately the STATES seeks out this type of leader to advise Southern Negroes in this matter, it prejudices its case. The Negro in the South has always felt that the South thought him incapable of thinking for himself. And here the South has erred. Such men as are usually held up and depended on by this section to advise the Negroes are a discredited bunch whom thinking Negroes would not hear if their advices were delivered from the moon. They speak for pelf and personal profit. *There is not a reputable Negro in the nation, who knows the unvarnished Southern conditions under which Negroes here are forced to live, who would dare speak out openly to the Negroes of the South advising them unqualifiedly to desist from their migration.*

The NEW ORLEANS STATES labels its full page propaganda, "the ninth in a series of frank talks and presentations of facts to the Colored race by prominent leaders thereof." To which statement we issue a challenge that the STATES *disclose* the names of these self-constituted, would-be "prominent leaders" if it wants us to respect their preachments.

By this method of dragging in foreigners from dark Africa to advise us; and hurling full page broadsides from incognito "prominent leaders"; and by the effort to inspire in the ignorant masses of our group fear of death in the North by calling up the dry bones of dead Negroes who went North, the Press of the South will not stop the Negro migration. *The Negro migration is a phase of the world-wide liberalizing process fomenting everywhere throughout the civilized world in the interest of world democracy, and may temporarily pause, but will be swept on finally in and by the operation of the laws of the universe—the flow of divine intention. It is the aspiration for fullness of life.*

Finally, the STATES urges, "Do not forget, Colored people, that in the South you will find the greatest opportunities for your progress, wealth and happiness." To the truth of which assertion there are no sanctions of an industrial, political or even religious character. The total group consciousness of the Negro, his experience three centuries old, the guiding genius of his nature; all argue the opposite. For the Southern Negro forced three centuries and fooled for nearly three quarters of another, knows that 'tis not *his* wealth and happiness that the South seeks; it is to avoid the thousands of idle plows in her fields that prompts the press to fight the battles for the South.

Hence the Negro feels that what Mr. Shaffer says above is a sufficiently suggestive reason for leaving the South and the plow (which are synonymous terms of Negroes) and settling in the North, the proven section for the nurture of his insatiable stimulated human ambitions and where he can share the rewards of his labor. And this migrating Negro is finding employment. We keep in touch with the most trustworthy students of social conditions in this field and they assure us that Northern industries are absorbing practically the whole number of Negroes going North as laborers. The U. S. Census and governmental reports confirm the same.

During the years from 1910 to 1920, there had gone into the Nation's industries 1,493,110 Negroes, an increase of 357,899 during that ten year period. The laborer from the plow entered the factory, the furnace, the mine and the major industries of the North, thus bringing about a more satisfactory distribution of the labor supply throughout the Nation. The idle plows in the South reflect vividly the glowing furnaces, the whirring wheels of Northern factories, the whistle-blast of the foundries and the lighted torch of the mines all of which have benefitted by the Negro migration. The hundreds of millions of dollars thus added to Negro wealth in the North go to strengthen our business and professional men, our churches, in buying and building of homes, and in other activities that bespeak our real "health, wealth and happiness." The syndicated ready recitation by the Southern Press of the Johnstown episode doesn't make a dint on the fringe even of the thinking Negro's mind so far as stopping the exodus from the South. Where ONE Johnstown appears in the North there are in the South TEN THOUSAND Johnstowns that haunt the Negro's waking thoughts and drive him forth to seek a more goodly land. For his highhanded expression of his Southern proclivities, Caulfiel of Johnstown was voted out of his job by good Northern white citizens and black combined. *No Mayor or official in the* TEN THOUSAND *Johnstowns of the South ever lost his job as a corporate rebuke for maltreating helpless Negro citizens.*

The idle plow is an indictment of every wrong suffered by the race here in the South. It is the first effective step taken on the Negro's own initiative to deliver himself from unspeakable human tortures. Being interpreted in other terms, the idle plow represents the Negro's advance from serfdom to citizenship, his progress in industry, in politics, in religion, in general social culture.

"Come, clear the way then, clear the way;
Blind creeds and men have had their day;
Break the dead branches from the path.
Our hope is in the aftermath;
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this event creation ran;
Make way for brotherhood; make way for man."

MIGRATION NOW SHOWS CHECK-UP

With the coming of fall a smaller number of our people are coming to Chicago. The Liberator comment in large enough numbers to attract attention in the early spring, and then in increasing numbers until about Aug. 1, when the first falling off was noticed.

While the movement was at its height the Urban league and its good friends made a check-up and discovered that on four Sundays a total of over 3,600 filed through the gates of the Illinois Central and Dearborn stations. If due allowance be made for those who came in other days of the week and for those who were merely passing through, it is entirely likely that from Jan. 1 to Aug. 1 Chicago's population was increased on an average by 2,000 of our people each month.

Another check-up made for all trains from the South every day over the Illinois Central railroad for the period from July 3 to Sept. 3 showed a total of 6,314 travelers or 3,000 a month. From this is can be seen that the migration is decreasing, but is by no means over as yet.

NOV 14 1923

Exp egroes to Go North

Huntsville, Ala., Nov. 14.—(Special.)—William Harris, a prominent Negro farmer and president of the Tennessee Valley Negro Fair Association, has given the Daily Times of Huntsville a statement expressing the belief that Madison county, which has not suffered nearly as much as other counties or sections from the migration of Negroes northward, is due to feel the full force of the northward movement this winter unless something is done by the white people.

Harris declares that the Negro cotton grower has not come out of his year's labor with anything left, that cotton-picking is practically finished and other farm operations where labor to any considerable extent is used will be suspended until March, leaving the Negro tenant with no means of livelihood until spring. Naturally he will hear the call of high wages in the North, Harris declares, unless some work is provided for him. His suggestion as a solution of the problem is that whatever road work is to be undertaken be started at once and that as much public work as possible be provided.

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement.

Look at This Picture—A Scheme of the South to Keep You in Bondage

The Chicago Defender 8-18-23, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Colored Man: Read, Ponder This!

Another picture for you; another picture in the campaign of villainy, lies and conspiracy to hold you in **SLAVERY**, keep you in ignorance and darkness, and to fool you back into **BONDAGE.**

The New Orleans States prints the picture. Study it with care.

A man, long used to oppression, Night Riders, long accustomed to see his **CHILDREN COWED, CURSED, BEATEN, DENIED EDUCATION,** called "Nigger," old to the sight of his **DAUGHTERS SEDUCED, RAPED, HELD IN ADULTERY;** a man, suddenly changed—**"BORN AGAIN,"** as it were, is leaving for other scenes, for another world.

See his children running after him.

THE MOTHER, dressed in white, wearing a headdress always placed on her brow by those who **BELITTLE HER,** those who deny her **COMMON COURTESY,** stands back near the cottage door.

Cotton, rich on the stalk, calls to the traveler to stay. **"ANOTHER TIME,"** he seems to say with a parting glance at the patch of cotton struggling to top the fence.

Beneath the picture are the words: **"SHOULD YOU LEAVE YOUR HAPPY, SUNSHINY HOME IN THE SOUTH—"**

Note the traveler reading signs and prices of fuel, wear and food "up North." Coal is high, wear expensive and the atmosphere cold.

Under that drawing you read:

"TO FACE THE HARD COMFORTS AND HIGH COST OF LIVING IN THE NORTH"

Then follows a full page "argument" in support of the **JIM CROW, KU KLUX KLAN, DISFRANCHISING** and **MAN-KILLING** South—that land of barbarism, concubinage, the **BARLOW AND LOUD MOUTHS!**

The "argument," says the States, is supplied by "Prominent Leaders of the Colored Race."

ONLY A NOTE-CARRYING, EAVESDROPPING, HEAD-SCRATCHING "LEADERSHIP" would stoop to such a crime, and it dare not disclose its membership.

The **MANHOOD** and **WOMANHOOD** of New Orleans would drive it to a **HANDOUT** at the back door of their **MASTERS.**

The **CONFUSED TEXT, STOCK PHRASES,** the worn "points" and exhibits prove the author to be the **SLAVE-HOLDING, SWINDLING** oppressors who paid for it.

"Colored people of the South," says the States ad, **"are facing the most serious crisis in the history of their race. Many of them are LEAVING their homes and the homes of their forefathers, breaking family ties and association with kin and lifelong friends to settle among UNFRIENDLY people."**

Colored people are **NOT** leaving home; by the light of God's stars they are **FLEEING** oppression, turning their backs on a **dwelling place of fear, SEEKING** some place to call **HOME;** looking for **ANY** shelter in which they may sleep **THE NIGHT THROUGH** without trembling at the **crack** of every stick.

Coal may be $50 a ton and overcoats $40 and up, but "up North" **COAL BY THE BUSHEL** will keep you just as warm as that bought by the ton.

Forty-dollar overcoats represent $40, **NOT 1,000 PER CENT PROFIT TO THIEVING "MERCHANTS."**

"In the South," reads the States, "the Colored people need fewer clothes and much less expensive than in the North and both food and rents are much cheaper in the South than in the North."

Americans of Color, those living in the hell on earth in the lawless, Godless, boasting South, are now thinking of **THEIR** children, not of clothing or rents.

Better pay $100 for a **SUIT OF CLOTHES** in a $100 section and **$75 FOR RENT** in a **free** country than go naked in a summer's sun in a land of slavery or sleep outdoors where **LIBERTY refuses to tarry.**

"They were put to doing menial labor, mere drudgery," says the advertisement of Colored men coming North. **A LIE AND A SLANDER.**

Colored laborers work at whatever they can do "up North," and get used to seeing a **PAY ENVELOPE** without fearing collapse and heart failure.

"They have found fewer actual privileges," is a sentence describing Colored Southerners now living in God's country.

Down South you have the privilege of riding in **CATTLE CARS AND SWINE BOXES;** of being denied the ballot, although Grant took Lee's measure to **GIVE YOU** the ballot; you have the **PRIVILEGE** of working to enrich a **LAZY SET OF SWAGGERING BRAGGARTS** who pay you if they feel the **SPIRIT,** or boot you into the arms of a **MOB** if you **PRESS THEM FOR YOUR HIRE.**

WHAT ARE YOUR PRIVILEGES NORTH?

HERE, by the side of **WHITE PEOPLE OF INTELLIGENCE, FAIR PLAY AND HONOR,** you have the privilege of sending your children to school nine months instead of three; riding on trains and cars like humans, casting a vote in a government **YOU ARE TAXED** to support, and going into courts of law **WITHOUT FEAR** of the **ROPE AND TORCH.**

Breathe and die **IN THE SOUTH.** Live and breathe **IN THE NORTH.**

Only a heart of scandal, a **HEART OF HATE** against God's free **NORTH** could have written this:

"All that the Northerners want out of you is your labor and they do not care what becomes of you outside of that. There is no age-old sentiment in the breasts of the white people of the North towards you, such as is held by the Southern white people towards the Negro."

Call out the fire department!

Watch the **"age-old sentiment"** in action. **Weigh, measure, the "sentiment held by the Southern white people towards the Negro."**

That sentiment keeps you in rags, **MAINTAINS THE CHAIN-GANG** and the convict camp; **drags your daughters into the ditch of SHAME,** kicks and cuffs your sons, lies **AGAINST YOUR NAME,** drives you as if you were cattle, and **SENDS WORD** North, East and West that you will **NOT** work.

God once choked the life out of slavery. Again **HE MUST COME** and choke **SLAVERY** out of the **LIFE** of Dixie.

THE NORTH CARES NOTHING FOR YOU? Question the hypocrites and blasphemers; question them by God's truth in New Orleans.

What "sentiment" built New Orleans university and Straight?

Whose **MONEY,** whose sacrifice, built **EVERY** Negro college South?

The North has given **MILLIONS** for your education in the **SOUTH,** while the **WHITE** South has **NOT GIVEN EVEN $10,000** in 60 years for your education.

Come North and **PAY BACK;** come and pay for Northern blood spilled for **YOUR FREEDOM** and **NORTHERN** money spent for your education.

But for the North a **SPELLING BOOK** would still be a stranger to your eyes and the cotton patch and corn field your only playground.

"Your advancement is much quicker and easier in the South than it would be in the North," Southern Colored people are told by the great New Orleans paper.

Your **ADVANCEMENT** into a Jim Crow car is not only quicker in Dixie than in the North, but **IMMEDIATE.** Ask for a ballot and you are requested to **LOOK DOWN THE BARREL OF A COCKED GUN.**

Nail a **FINAL LIE:** "Even the Northern Negroes do not receive the Southern Negroes with open arms and hospitality," says the States.

Nine-tenths of **"Northern Negroes"** are **SOUTHERN BY BIRTH** or immediate ancestry.

The only arms wider open for the Southern Negro than those of his Northern brother are the arms of the calaboose in Dixie. **The ONLY** hospitality warmer is that of a Southern **MOB MAKING** its **BLACK** victim feel at home under trying circumstances.

Tell the States to advertise that henceforward Southern people of color may vote, ride as human beings up and down the railroads, have their daughters protected in the courts from white despoilers, send their children to school nine months in each year and **THE CHICAGO DEFENDER WILL HELP IN THE CAMPAIGN TO KEEP THE NEGRO SOUTH,** if he wants to stay there.

UNTIL THEN KEEP COMING OUT.

Better a dunghill for a home in the **FREE NORTH** than a mansion on St. Charles St. in New Orleans.

The Final Shot: "The Colored people have a wonderful opportunity to achieve and advance in the South," is the States' farewell.

In the North Colored people have a wonderful opportunity to **BE FREE,** to dress up, learn from the **ONLY** American **WHITE** people who know A from bullfoot and **GIVE THE KU KLUX KLAN AS MUCH HELL AS IT GIVES HIM**

THAT USED TO BE RACKET, BUT IT DON'T GO NOW!

JUL 19 1923

Negro Migration Remedies Shown By Race Leaders

Address To Legislature And To White People of Georgia Issued At Conference Held In Atlanta

Declaring that the negroes as a race do not desire to leave Georgia and the south, and asserting that the remedy for the conditions which are causing his present migration to other parts of the country is in the hands of the white man, a state-wide conference of colored leaders Wednesday addressed a communication setting forth their chief grievances to the legislature and the people of Georgia.

The meeting, which was called by a committee of leading colored citizens of Atlanta and the state, was attended by between five and six hundred of the most thoughtful and leading spirits of the negro race in Georgia.

Bishop J. S. Flipper, of the A. M. E. church, of Atlanta, presided and W. A. Bell, of Atlanta, was elected secretary. Subscriptions of approximately $100 were collected to defray the expenses of printing the address for distribution among the legislators, and for other expenses incident to the gathering.

Condition, Not Theory

Bishop Flipper, in his opening address, declared that the white man, as well as the negro, in Georgia, is confronted with a condition and not a theory. While declaring that he was opposed to the migration of the negro, believing that Georgia was the greatest state of them all, in which to live, he did believe that the negro ought to have the right to scatter to all parts of the union.

"I do not believe," said Bishop Flipper, "in pleading my case in Chicago or Detroit, or any other northern city, while my judge and jury are in the south." He then asserted that the negro does not ask the passage of any more legislation, or of any special laws for his benefit, but that al he asks is that the laws now on the statute books be fairly enforced.

The negro, if he is to stay in the south, asks only equal protection of life and property and equal justice in the courts, he said. This, asserted Bishop Flipper, he is not given now. "Nevertheless," he said, "the remedy is in the hands of the white man, and he could put it into effect before sunrise if he would."

"Social Equality" Called "Bugaboo"

All speakers at the meeting united in branding "social equality" and "negro supremacy" as bugaboos created by political demagogues for their own selfish ends, and declared that the negro, as a race, had never sought such things. It was stated that 45 per cent of the population of Georgia is colored, and the reason for the troubles and inequalities of the negro were all laid to the "effort to conduct a democracy with a large proportion of the population barred from politics."

All negroes were urged to exercise their right to vote, whenever they could establish such right under the Georgia law.

It was also urged that the legislature pass an anti-lynching law, several speakers stating that they would rather see such a law on the state statutes, than have it passed by the federal government, because they believed it would be better enforced under state rule.

In the address, which was adopted to be sent to the members of the legislature, and which it proposed to put before as many residents of the state as possible, the evils under which the negro says that he is laboring in Georgia, and which are cited as the causes for his migration away from the state, are given as follows:

Causes of Migration

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilitieis for negro children.

Poor accommodations for negroes when traveling.

Inequality in the enfocement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.

Mob violence.

Educational Facilities

In connection with the lack of educational facilities for negroes in Georgia, it was pointed out that out of $750,000 spent by the state for higher education, only $15,000 goes to negro institutions. Speakers declared that the young people of the race, whose ambitions drove them to seek higher education, were compelled to leave the state, if they were to secure the training they desired.

It was stated that one of the greatest needs of Georgia today is that of agricultural training schools for negro farmers. "How," asked the speakers, "can the negro farmer practice that diversification of crops which the white man tells us will save him from the poverty of boll weevil cotton, when he has been trained to raise cotton and nothing else, and when there is no place to which he can go to learn other kinds of farming?"

ROME GA Tribune

JUL 22 1923

SOUTHERN METAL TRADE SECRETARY ON NEGRO EXODUS

Migration of labor to the North is getting to be a serious matter in Rome and over the entire South. Specially is this true of the negro labor which is needed in the South so much more than in the North.

Labor agents are known to have gone into Knoxville, Tenn., and given out circulars to the workmen, persuading them to leave their homes.

This is the wording of the circular:

Wanted — White and colored miners, laborers, carpenters, brick masons and mechanics of all kinds. Shipping to Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and all Northern points."

In a letter sent out by the Southern Metal Trades Association, Secretary W. E. Dunn, Jr., says, "Suggest you be on the watch out for these fellows who slip around the plant gates and other places convenient for the distribution of such circulars to your employees.

"All of our Southern states have laws on their statute books forbidding the solicitation and shipment of labor out of the state, but there are few of our law enforcement officers who know that there is such a law."

The importance of the departure of the negro for the North where he has been offered fabulous wages and little work, is not always realized by the majority of people who really never notice the industrial or labor conditions of the country.

Here in Rome there have been large numbers of negroes leaving for Northern points every week.

"I am sure if you will bring this to the notice of the employers of your city, the manufacturers, etc.," says Secretary Dunn, "they will tell you the condition is a serious one and should have your energetic efforts with a view of eliminating all solicitation and shipment of labor from our Southern states."

Curb on Negro Exodus Proposed In Georgia and Alabama Bills

New York Times

ATLANTA, Ga., July 19.—An effort to check the migration of negroes and other farm laborers was given by the authors as the reason for the introduction of a bill in the Georgia Legislature today which would make it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States. Punishment would be a prison term of not less than three years nor more than seven.

"Passage of this bill," one of the authors declared, "will result in checking the exodus of negroes and other farm laborers of Georgia to other States. It does not allow even licensed labor agents to operate in the State. The present labor situation in Georgia demands drastic legislation and this measure is one which we think best to provide relief."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 19.—A bill to tax labor agents recruiting labor in Alabama $5,000 for every county in which they operate was introduced in the Alabama House of Representatives today.

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian

AUG 6 - 1923

Exodus Is Shown By School Report

GREENWOOD, S. C., August 6.—As an indication of the exodus of the negroes from this section, the enrollment in negro shcools last year showed a decrease of 699 pupils. The white enrollment increased by 389 pupils th,e report of County Superintendent T. E. Dorn shows. The total white enrollment in the county was 5,019; total negro, 5,384.

The reports of the superintendent of education also shows that the average salary men in the white schools of this county last year was $1,086.04, while the average salary paid women was $826.

WINSTON SALEM, N. C., Journal

Migration

JUL 24 1923

How many negroes that have left the South in recent months owned property? A questionnaire, or what ever procedure necessary to find the answer, even approximately, to this question, would be quite interesting. People who stay in one place a good long time usually have a material interest in the community.

M'REA SEEKS DATA ON NEGRO EXODUS

Houston Post

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 15.—Governor T. C. McRae, during the past week has written the governors of all Southern States, inquiring as to the extent of the immigration of negro farm laborers from their State to north industrial centers and requesting an exchange of views as to the advisability of a conference to consider the causes and remedies for the immigration.

Mr. McRae declared he does not see the movement of laborers as a menace to the southern farmer, but, his interest is in the welfare of the laborers, who, in many cases, he said, are leaving their friends and reasonable comfort for the uncertain opportunities in industries in which they know little or nothing.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement

NOW MY IDEA IS THIS!

PHILADELPHIA EVE LEDGER
OCTOBER 1, 1923

Daily Talks With Thinking Philadelphians on Subjects They Know Best

A. L. MANLY

On the Effects of the Negro Migration

THE responsibility of the proper absorption of the large number of Negroes who are now coming from the South to the North, and of which Philadelphia is getting her full share, rests upon the whites of the North, upon the migrants themselves and, perhaps more than all, upon those of the Negro race who receive their brethren from the South and who play a very important part in the assimilation of this element into our industrial and social life, according to A. L. Manly, industrial secretary of the Armstrong Association and a member of the Migration Committee.

"Of these three salient groups," said Mr. Manly, "perhaps the part played by those Negroes of our city who receive those coming from the South is the most important, and therefore their responsibility may be a little the greatest of the groups. They have in the first place to teach the incoming migrants that this is a land of freedom; but it is by no means a land where freedom may be misread as license.

Tracing the Migrants

"The Migration Committee is doing its utmost to assist in this work of assimilation—a work which is most necessary if bad results and race feeling are not to follow this influx. At present the economic condition seems to warrant the assertion that there is still room for many workers in Philadelphia.

"Our committee gets a list of all these people as they come to the city, and we work through their church affiliation and through the fraternal orders to which many of these incoming people belong. The Negro is by nature religious and almost every one of them belongs to some of the churches. A large percentage of them also belong to one of the fraternal orders, as the race is gregarious as well as religious, and through these two agencies we have been able to accomplish a lot of good for all concerned.

"We realize that it is for the best that every good influence be brought to bear upon these people just as early in their residence in this city as possible. Everything is new and strange to them, and it is well to see that they are guided into the right paths. This is best accomplished through the two agencies which I have mentioned.

Best Quality of the South

"At the same time it is necessary for the whites of the North to understand clearly that the Negroes who are coming to Philadelphia in this migration are the very best quality of the Southern Negro. They are by no means the riff-raff and the scum of the Southern colored race, but almost without exception are hard-working and industrious people. The danger lies not in the character of the persons themselves but in the strangeness of the atmosphere into which they are suddenly transplanted. For this reason an early and complete assimilation and a full understanding of their status as citizens of a great Northern community are essential.

"These Negroes will make excellent citizens as soon as they are properly adjusted to the conditions of their new home. As I said, they are workers almost without exception, and they have had little difficulty in obtaining excellent positions here. When they have secured these places they work industriously and they usually give satisfaction to their employers.

"It is estimated by the Philadelphia Housing Association, the Travelers' Aid Society and other organizations interested in the migration that the number which has come to Philadelphia has reached about 12,000 since July, 1922; that is, in a little more than a year. It must be considered on the whole that they have been a distinct asset to industrial conditions in the city during that time, as workers of the type which they proved to be were badly needed here.

No Bad Situation Created

"Another thing which should be clearly understood by the whites is that there has been absolutely no bad situation created by reason of the influx. Some time ago we were asked by the Department of Public Safety of the city whether in our opinion there was any ground for feeling that a bad situation had been created in the city from the standpoint of public safety because of the migration. We were glad to be able to assure the department that such was not the case in any respect.

"The Department of Public Welfare and many other organizations have found after investigation that there has been no draft upon their resources and facilities by reason of the added Negro population of the city or because of the financial situation of these Negroes.

"These colored people are not in any sense lacking for work. A great many of them have places waiting for them when they arrive and the others seem to find employment immediately, and thus the whole body has been immediately and thoroughly absorbed into the industrial life of the city. In response to inquiries made, there are certainly placements equal to the numbers who have arrived here.

The Housing Situation

"There has been a great demand for houses for these people, but none of those who have applied for assistance in this respect has been out of work. Virtually every one who has come to us for the purpose of securing living quarters tell us that they have been able to get a day off in order to look for a house.

"There was one woman who came to us recently and wanted to buy a home for herself and her family. She explained that her husband was very busy, working his full day of eight hours and then working four hours' overtime each day, and thus she had to come because he was unable to get away to come himself during our office hours. This may have been an unusual case, but in so far as the matter of employment goes it was typical.

"The Negro has no fear of the broad-minded white person, but there is, unfortunately, a group in some of the Northern centers of population which seems to do its utmost to make the situation difficult and to set up obstacles. It is these persons who need to be educated to the fact that the Negro from the South comes to Philadelphia or any other Northern community exactly as the immigrant from another country comes.

The Matter of Language

"The Negro has one advantage, however, over the European immigrant in that he knows the language of the country, and this is a very important asset, not only to the migrant but also to his employer. But in the matter of the strangeness of the surroundings and the difference in political and economic status, the two have many points in common.

"The Migration Committee does not consider this movement of the Southern Negroes to be a racial question at all, but one of general public significance. In the housing situation there is no difference between the points presented by this problem and the problem confronting the large mass of small-wage earners who have been driven to congested occupancy because of an inadequate supply of small houses.

"The same unfortunate situation would arise were this a European migration, and, as a matter of fact only the present immigration laws restricting the number of newcomers to the United States is today preventing a European influx which, in a very short time, would dwarf the number of Southern Negroes which have come to the North within the last year.

"A study conducted during the three months ended last August, which covered 931 properties and 1282 Negroes recently arrived from the South, revealed that the colored people are coming here in increasing numbers. The number which arrived in Philadelphia for the year ended June 30 last approximates 10,500 persons.

"This is about one-third of the city's normal early population increment for all races, and compared with the normal yearly increment of Negro inhabitants, based on the records of the previous decade, is an increase in the annual gain in such population of 200 per cent over the last year.

"Apparently, proximity to the North is a factor in this migration, for the largest numbers of them have come from Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in the order named. About 90 per cent are members of a church, and a large percentage belong to the fraternal orders having welfare and benefit features. This fact, besides indicating the type of the migrant, also offers some assurance against pauperism and distress.

Are Drifting In

"These persons are not coming from the South in droves, as has been believed by many persons, but they are drifting in; the workers come first and the families follow later. Many of them are being met here by friends or relatives.

"Many of them, if not most of them, have funds with them and their services are being quickly utilized by industry. The situation is not one which should cause any apprehension. With the proper attitude on the side of the migrant, those of their own race who receive them here and the whites, these people will be properly and quickly absorbed into the life of our city."

Slave of Jefferson Davis Begs Race to Stay in South

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
DECEMBER 9, 1923

Is Best Place for Negroes, Isaiah T. Montgomery Said in Notable Speech.

A Thanksgiving Day address of more than usual significance was that delivered in the auditorium of the Consolidated School at Mount Bayou, Miss., by a Negro who once was the slave of Jefferson Davis, later was a member of the Constitutional Convention of his State, and now is prominent among those who are giving serious study to the situation indicated by the exodus of Negroes from the South.

The man who thus links the past and present of the black race in America in his own person is Isaiah T. Montgomery, seventy-six years old. He is of unmixed African descent and was born in slavery, May 21, 1847, on Hurricane Plantation, Warren County, Miss., the ancestral domain of the Davis family.

Parents Were Slaves.

His parents were owned by Joseph E. Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis, but his father served as manager of the plantations of both the brothers, and Isaiah too was the trusted servant of both. When Jefferson Davis set out to take the Presidency of the Confederacy, it was young Isaiah who rowed him by a short cut around the head of an island to catch the steamboat Natchez on its way up the river to Vicksburg, where Mr. Davis was to take the train.

During and after the war, Isaiah's father, his brother and himself had practically entire charge of the Davis plantations. The father died in the old Jefferson Davis home at Briarfield. Isaiah married Martha Robb, daughter of "Aunt Cynthia," who had been a famous cook in the "big house," and some years afterward they lived there, in the same rooms that had once been used by Jefferson Davis and his family.

Isaiah's father was educated and the boy also was given an education which enabled him to file and keep in order Joseph Davis's correspondence and act as his secretary, which duty was in itself a further education.

In the nineties Isaiah was a member of a surveying party that ran lines and established boundaries for the Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad, now the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad, a part of the Illinois Central system. In view of his services and ability he was given a free title to 1,000 acres of land by the railway company.

He chose a tract of wilderness, forested with oak and "gum" trees and with stretches of impenetrable canebrake. The land lay along the line of the railroad and was two or three miles north of the station of Merigold, and there, in 1897, he built himself a home.

Platted the Town.

His cousin, B. C. Green, became associated with him in the foundation of a colony for Negroes and in 1902 they platted the town of Mound Bayou. Negro families from North Carolina were the first settlers, and the colony has now grown to a good-sized village, in which no white man has ever lived. It is said to be one of the most orderly, best governed and progressive small towns in Mississippi. Isaiah owns and operates a plantation of about 800 acres, is President of a large mercantile company, owns and manages a cotton gin and sawmill and is secretary and treasurer of the local branch of the Farm Loan Association, affiliated with the Federal Land Bank of New Orleans.

He has long been active in politics, is a stanch Republican and has attended most of the national conventions of that party for thirty years. President Roosevelt appointed him Receiver of Public Moneys at Jackson. In 1890 he was the only Negro member of the State Constitutional Convention which drafted the present Constitution of Mississippi. He was for years a trustee and is now treasurer of Campbell College, Jackson, Miss., a school for Negroes.

This is the old Negro who on Thanksgiving Day stood on he platform in the Consolidated school house in the town he founded and talked to younger Negroes about what is happening in the South just now. His gaunt figure and grizzled head, purely African in type, like a black prophet, made his words impressive to members of his own race as no words of a white man could have been.

His Text.

His text was the weirdly swinging chant of an old Negro revival song:

"Oh sta-a-and!
Oh sta-a-and!
Stand still an' steady yo'self!"

After describing the crowded condition of the trains carrying the northward migrating Negroes he said:

"Negroes are abandoning all hopes in the lands cleared by their fathers and themselves; leaving their churches schools and the graves

of their dead, rushing to the inhospitableness of Northern cities, looking and hoping for a freeman's chance in a strange land and country."

Montgomery said that he had been told that the railroad in his part of the State was 500 carloads of cotton short of the quantity usually moved from that part of the Delta.

"Cotton seed will rate about $1,500 a carload," he said, "and cotton will rate from $7,000 to $8,000 a carload. Think of these values multiplied by 500, and you can gather some idea of the tremendous shortage of Delta crops.

"Taxpaying season is right at hand and at this critical picture the plan

ISAIAH MONTGOMERY.
(COURTESY OF ILLINOIS CENTRAL MAGAZINE.

tations are being deserted by their laborers.

"Is there any remedy? I believe there is. The situation requires a radical and effective change in the prevailing systems.

His Remedy.

"Begin to convince the great body of Negroes that the South is indeed and in truth the best place for Negroes and then we may begin to think of bringing back to the South some of the best Negroes that have left."

Citing instances of Negroes that are managing their farms well, Isaiah said the country should respect, encourage and help such farmers, instead of trying to hold them in the subjection of debt and dependence. He urged that planters and merchants consult with their tenants and farmers and allow them to earn a margin above their debts and to see ahead of them a goal to be reached by industry and self-denial. He also urged the Negroes to raise diversified crops as well as cotton, and to use modern and scientific methods of agriculture and co-operative methods of marketing.

"I want to say here and now, that I have not lost faith in our blood-bought Southland," he went on. "You can succeed if you stay here, but the first thing needed is to become really converted and realize that almost unconsciously we have come into a new day, when the old haphazard way of living and working won't serve any longer.

"The new system that is being providentially forced upon the South needs free men, responsible men, who intend to accept the available teachings of science and agriculture and put good brains and thoughtful energy into their work. This mighty upheaval of our industrial and agricultural forces, bordering on a panic, impels me to say again: 'Stand still and steady yourself,' then go forward.

"Our unsettled laboring population will no doubt answer me back: 'How can we go forward here in the face of these iron-bound systems that have been growing more powerful and oppressive from year to year?" I will answer: 'Yes, the task is too great for the Negro alone, although we have among us some Negroes who are going forward anyhow.

"'But our good white people, for their own salvation and because it is right, should lend a helping hand.'

"They should at once consider the appointment of inter-racial committees to commence getting an understanding of the Negroes' point of view. In the construction of these important organizations, it will be a godsend if the exalted character and strong Christian faith of some of the good white women of the South are utilized."

THIS PICTURE, PAID FOR BY "BLOOD MONEY" OF SOUTHERNERS, IS LURE TO OPPRESS YOU

Good Times North A Myth Colored Man Finds

This Is Not a Picture Drawn From Imagination of What Happens to the Negro Who Leaves His Happy Home in the South and Goes North. It Is Based on Solid Fact. Read Below Stories Taken Not From Southern But Northern Newspapers.

We show above for your benefit a copy which is a true reproduction from another page advertisement printed in a Southern newspaper as a message to you direct from the Southern White man. You in the South are doubtless familiar with this paper, the New Orleans States, and ought to know its policy toward our Race. First, we would call your attention to the newspaper which is put into the hands of this Race man with its advertisements. Aside from the fact that the price of shoes is made about three times as high as they actually cost and coal twice as expensive as it really costs in Chicago, this little effort to show conditions might be all right. Of course, if you must wear $16 shoes and $40 overcoats one thing is sure in Chicago or anywhere in the North, the salesman has no objections to trying them on you and you take the kind of shoes you really want, and not the kind the white salesman thinks you ought to have, as you do down South.

Then we want to call your attention to the man pictured on the river bank fishing. You will notice that he has no shoes at all. Yet he is supposed to be happy. Even a wild Indian wears moccasins. Now if a white man will lie about one thing it is a pretty safe bet that whatever else he says is a lie as well. All he wants is to throw dust in your eyes. This is the kind of man he wants you to be—with blue jeans and with bare feet. But is he bringing up his own children to go without shoes? Then why do you suppose he thinks your children can get along without them? Look around at your cabin in which you were born and reared. Look at the dirt floor and the windows without glass. Then ask your folks already up North about the bath rooms with hot and cold water all the time and the steam heat and the electric lights and the glistening hardwood floors which down home you only see when you polish them for "Mr. Charlie." Then ask yourself if all these things which self-respecting, ambitious men want and ought to have are not worth almost any price the people who provide them may put upon them. How do you suppose the Race people already here stay here if it was not for the fact that they make enough money to pay for these things?

What chance has the average Race man to get these things down home? And if he does get them how would he be sure that some night some poor cracker will not get his gang together and come around to drive him out without any particular reason other than that the rednecks think he is getting along too well? This paper does not tell you of the magnificent churches and clubs which you and your people have bought and run to suit themselves. It fails to mention the fact that your nickel is worth as much as the other fellow's nickel on the street cars and that you ride wherever you can find a seat. Or that you don't have to wait 25 years for the white folks to build you a school house as the people in Atlanta have done. You just send your child to the nearest school where all the other children go and ask nobody's permission. You tip your hat to no white man unless you know him and desire to do so. Your wives and daughters walk the streets unafraid and without any danger of being called by their first names by some strange white man. There are no special regulations for Race men and no particular part of the sidewalk for you to walk on. You are a man and expected to carry yourself as such idea of a decent, God-fearing Race man is one who does as he is told and submits to the slightest wish of a white man because he is white, and not for any good reason. We are through with the "hat in hand, yessir, boss, Race man." We want them all to have a chance to live and act as other men do before they die. We want our women to love and respect us as their protectors and not have to protect us from other men with their honor and very souls. You will not be fooled by these lying tales, and you will come North when you get ready and times are right to see for yourself what it is that brings the foreigner across the ocean to a strange land, when all you have to do is to step on a train and ride for a night and a day to freedom and opportunity for yourself and your children. If you get nothing else but a good time out of it that is your fault. And, at least, you may have that good time without asking the permission of any white man as to how to spend your money. If that Southern white man could get along without you he would not be spending his money for these special messages to you. He needs you now because you are making yourself scarce. Keep him in need of you and you can bargain with him. Let him do the praying for once, while you rest a while and look on. It will do him and his wife good to try out the sun and and sweat in the cotton field as you have done. Perhaps he may be more willing to pay something like what it is worth to the next Race man he hires.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

Correspondence

Why the Negro Emigrates

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have found your journal so impartial in the discussion of all questions appearing in its columns that I am impelled to ask you to permit me to discuss the exodus of the Negro from the South to the North, from a Negro's point of view. Many prominent Negroes, and most Southern white men, are meeting in inter-racial confabs trying to work out a plan to stop the Negroes from leaving the South, and to keep them tied to the cotton fields at seventy-five cents a day, and to the lumber camps at a dollar to a dollar and a quarter a day, but in spite of these meetings, and the many tears being shed by their leaders and their good white friends, the Negroes are leaving by the thousands. The real friends of the Negro, who have no personal ax to grind, are glad to see him use his own judgment in trying to better the condition of himself and his family.

He has struggled heroically in this section ever since his emancipation to make himself a man and a citizen, but today his chances for a fair deal are worse than at any other period of his history since the Civil War. What is the cause of these conditions? Nothing but prejudice and race hatred. He accumulates property to have it burned when his white friends become offended with him, or to have to leave it when they find they cannot beat him out of it.

We have watched the growth of prejudice, and the growing tendency to oppress the Negro and rob him of every privilege for years, but the wave of hatred well-nigh reached its climax at the end of the World War when our Southern friends had to see Negroes in the uniform of our country. The Negro became so contemptible in the eyes of the South that many hitherto good white citizens were afraid to be seen in friendly conversation with a Negro.

These are a few of the things that are causing the Negro to leave the South. He has learned that there are places where he can get decent wages for his labor; where his dollar is worth a hundred cents the same as anyone else's dollar; where, notwithstanding race prejudice, he has the right to vote and take a part in the government under which he lives; where he has some consideration before the courts, and is not convicted and then leased to some big corporation to swell the revenue of the State; where he does not see in each morning's paper in scare-crow headlines some crime committed by a "nigger," a "black," or a "Negress." The principal cause of the exodus is the Negro's determination to give the little black boys and girls a chance to prepare themselves for life's battles. The schools in this section would not educate a Negro child in a hundred years. If you leave the cities you will find the schools for Negro children running three to five months, with absolutely no equipment. I began a three months' term in a school where there are supposed to be approximately two hundred pupils, last week. The county superintendent told me that these people have not had a school before in four years and now he is giving them a three months' term. I asked for equipment for the school and he gave me a register. I asked for a blackboard and a few desks, and he refused to give anything.

We accepted the principalship of the school at a country site where the white citizens have a nice brick school building, and are preparing to erect a high-school building. The Negro school burned four years ago, the Board of Education collected the insurance, and have been using it to run the white schools ever since. I succeeded in raising two thousand dollars to build a Negro school; we have the promise of fifteen hundred dollars from the Rosenwald Fund, and have been trying to get the Board of Education to put in two thousand dollars and build the school for six months, but thus far they have not done anything. This is not an isolated case. Free education for Negroes is a thing of the past in this section. Negroes are heavy taxpayers in this country, but they get no consideration. These are the things that are driving the Negroes out of the South.

Monticello, Florida, September 18 C. F. Call

Contrasts: Comfort In South; A Vision Of Conditions North

Many a colored man, comfortably housed and happy in the South, now is being made to listen to the honeyed words of the labor recruiter from the North. Here is a familiar picture of today. If it means anything it means that this southern colored farmer is to turn a deaf ear to the wiles of his sleek tempter.

Things must be in a bad way down Bogalusa and in Louisiana. When a white man begins to spend his money on you to convince you of something for your own good, look out. Any white man is ready to give you advice if it does not cost him anything or if he stands to make something for himself. Just a few months ago the Southern white man was telling the white people in the North that you did not own any homes like this one above and that you were too lazy and aimless and good-for-nothing generally to ever own one like it.

Now for your benefit he takes a picture of the best home he knows and wants to tell the world that all of you live like that below Mason and Dixon line. Now we know that a great many do live in homes as fine and finer than the one in this picture. But we ask you just to look around you and see how many of your friends in the South you can count who live on a hill with a view as fine as this. If they do it is in the middle of a great plantation. It is an unwritten law for Race people to have home sites as fine as this if the Southern white man can prevent it, and he usually manages to do that.

As for school books and tennis outfits, no cotton crop gets picked according to the Southern way of doing things in that fashion. That boy and that girl would be out in the cotton field and the school house would be closed.

Up North the school house never closes from the time that it opens in September until June rolls around. There are officers to see to it that your children stay in school and it does not matter what their complexion is, either.

Southern editors are doing their best to drive a wedge between Northern and Southern Race men and women. They try to tell you that our people in the North do not understand or want our people from the South, when as a matter of fact it is impossible to find a dozen Race people at any one time in any Northern city who are really Northerners. The only difference between you and most of them is that you are just a little later than they were in catching your train from the South. They may have been here long enough to know the customs of the country a little better than newer residents but they are absolutely with you and your ambition to better yourself because they know that only as you advance can they advance.

There is no such thing as a Northern or Southern Race, generally speaking. All thinking Race men know that the destiny of one is bound up in the destiny of the other. Let no white man divide your strength by telling you that one Race man does not appreciate you because you happen to be born in one state or county and he in another. In all probability if you talk to him long enough you will find that you are related, even if you were born in the South and he in the North. The white man knows that if he can make you doubt your own people his victory is won, for a house divided against itself cannot stand the assault of any determined group or race of men. Be strong and do your own thinking. Then act.

Interesting Report From A Negro Who Went North And Writes Of Conditions.

A year or so ago Col. Alex M. Garber, of Birmingham, who also has extensive planting interests in the Black Belt, was approached by one of his best farm negroes, Robert B. Scott, who told Col. Garber he was dissatisfied with the outlook and wanted to go North and see how conditions were. Scott was a trusted and valuable man, and the relations between the plantation owner and his tenant had been uniformly pleasant. Scott sold his crop, paid up all his debts and had several hundred dollars in cash when he started North. When he came to Birmingham, on his way, Col. Garber gave orders to his cook to look after Scott and his wife and child; they were lodged in the servants' house on the Garber premises, fed, and spent the night in Birmingham looking around, being cared for as indicated.

Scott went North—and has remained there; but made a trip back to see his folks on the plantation, and promised to write Col. Garber of condiitons in the North. He has done so, and part of the letter, from 1420 Bedford Avenue, Pittsburgh, follows:

In regard to conditions here, the more recent negroes from the South have made a very bad impression here; so much so that on the 10th of this month all negroes were ordered to leave McKeesport, of this city, within 24 hours. It was between 90 and 100 negroes in this place, and this order came as a result of an old man aged 75 years and his granddaughter, aged 11, being killed by one of these late comers. All of those ordered out of McKeesport were said to be "late Southerners"—that is, recent arrivals.

It would be a good thing if your good class of whites would talk with the negroes and endeavor to keep them at home, for things are dead against the "late Southerners" up here. They have made a record of bad language and immoral conduct that has prejudiced the people greatly against the race.

One month ago all negroes were ordered out of Johnstown, Pa.; the mayor making the order that all who had been there less than seven years would have to get out. Foreigners and "late Southern" negroes are said up here to be "no good."

This week the officers have been arresting every colored man that came into the city with a grip, as the works are all dull.

That is a communication from an honest and truthful negro to a white friend who had been his employer for many years. Robert Scott never dreamed the letter would ever see print, and Col. Garber has given it to The News in the effort to get the information to the negroes of Alabama, and to employers, that these black people may not go where there is no employment, and where the hand of every man is against them.

Mistaking liberty for license, the "late Southerners" have created a reputation for themselves that it will take years to live down, if it is ever lived down. In a region where they had been told was no prejudice, they have created such a violent prejudice that they are being jailed for merely coming into the community; are being driven out in herds, and for the misdeeds of one whole settlements are being punished.

It is true that wages are somewhat higher in certain industries in the North than in the South, but the cost of living is correspondingly higher, so there is no gain by the move, except that the negroes who go there have exposed themselves to a vastly heavier death rate. The negro is much more susceptible to pneumonia than the white man, and he knows less about caring for himself. Statistics of thirty-three States in the registration area, relied upon by the Bureau of the Census for data, show the negro death rate to be considerably higher than the white. In the steel mills, with the alternate great heat of the work and biting cold of Winter, the percentage of deaths is going to mount very appreciably among the colored workers in the next few months.

The lies of labor agents; the roseate letters of new arrivals, and the hopes of finding a Utopia have caused many a negro to forsake the substance of living in the South for the chimera of an idyllic existence in the North. But, it is mighty hard to convince those who have set out to believe a certain thing and want to believe it. Experience is about the best teacher, after all.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
NOVEMBER 20, 1923

SMITH ENDORSES NEGRO MIGRATION

Tells Harlem Mass Meeting He Wishes Exodus Fom the South Success.

ATTACKS LITERACY TEST

Says Education Is Not a Necessary Attribute to Good Citizenship.

Governor Alfred E. Smith had a heart-to-heart talk with several hundred negroes last night at the Metropolitan Baptist Church, Seventh Avenue and 128th Street. Although scheduled to make the principal address at a mass meeting in the interest of negroes migrating from the South to the North he made his talk a short and personal one. The Governor received a rousing reception. Speaking at one time of volunteer organizations he said:

"Some of the best work done for this city and State has been done by volunteers. We have a government of law, not of men. We look to volunteer organizations for industrial betterment. Our labor unions have bettered conditions. New York State is the greatest industrial State in the country. The necessity of the hour is the medium which brings together capital and labor.

The Governor said that he never had believed in the literacy test now in use in the State. He said he opposed it when a member of the constitutional convention.

"I held that education was not a necessary attribute to good citizenship," he said. "Some very good citizens cannot read or write. There are well educated men in Sing Sing who not only wrote their own names, but another man's name. Suppose it was necessary to have a high school diploma to be Governor; where would I be? I never had the chance.

"Any one willing to work, who is fairly intelligent, is an asset to the country. I wish your movement all possible success. Call on me and I will help, either in word or deed."

Other speakers were W. W. Brown, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church; the Rev. R. J. Brown, pastor of the Day Star Baptist Church and the Rev. W. Abner Brown, assistant astor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church. The American White Cross Labor Bureau has undertaken a campaign to insure employment in the North for 500,000 negroes who already have arrived, and for 2,500,000 others who would like to leave the South. Other meetings will be held to arouse interest in the campaign and it is expected that Governor Slizer of New Jersey will address a meeting in that State.

NOTED NEGRO DELIVERS TALK

Moton Urges Cessation Of Northern Immigration

New York, Nov. 20.—The south was never more alive than it is today to the importance of greater economic justice, fairer educational opportunities and justice in the courts to the negroes, Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, in Tuskegee, Ala., declared today in an address before the Quill club.

An important factor that has brought about the existing attitude, he said, was the wholesale emigration of negroes from the south to northern industrial centers, which, he said, had approximated 500,000 persons within the last year, according to department of labor statistics.

From Georgia 120,000 have gone north, he said; from Virginia 100,000; Alabama 90,000; Mississippi 86,000; North Carolina 25,000. The Georgia exodus had cost the state $27,000,000, had left 46,000 farm houses vacant, had left 55,000 plows idle and had left 70,843 laborers' jobs vacant, according to an estimate made by the Georgia Bankers association he declared.

The emigration, Dr. Moton asserted, was caused primarily by the superiority of economic advantages in the north as a result of restrictions on foreign immigration. A contributory factor, he said, was the destruction in recent years of a cotton crop by boll weevils.

Leaders of the movement to improve the status of the negro in the south, the Tuskegee official declared, were "actuated not wholly by the economic advantage of the negro's presence as a laborer," but were "moved by the dictates of human justice."

NOV 18 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION.

What hurt South Carolina far more than the migration of 40,000 or 50,000 negroes to the North within the past year, according to Dr. William Watts Ball, dean of the school of journalism of the State University and former editor of The Columbia State, in a recent communication appearing on the editorial page of The New York World, is the slow migration of the white people the last century and a quarter. We think Dr. Ball is entirely correct in his assumption that for the most part the negroes who left South Carolina for the North the past year would not have proved self-sustaining on the farms under boll weevil conditions. So much has recently been printed and said about negro migration that Dr. Ball's dispassionate, reassuring article on the subject is given, as follows:

To the Editor of The World:

The "alarm" of the South about negro migration, though it exists, is exaggerated in your editorial October 29. Some of us (we may be the minority of the whites and we may have allies among white laboring men, not yet articulate, numerous enough to make us the majority) look on it serenely. If South Carolina has lost 40,000 negroes in the last twelve months, they are for the most part negroes who, under boll weevil conditions, would not have been self-sustaining, and the white population is the richer for their going. In the knowledge that the state no longer has a negro majority is satisfaction, a sense of relief.

It is the slow migration of white people the last century and a quarter, with migration of negroes prohibited until 1865 and but lately begun, that has hurt South Carolina.

None of us would drive negroes away, but no reflecting man would have negroes remain here against their will. They are American citizens, the country is broad and the road is open.

Statutes of Southern states penalizing the solicitation of immigrants are an atrocity—evidence of Southern short-sightedness and stupidity. They were enacted, by the way, many years ago to prevent migration of negroes from one Southern state to another—as from South Carolina plantations to Florida turpentine camps. They should be repealed.

Why should not the negroes of the South be encouraged to take up the abandoned farms of Massachusetts and New Hampshire—where are no boll weevils and no question of their political rights would be raised? Why should not every village in New York have its negro population?

I speak for Southern whites who would not stimulate or accelerate negro migration, but who believe interference with it to be iniquity. What alarms them is the occasional sign of closing the North to negroes, the order of the mayor of Johnstown, Pa., that they get out, and the reported expulsion of 1,500 of them from South Bend, Ind.

Every Northern employer offering a Southern negro a good job is a friend of the whole South, white and black.

W. W. BALL.

Columbia, S. C., Nov. 2.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

The Problem Created by Negro Immigration; Its Evils and the Remedies Offered

J. T. Holleman, Prominent Farm Loan Agent, Says White's Must Come In.

Editor Constitution: I have no doubt that you have seen or will see an article in this week's issue of The Country Gentleman headed "The Negro Moves North."

Without discussing the negro exodus itself I want to say that the time is now ripe for bringing into the state of Georgia farmers from the other states in this country and from Canada. In order to make any progress in a movement of this sort it would be necessary that The Atlanta Constitution and other papers in the state advocate bringing into Georgia people from other sections of the United States who will buy and settle upon and develop our farm lands. Unless the newspapers lead the way little can be accomplished.

The second most important step will be a resolution or an act by our legislature when it meets this month extending an invitation to people in other sections of the United States and Canada to come into Georgia and buy farm lands and build their homes. It would, of course, be better still if the legislature would set up in the capitol a department upon which should devolve the work of advertising the state, of answering letters in regard to the state and of preparing and distributing literature setting forth the advantages to the farmers who may come here and buy lands.

Unless the newspapers are willing to advocate this movement and unless the state of Georgia, through the legislature, is willing to extend the invitation, the efforts of the individuals, firms and corporations or chamber of commerce and similar bodies will avail but little.

From 1866 to 1916 the negroes left the south at the rate of 10,000 per year, making an aggregate of only 500,000 for the period of fifty years. The negroes are now going away from the south at the rate of 200,000 per year. In addition to this, the boll weevil, crop failures and low prices for the last two years have caused the exodus of a great many white people. How long can the state of Georgia stand this drain upon its population? Atlanta and all the cities and towns in the state are constantly working to bring in new people, new industries and new enterprises. It is thought that 50,000 people have moved into Atlanta since the last census. What would be Atlanta's position if this situation were reversed? Suppose that since 1920 we had lost 50,000 of our population in Atlanta and that we were steadily decreasing in population year by year. It does not take a very wise man to know that Atlanta would very soon dwindle into insignificance. But this is exactly what is going on in the rural districts of Georgia. Something must be done to stop it.

We must either fall down upon our knees before the negro and beg him not to leave us or we must bring in white settlers to take his place. Nothing can be accomplished by arresting and fining labor agents. The negroes have a right to leave this state if they wish to and everything that has been done to prevent it so far amounts to nothing. In an article in your paper published in 1914 I predicted that this very situation would come about unless we changed our attitude toward the negro on the farm. I say now that we ought to pay the negroes better wages, give them better houses to live in and protect them from the outrages which they have frequently suffered at the hands of the ignorant and the lawless to say nothing of the authorities of the law. But this situation cannot be changed over night. We may have waited too long. We ought to improve the situation if we can and I think it is growing better. But whether this is true or not, we certainly ought to take steps to bring new people into Georgia to buy and improve our farm lands.

The influx of white farmers from the other states and from Canada will solve the negro problem, the boll weevil problem and the tax problem. If we can get new settlers we will not miss the negroes so greatly. New settlers will not be disturbed by the boll weevil because they have all their lives practiced diversification and will not depend upon cotton solely. New settlers will add new wealth to the taxable property of the state and give us additional taxes for the paying of the state's expenses and the maintenance of the state's institutions.

Yours truly,
J. T. HOLLEMAN.

Atlanta, Ga., June 7, 1923.

Two Prominent Negro Leaders Say Problem Can Be Easily Solved and Give Receipt.

(From Letter to Richard H. Edmonds, Editor Manufacturers Record.)

I have had the feeling for some time that the thing for us to do, who live and believe in the south, is to face squarely our difficulties, racial and otherwise, and to use every means ourselves to remedy the situation.

Undoubtedly the south is now entering upon a new era of economic and industrial development, and unless something is done, the north, with the present scarcity of labor in the industrial centers, will embarrass us by its strong and flattering bid for negro labor. There is even now a shortage of labor, especially on many plantations and, provided the immigration bars are not let down, this section will experience still greater embarrassment. Negroes are leaving the south and will continue to do so, and I have been surprised at the comparative ease with which, in spite of some hardships and friction, they have adjusted themselves to northern conditions.

Here in the south we can offer conditions equally as attractive as the north, and in some things very much more so—certainly along essential lines, and in the last analysis those are the lines that really appeal to the negro.

I have felt very happy over the fact that the south itself is taking the initiative in seeing that the negro gets here in the south the things which many are seeking in the north. This, I feel, can be done without sacrificing the south's highest standards and best traditions. In meetings of editors, business men, educators and planters I have taken this position with candor and vigor. That is, in my opinion, the quickest and best way to stop migration.

Without doubt economic opportunities for the negro are far superior in the south to those offered in the north, as the record for negro progress shows. No part of America offers a better opportunity for real progress for both races than the south and I think the race problem for the world will be worked out down here. It is being done now with a success and satisfaction which, in spite of cross-currents, is almost a miracle when the whole situation is considered.

Let me thank you again for your letter and express the hope that upon your next trip to Florida you may find it possible to visit this institute which my distinguished predecessor has built up here in the heart of the south. It has always had the heartiest co-operation and support, financially and otherwise, from southern people, among whom are some of my staunchest and most helpful friends.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) R. R. MOTON,
Principal Tuskegee Institute.

Prominent Negro Preacher.

Editor Constitution: I love my state and all of her people and, regardless to what is going on elsewhere, I want our state to be happy, peaceful and prosperous. I am willing to pay any price that will accomplish this end.

In none of my cards and communications have I any thought of social equality (so called). None of my people have. We believe in fair play and justice, an equal chance in the game of life. And while I believe all of this, I do not believe we ought to reduce this to a race issue. There is no race problem except in the mind of the politician. It is a human problem, pure and simple, and we should approach it with humanity in mind instead of a certain group.

We can live together in peace and we must do it. We can change economic conditions in Georgia and we must do it. All of us must put our heads together for Georgia and the south. You have no more right to love Georgia than I do. You have no more right to defend her than I do, for I am as much a Georgian and southerner as you. I am not an African. I was not born in Africa. I owe my first and my best to my state and my country.

God bless you and all those of every group who are striving honestly to stem this restless tide and to make Georgia the once proud commonwealth she used to be.

(REV.) D. D. CRAWFORD,
Executive Secretary General Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia.

DELTA NOT ALONE IN PROBLEM OF LABOR

Negro Migration Is Now Affecting Entire State.

Commercial Appeal 5/14/23.

CLARKSDALE, Miss., May 13.—The recent meeting of the farm development bureau, one of the departments of the Coahoma County Chamber of Commerce, recently reorganized, which was held in the courthouse, was attended by about 1,000 farmers and business men of Coahoma, Tunica, Quitman and Bolivar counties, also about 100 negroes.

C. G. Steele, county farm demonstration agent, made a brief talk, urging upon the farmers the necessity for "thick spacing" of their cotton and advising against chopping it out too early.

Oscar Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce, delivered an address on labor conditions, giving his views upon the problem confronting the whole country at this time, arising out of the scarcity of labor, which subject is attracting the interest of the country at large.

Mr. Johnston said in the outset that because of the magnitude of the question under consideration it was one which he approached with reluctance and diffidence, that during the past six months he had undertaken a very careful study of the labor situation throughout the United States, but particularly with a view of determining conditions in the Mississippi delta, his research having covered many sections of the west and industrial sections of the north and east, that as a result of these investigations he had reached certain definite conclusions regarding the evil from which we are suffering and the remedy which should be applied, and that it was his purpose to submit those conclusions to his audience for their consideration and discussion.

Delta Not Alone.

The speaker stated that the delta was not alone in facing a difficult labor problem; that, in fact, it was his opinion that the delta was better prepared to go through the impending labor crisis than is any other agricultural section of the country; that white labor was leaving the farms in the west and in the hill sections of the south almost as rapidly as negro labor was leaving the Mississippi Delta; that this exodus of farm labor from agricultural sections was the direct result of the enactment of very unfortunate immigration laws. The speaker stated that, taking advantage of the hysteria that followed in the wake of the great World War, and for the purpose of increasing wages by the unsound method of reducing supply, the labor organizations or unions of the country obtained the enactment of laws seriously curtailing foreign immigration to this country, the result of these immigration laws being a scarcity of labor with which to operate the manufacturing enterprises of the north, the packing plants of Chicago and Kansas City and the railroad lines. This shortage of labor resulted, of course, in competitive bidding amongst the interests engaged in the businesses enumerated for man power this competitive bidding has resulted in a steady increase in the daily wages paid the industrial worker and railway employe.

High wages, declared the speaker, which result from a prosperous condition are eminently to be desired, but high wages artificially produced by curtailment of the supply of labor must inevitably lead to financial wreck. The recipients of the wages revel for a time in a fool's paradise, forgetting that the money with which his wages are paid must come from the sale of the article which his labor manufactures, or the use of the service rendered through and as a result of his labor. He should bear in mind that Great Britain, France and Germany, with a plentiful supply of labor, are also engaged in the manufacture of goods and commodities, with which the goods and commodities manufactured in America must compete in the world markets, that America produces annually infinitely more than she consumes and is of necessity forced to depend upon exporting her surplus products, in order to maintain a reasonable price for them; therefore, when the cost of the labor which goes into the manufactured article to the American manufacturer exceeds the cost of that same article to the European manufacturer, the American manufacturer cannot sell, for example, in South America, in India, or in any of the foreign countries, and must depend upon a protective tariff to sell in America. The inevitable effect of this condition will be curtailment on the part of the American manufacturer, he will reduce the number of hours of operation and number of employes, he may continue paying high wages, employing 50 men where heretofore he employed 100.

Fifty Idle Men.

This gives us 50 idle men, who immediately become competitive with the workers for the sale of their la-

bor, and we find a disturbed and unfortunate economic situation result ing. The speaker stated that a law that would limit the supply of labor unreasonably and to a point below the quantity necessary to properly operate the industrial plants of America, was just as dangerous and just as unsound as would be a law limiting the production of cotton, wheat, corn, or other necessary products solely for the purpose of boosting the price of the commodity limited. The speaker stated that the result of the shortage of industrial labor had been to increase the wage scale to such an extent as to make it impossible for the farmer to compete with the manufacturer in the payment of a daily wage, this resulting in the migration of the agricultural labor to the industrial centers, and so long as this condition prevails it is worse than idle for theorists to attempt to stem the exodus of farm labor. That exodus, said the speaker, is an inevitable result, following as certain as the rush to a newly discovered gold or oil field. Following naturally upon the heels of the exodus of labor from the farm, we find the farmer pathetically seeking to hold his labor by increasing to the maximum the wage which he can pay, we find acreage abandoned or improperly cultivated, resulting from "over crop," this naturally greatly increasing the cost of producing our agricultural products, wheat, cotton and corn, and of necessity forces the price of these commodities to a higher level, and by so doing making it impossible for the farmer growing cotton in the south to deliver his cotton in Liverpool and Manchester in competition with cotton grown under more normal conditions in Peru, Egypt, Hayti, South Africa and Brazil. As a result of this, we now witness a stagnant cotton market in America, although we produced in the last year only about 60 per cent of the maximum crop which has heretofore been grown. With manufactured goods forced to a high price because of artificial high wages and high production cost of raw material, America will soon find the world markets closed to her, and being unable to consume her own productions will witness serious reaction.

Raise Fails To Benefit.

A further effect resulting from artificial boosting of prices brought about in the manner above indicated is that the wage earner fails to get the benefit of his increase in wages, he finds that when earning five dollars per day, he is not able at the end of the month to bank as much money as he was wheir earning two dollars per day, owing to the fact that the cost of each article used or consumed by him is proportionately increased, and when he has paid his grocery bill, his coal bill and bought his clothing, he is no better off than he was at a lower wage.

The speaker here stated that he had given this general survey of the industrial and labor situation with a view to pointing out to the people of Mississippi, first, that the problem confronting them is not a local one and is not one to be dealt with by mass meetings and public discussions, winding up simply with the adoption of a lot of resolutions dealing purely with local conditions, but the matter must be dealt with from Washington by an intelligent amendment to the immigration laws.

With regard to the matter of negro labor leaving the delta, the speaker stated that he believed that the planters of the delta should furnish the tenants on their property with comfortable homes, should make living conditions on the farm as healthful and as pleasant as possible, should give fair and square settlements to their tenants, should charge a legitimate rate of interest and should endeavor to promote more cordial relations between the races. They should do this, first, as a matter of good morals and good business, they should do it, second, in order to retain on the plantations as much labor as possible.

In the exodus of the negro from the south, we are witnessing what is probably the solution of the race problem and the settlement for all time to come the negro question as a factor in southern development. We are also witnessing the enactment of one of life's tragedies; viz, the passing of a race of people from existence. Statictics carefully compiled show that when herded into close quarters in the city, the death rate among negroes exceeds the birth rate. This is true whether the city be located in the north or in the south. In addition to this, the physical conformation of the negro makes it impossible for him to successfully withstand the rigors of a northern winter; hence, after they leave the southern fields, the open air, the warm sunshine and herd into illy ventilated tenement houses, and in the performance of their labor are exposed to intense cold of the north, they die at an alarming rate. The result of the migration of the negro to the north will be that within a few years, the negro in America will be as seldom seen as is the American Indian. The speaker strongly urged that the representative negroes present urge and advise their people to remain in the fields of the south if they would preserve their race, but said the speaker, "If Ephriam is wedded to his idols, or if in plain American, you negroes are hell bent on your own self-destruction, then go."

Dependent on Negro.

The speaker stated that in his judgment the prosperity of the Mississippi delta is in no sense dependent upon Negro labor, heretofore white settlement has not been encouraged, heretofore farmers have refused to rent lands to white farm tenants, that condition is past. The speaker called attention to the enormous increase in the white population in the counties of Sunflower, Bolivar and Quitman, and stated that it would be the business of the Chamber of Commerce of Coahoma County to advertise the fact that every voting precinct in the county may be reached over a hard surface road; that in every supervisor's district is situated a consolidated school, with transportation facilities furnished for the children; that the soil of the Mississippi delta is of unexcelled fertility, that disease resulting from breeding of mosquitos and drinking of impure water has become a thing of the past with the application of scientific principles and the digging of artesian wells. The speaker predicted that when the white farmers of the whole south learned of the wonderful opportunities afforded them in the delta, the people of the delta as a local proposition need not worry over the labor situation, that it was idle to suppose that lands as fertile as those in the delta, capable of being farmed under conditions as pleasant as exist in the delta, would lie idle while farmers eked out a meager existence upon gulley furrowed farms in the hills. The problem, said the speaker, is serious viewed as a national problem, but not as a local problem.

Concluding the speaker urged that the calamity howler cease his lamentations, that we discontinue proclaiming to the world every little ill that confronts us and instead of this, that we advertise to the world the wonderful recuperative powers of the Mississippi delta, the healthfulness of its genial climate, the fertility of its soil the hospitality of its people, and predicted that with this character of advertising we fill the farming lands of the delta with white, home owning farmers, and that when this condition would obtain, a degree of prosperity hitherto undreamed would prevail.

MISSISSIPPI WAGE SLAVES FORCING WHITES TO KNEES

Chicago Defender

Jackson, Miss., May 11.—A call has been issued by the chamber of commerce of the state of Mississippi that all towns and cities in the state plan meetings May 19 between representatives of both races to discuss ways and means of checking the labor exodus from the state, an emigration which is crippling the industry of the commonwealth.

More than 125,000 laborers have left the state within the last eight months. May 12, 1923.

A preliminary meeting has already been held, at which leaders of the Race submitted a list of grievances to which the Race is subject and which were held responsible for the exodus. The whites accepted blame and have made promises toward better conditions which the meetings scheduled for the 19th of the month are expected to impress upon the workers of both races.

The list of grievances was addressed to the white people by S. D. Redmond, M. E. Anderson, J. W. Hair, G. W. Cox, E. L. Trivine, E. W. Richardson, W. L. Moon, R. L. Johnson, A. J. Thomas, E. L. Patton, W. A. Scott, J. W. Isable, O. W. Jones, R. J. Garrett and A. M. Redmond. It contained the following:

Life Not Safe

The Negro feels that life is not safe in Mississippi, and his life may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation by a white man.

The record filibuster, vote and defeat by the Southern representation in Congress against the Dyer anti-lynching bill in the last Congress has caused the Negro to believe that the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate lynch law and mob violence in the South.

The Negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section and a few of the following facts all tend to force him to this conclusion:

(a) While he realizes that the law on its face is fair, yet he feels that when it comes to an application of that law to him, only too often it is but a dead letter.

(b) He realizes the fact that though he is equally taxed with the white man, that he gets only too often but few of its benefits, and that while all school money, under the law, should be divided equally, that he gets only about one-twentieth of his share, or, in other words, for every dollar spent for education of the Negro child in the state of Mississippi there are about $20 spent for the education of the white child.

(c) That there are more than 1,000 high schools in the state for whites, while there is but one such public school in the state maintained for Negroes.

(d) That though there are about 800 consolidated rural schools in the state for whites, there is not one for Negroes.

(e) That though more than $100,000 is spent monthly for the transportation of white children to and from school, not one dollar is spent for Negro children.

(f) That the wage paid Negro teachers is wholly insufficient to induce competent teachers, as a rule, to teach Negro schools.

(g) That though all schools for whites are built out of the common fund, raised by the taxation of both white and black, the Negro is called upon by the state through its representatives to solicit charity to build his own little, meager school house out of his own personal funds, supplemented by philanthropy, wherever he may, perchance, find it.

(h) Though there are 50 odd agricultural high schools supported by the state for whites, there is not one such school in the state for Negroes.

(i) That though the state has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth at a cost of more than $1,000,000 and spends $30 per month per capita upon each white derelict to bring him back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent in this way for the reformation of the Negro derelict, but he is thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals, only to be made worse.

(j) That though the state has spent millions in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the state, yet there is no place whatever in the state where the Negro may go and receive treatment for this dread malady, notwithstanding the fact that the Negro is said to be more subject to this disease than the whites.

(k) That though the state has spent several million dollars for white feeble-minded children, and though the Negroes are in the majority in the state, not one dollar has been spent to aid the feeble-minded Negro youth.

College Neglected

(l) The capacity and support of Alcorn college is not one-tenth what it should be—the state itself contributing less than 5 cents per capita, Negro population, for the higher education of Negroes.

Though there are several colleges and a State normal college maintained by the state alone for whites, no such institutions are maintained for Negroes as such—Alcorn being a Morill land grant school, intended to be the equal of Starkille A. & M. college, but has not had one-tenth of the support heretofore given that great institution.

(m) The state maintains and supports an institution for the white blind, and has for the past 40 years, but none for Negroes.

(n) It appears that almost innumerable Negro tenant farmers charge their landlords with either no settlement, or an unfair settlement, and many of these Negroes after appeal to both state and federal authorities in vain, have given up in despair and sought other climes, some of them charging that a state of peonage exists in certain sections of the state.

(o) The Negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of 100 Negroes.

That no public improvement, as a rule, is made in those sections of towns and cities occupied by Negroes.

(p) No landlord should be permitted to sell his property without should be forced by law to deliver to him in kind.

(q) The state of Mississippi sent more Negro soldiers to the World war than whites, but the Negro boys on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the state and government which they fought to defend than the German enemy whom they helped to stay from American soil.

(r) The Negro, generally, finds himself wholly excluded from all jury service whatsoever, and from all participation whatsoever in the state and national government under which he lives.

This he holds responsible for all of his many inequalities and injustices under the law, and feels that notwithstanding the kindly feelings of many to the contrary, that such a state and condition must ever remain, just so long as he is denied the ballot, since history affords no example of mutual co-operation, contentment and mutual welfare where one group assumes guardianship of another and attempts to govern them without the consent of the governed.

(s) In our humble judgment there is no hope whatever of bringing back the Negroes who have already left the state, but the only hope now lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of those who are here.

PHILADELPHIA EVE. LEDGER
MARCH 19, 1923

Economic, Not Racial

To the Editor of the Evening Public Ledger:

Sir—That economic maladjustment rather than irreconcilable race difference is at the root of many of our problems involving Negro and white citizens is fortunately coming to be more and more clearly recognized.

"Economic dislocations are very largely caused by the migration of Negroes from the South for economic reasons but chiefly because of lynching, disfranchisement and ill-treatment. We are glad to be able to say that the lesson is being brought home to Southern business men, through loss of their labor, and the Manufacturers' Record of February 8 headed an interesting article with the following caption, leaving little further to be said: "The South Must Protect and Safeguard the Negro in Every Way."

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON.
Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
New York, March 14, 1923.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

ST. LOUIS MO. POST DISPATCH
MAY 31, 1923

A SERIOUS ST. LOUIS PROBLEM.

The negro population of St. Louis is growing about 1000 a month by migration from the South. Where are we going to put the new arrivals? This is a question of concern to every resident of St. Louis, not excepting the inhabitants of protected districts. Thousands of others will dread a loss in home values if the black population invades their neighborhood. Friction between the races as a consequence of this situation might develop serious trouble.

This is a subject which cannot be treated in the spirit of personal prejudice, fear or resentment without aggravating the situation. Local industries need the labor and it may continue to come indefinitely. Nothing can be settled by purely restrictive measures. Congestion of blacks in already overpopulated districts would increase disease and crime. Such evils are no respecter of boundary lines. That is why no district would be free from penalty if the question of housing for the new colored population is not met dispassionately, tolerantly and constructively.

The problem becomes more formidable with every day's delay in action. Enormous values, tangible and intangible, are in the balance. The situation cannot be handled by the city authorities beyond a very limited degree. In a recent report to the Board of Public Service, Director Cunliff of the Department of Public Welfare describes the situation and calls for remedial consideration. The next appeal must be to the citizenry for a mobilization of forces to cope adequately with the problem.

PHILA. PUBLIC LEDGER
JUNE 15 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS

Former Southerner Says Worst Element Is Coming Here

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—The letter published in last Sunday's issue relative to the exodus of the Negro from the South, and giving the reason therefor, needs an answer.

I was born and raised in Eastern Texas, have traveled a great deal in most of the Southern States and am well acquainted with the Negro as well as the Southern white. And I have lived, off and on, many years in the North. It would seem, therefore, providing I have not kept my eyes completely closed, that I am somewhat acquainted with race conditions in both places.

The author of the letter also gave various reasons why Negroes are leaving the South; but he was wrong on every count. The South considers herself fortunate in getting rid of the Negro element at present moving North, for they are composed of groups of the worst characters in the South. This the North will eventually discover, unfortunately. They are influenced in their move because other Negroes in the North write to them that wages up here are very large and, better still, that if they come up here they will be treated just like the whites in every way. The latter argument is infinitely stronger to a Negro than the promise of large pay.

The Negro in the South, I mean the one who intends to stay there, is a far more contented individual than his brother in the North. Because here in the North, in spite of the Northerner's vaunted justice to his colored friend, there is an underlying, unhealthy feeling of hatred for the Negro in the hearts of 99 per cent of the people. In the South, to the contrary, the sentiment toward the Negro is a good-natured tolerance, and in many, many cases there is a real fondness for certain individual Negroes.

As a matter of fact, the North is sitting on a volcano and, strangely enough, no one seems to realize it.

W. R. WATSON, M. D.

Philadelphia, June 15, 1923.

SPARTANBURG S. C. JOURNAL
JUN

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN NEW YORK.

Some thousands of Negroes have gone North during the last six months and a good many more will follow, doubtless, before the exodus is ended. The Times says that the influx of Negroes is a big problem in New York and tells the following story of some incidents of the present Negro migration from the South:

"Among the first people in New York to discover that there was a migration of negro workers from the South was the Travelers' Aid Society. For the last six months its aids have been kept busy, notably at the Pennsylvania station, trying to find homes and friends for these negroes, many of whom can neither read nor write, have perhaps used up what money they had, and invariably have the address to which they wish to go in their baggage. The negroes include girls who frequently arrive without five cents to telephone or pay their carfare.

"There is an influx of negroes the last of each week. They get here Saturday, or start Saturday and reach here Sunday, when, all day long, the lower level at the Pennsylvania Station is crowded with them. Many come from small farms and they are utterly helpless. Some of them have made strange preparations for city life.

"One woman from a farm came to join her husband in Buffalo. He had come on six weeks before and sent for her. When she reached here she had no money and the Travelers' Aid Society took care of her while it telegraphed to the husband, who made arrangements immediately for her to join him. The woman had with her several chickens off the farm, but in her prolonged journey they had lost their freshness and their odor was anything but enticing.

"A man who came to make his home in the city brought his wife and four children with him and in the baggage car all his provisions for city life—four pigs, no furniture and no trunks.

"A negro, 80 years old, had been sent for by his daughters living on Long Island. He passed through the society's hands and duly reached them. But Long Island did not please him and the society received an urgent message soon after to try to head him off as the daughters thought he had escaped and started back home. But they were just too late; he had taken the train. Ten days later a message from the police asked if they knew an old man who said he didn't know who he was or where he was going. He only knew that his money had been stolen. It was the aged father and again he was sent to his daughters.

"John Griffin's brother Moses, who, escorting a young woman, had come on to see his brother, was another of the strays. He thought he should have gone to Newark, but he had come to New York and he didn't know where his brother lived. The society took care of the two while telegrams weer sent to different places in the South to learn John's address. By a coincidence Moses learned the address himself. On the street one day, while waiting for an answer, he saw a group of negro men and asked if they happened to know John Griffin, who was a deacon in the Baptist Church. Some one among them did.

"The negroes are of all ages—men, women and children. Some of them have come North to work in factories and some of the girls are going into domestic service. Sometimes they have definite places in view and when they need aid in such cases it is because of a mislaid address."

ANOTHER SLANT AT CAUSES FOR NEGRO MIGRATION

(Preston News Service)
(From The South)

The following are excerpts from a letter received by the Urban League of Pittsburgh from a farmer in Georgia. After explaining the plans of a whole colony of Negroes to migrate North during the spring of 1924 and giving the causes for wanting assistance in getting located, he continues "At this time we are busy growing watermelons and.....want your help in providing a medium thro' which we can ship to wholesale or consumers." In answer to a letter from us requesting information concerning the amount of crop he and neighboring farmers will be able to ship and upon what terms, we received the following letter. ".....we can begin shipping about June 15th, two car loads a week for several weeks, of the best melons. Our terms are $25 a car load f. o. b....."

In addition to the signature of our correspondent the letter bore five other names and addresses purporting to be the endorsement of the above statements, by two prominent white business men and three other Negro melon growers.

On June 16th the largest produce dealer in Pittsburgh, estimated that the average car load contains 1,000 melons and that the best Georgia melons sold that morning at $500 a car load in Pittsburgh. It is unreasonable to believe that freight charges and commissions on a car load of melons would amount to $475, while the former who planted, cultivated, collected and hauled them to the railroad, can be properly repaid by getting $25 out of this $500 transaction.

This farmer indicated that such an arrangement would be much better than what they received from their local Georgia agents last year.
(Correspondence in files of Pittsburgh Urban League.)

In The North.

The following is a part of a statement made by a Negro connected with the Employment, Safety and Welfare Departments of a large steel concern in reply to our question as to whether Negroes were getting into the higher skilled and better paying jobs. ".....only three days ago, a Meharry graduate, who had formerly worked for us, was employed into the plant as assistant chemist; recently we have employed a colored girl as a stenographer in the Stationery department. We have a Negro electric welder who averages more than $20 a day. Two weeks ago we placed at work three crews of riveters and bucklers on steel barges. This is in keeping with the company's policy to gradually give to Negroes employed in our plant any job they are capable of handling....."

Ten months ago this company had about the worst reputation among Negro workman of any plant in the Pittsburgh district.

Heavy penalties on labor agents, fine speeches by prominent southerners, even increased appropriations for Negro schools or the actual working out of most of the plans of the Inter-Racial Commission will have but little effect in checking the migration with the work and wage differential between the North and South as obvious as the two above "slants" indicate.

ATLANTA GA EVE JOURNAL
MAY 24, 1923

The Migration of Negro Labo a Simple Statement of Facts

THE first step in the solution of a problem is to find the facts; the second is to think about them. What, then, are the facts of the much-discussed migration of Negro labor from the South?

Some meaningful figures, compiled from reports by county farm demonstration agents in every region of Georgia, were given out this week by President Soule, of the State College of Agriculture. Since January the first, according to this information, sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-Negroes have left the state. On the assumption that each of them could make a dollar a day, this authority reckons that the productive value of the workers thus removed would amount in the course of a year to upwards of twenty-five million dollars. It is estimated, moreover, that since January the first, one hundred thousand persons have left Georgia farms, of which total approximately eighteen thousand or more were whites, and the remainder colored. Within the same period, as the report indicates, about eleven thousand elght hundred farms in the state have been virtually abandoned. The loss thus entailed in agricultural production is calculated as little less than six million dollars.

The federal department of agriculture reported the number of colored farm hands emigrating from Georgia to industrial centers of the North in the last year at thirty-two thousand. The Wall Street Journal estimates the Southern total of the year's migration to be in excess of three hundred thousand. This trend, though now especially marked, is not of sudden or merely recent origin. "The number of Southern-born Negroes living in the North and West," according to the World Almanac, "increased from 440,534 in 1910 to 780,794 in 1920, forming 40.9 per cent of the total Negro population of the North and West in the earlier year, and 50.3 per cent in the later. . . . The Negroes who were born in South Carolina and had migrated from that state to Pennsylvania increased from 2,113 in 1910 to 11,624 in 1920; those from Georgia to Pennsylvania increased from 1,578 to 16,196; those from Florida to Pennsylvania, from 393 to 5,370; those from Alabama to Ohio, from 781 to 17,588; those from Mississippi to Illinois, from 4,612 to 19,485; and those from Louisiana to Illinois, from 1,609 to 8,078." The larger part of the shifting here indicated took place, no doubt, in the war period, and was caused in great measure by extraordinary demands and abnormal wages for industrial labor at the North. It should be noted, however, that the movement has stretched over too long a span to be explainable in terms of war economics alone. Pronounced as it is today, it was plainly discernible in the decade 1900-1910.

Consider, by way of further illustration, that whereas for the decade 1900-1910 the increase in the number of Georgia's Negro inhabitants was 13.7 per cent, for the decade 1910-1920 it was only 2.5 per cent. During the same period South Carolina's increase fell from 6.8 to 3.5; Florida's from 33.8 to 6.7; while Alabama's went from an increase of 9.8 to a decrease of .8 per cent; and Mississippi's from an increase of 11.2 to a decrease of 7.4. These striking results are computed in the Negro Year Book of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The same facts are to be seen in other forms when we note from federal census reports that Georgia's gain in Negro population in the entire decade ended 1920 was only 29,378—considerably less than half the total exodus of colored workers from the state during the last five months. South Carolina's gain was only 28,876, whereas in the preceding ten years it had been 53,522. Alabama had no gain at all, but a net loss of 7,630; while Mississippi had a loss of 74,303.

If this trend continues, what will be the result by 1930? And what the economic consequences to the South? Will they be, in the last reckoning favorable or adverse? That is a large question. Of immediate and more intense interest are the probable consequences to this year's crops, and to those of ensuing seasons. From the Wall Street Journal's point of view it appears that "a continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future, while demand is on the increase. Cotton cannot be successfully raised without colored labor; neither is it like wheat or corn, which yields to mechanical invention. It is essentially a hand-produced crop. . . . The world is now using American cotton at the rate of thirteen million bales a year. At the end of this season, July 31, 1923, there will be only a small surplus in the world, to say nothing about leaving a surplus to carry over into the next year." Thus does a migration in which the agricultural South is peculiarly concerned find reactions in the world's farthest corners of industry and finance.

History sometimes turns upon seeming trivialities. Long ago, in the Middle Ages, North Sea herring fisheries were immensely profitable to the ports and merchants of that region. But there came a season, in the thirteenth century, when the herring (stirred by we know not what restless instinct), moved, millions strong, out of the North Sea into into the Baltic. Thereupon new centers of herring prosperity sprang into being, while the old sought other means to fortune. Thereby, moreover, were developed between the eastern shores of the Baltic and the lands of western Europe lines of commerce that greatly influenced the future of civilization. When some student of plant life, more than a hundred years ago, bred a variety of cotton which could be grown profitably on the uplands; and when at about the same time a young school teacher, tinkering away at Mulberry Grove, near Savannah, invented a machine for separating cotton from the fibre—few men of the day dreamed of the tremendous sweep of events which those incidents beti.ed.

Daring would he be (more daring than thoughtful) who would hazard a prediction of the economic eventualities of the present trend of colored labor from the South. A great deal more may be involved than we now possibly can conceive—or a great deal less than we imagine. It is well, however, to see the situation as it is, and to ponder it wihtout prejudice, but with a steady purpose to arrive at true conclusions and just conduct.

Such must be our conduct and such our conclusions if we are to deal successfully with any phase of the problem, immediate or remote. If it is to the interest of the South to retain its colored farm labor, then assuredly it is to our interest to ascertain all the causes, those within our borders as well as those without, which may be operating to divert that labor to regions afar. To such causes as are within our control we can well afford to give careful and candid thought. Every farming district may profitider whether or not its labor is as well housed, as well nourished, as well treated as both expediency and right require. Railing at peripatetic labor agents from the North (who certainly are a far from admirable lot) may relieve the feelings now and then, but it will raise no cotton. If we would stop effects, we must go, in so far as we can, beyond surface symptoms, to causes.

MINNEAPOLIS M MORN TRIB
MAY 31, 1923

ONE NEGRO'S 'MIGRATION.'

The current negro migration gives point and timeliness to the story of an earlier, one-man migration, related by the Columbia, S. C. State. Thirteen years ago one Charlie Hubbard, a South Carolina negro farmer, got the "movin' fever." Seeking counsel of a white friend, he was advised to stay in South Carolina but to look about for a bit of cheap land which he might buy on easy terms and go to farming for himself. Charlie, wiser than his generation, took the advice. He found a badly run-down farm in another part of the state, bought it "cheap" and "on time" and went to work.

A writer on the Columbia paper, hearing the story of this migration, visited Charlie's farm the other day. He found a comfortable farm house screened and piped for water, half a dozen solidly built barns and storehouses, a fine collection of farm implements, well cared for, Jersey cows, full-blooded hogs, a cane mill, abundant supplies of syrup, and four bales of 1921 cotton, still unsold. Wire fences inclosed the fields. In brief, during the thirteen years elapsed since his migration, Charlie has paid out his land, provided a better than average farm equipment and is "sitting pretty." Incidentally he has "raised" thirteen children—and only one of these has caught the Northward "migration" fever.

How many of the negroes of Charlie's type, lured Northward by the prevailing fever, will do as well as he has done? Charlie may have been exceptionally dowered in the way of diligence and common sense; but opportunities such as he had the wit to seize and the grit to improve offer to the industrious, decent negro far more abundantly in the South than in the North.—New Orleans Times-Picayune.

Labor— 1923.
Miration Movement.

NEGRO MIGRATION REMEDIES SHOWN BY RACE LEADERS

Address to Legislature and to White People of Georgia Issued at Conference Held Here.

Declaring that the negroes as a race do not desire to leave Georgia and the south, and asserting that the remedy for the conditions which are causing the present migration to other parts of the country is in the hands of the white man, a state-wide conference of colored leaders Wednesday addressed a communication setting forth their chief grievances, to the legislature and the people of Georgia.

The meeting, which was called by a committee of leading colored citizens of Atlanta and the state, was attended by between five and six hundred of the most thoughtful and leading spirits of the negro race in Georgia.

Bishop J. S. Flipper, of the A. M. E. church, of Atlanta, presided and W. A. Bell, of Atlanta, was elected secretary. Subscriptions of approximately $100 were collected to defray the expenses of printing the address for distribution among the legislators, and for other expenses incident to the gathering.

Condition, Not Theory.

Bishop Flipper, in his opening address, declared that the white man, as well as the negro, in Georgia, is confronted with a condition and not a theory. While declaring that he was opposed to the migration of the negro, believing that Georgia was the greatest state of them all, in which to live, he did believe that the negro ought to have the right to scatter to all parts of the union.

"I do not believe," said Bishop Flipper, "in pleading my case in Chicago, or Detroit or any other northern city, while my judge and jury are in the south." He then asserted that the negro does not ask the passage of any more legislation, or of any special laws for his benefit, but that all he asks is that the laws now on the statute books be fairly enforced.

The negro, if he is to stay in the south, asks only equal protection of life and property and equal justice in the courts, he said. This, asserted Bishop Flipper, he is not given now. "Nevertheless," he said, "the remedy is in the hands of the white man, and he could put it into effect before sunrise if he would."

"Social Equality" Called "Bugaboo."

All speakers at the meeting united in branding "social equality" and "negro supremacy" as bugaboos created by political demagogues for their own selfish ends, and declared that the negro, as a race, had never sought such things. It was stated that 45 per cent. of the population of Georgia is colored, and the reason for the troubles and inequalities of the negro were all laid to the "effort to conduct a democracy with a large proportion of the population barred from politics."

All negroes were urged to exercise their right to vote whenever they could establish such right under the Georgia law.

It was also urged that the legislature pass an anti-lynching law, several speakers stating that they would rather see such a law on the state statutes, than have it passed by the federal government, because they believed it would be better enforced under state rule.

In the address, which was adopted to be sent to the members of the legislature, and which it proposed to put before as many residents of the state as possible, the evils under which the negro says that he is laboring in Georgia, and which are cited as the causes for his migration away from the state, are given as follows:

Causes of Migration.

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for negro children.

Poor accommodations for negroes when traveling.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.

Mob violence.

Educational Facilities.

In connection with the lack of educational facilities for negroes in Georgia, it was pointed out that out of $750,000 spent by the state for higher education, only $15,000 goes to negro institutions. Speakers declared that the young people of the race, whose ambitions drove them to seek higher education, were compelled to leave the state, if they were to secure the training they desired.

It was stated that one of the greatest needs of Georgia today is that of agricultural training schools for negro farmers. "How," asked the speakers, "can the negro farmer practice that diversification of crops which the white man tells us will save him from the poverty of boll-weevil cotton, when he has been trained to raise cotton and nothing else, and when there is no place to which he can go to learn other kinds of farming?"

Address Signed.

The address, which was drawn up by a special committee and then read to the entire meeting and adopted unanimously, was signed by the following:

Rev. R. S. Williams, D.D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D.D., LL.D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D.D., Ph.D., Bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A.M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D.D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Indiana High school, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday School department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

Address to Legislature.

The address in full is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia; Greetings: We, the undersigned representatives of 45 per cent of our state population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously endowed this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our southern states. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our state, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and this condition may continue for a longer period that either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for colored people than our own southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last 50 years may be greatly retarded and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if the conditions to which we are about to refer could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away might return.

On these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy them, if you are willing so to do.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION.

Economic.

Thousands of colored people, as well as white, because of the ravages of the boll weevil on cotton, which is the economic mainstay of the south, are without means of earning a living. This condition would not be so calamitous but for the fact that the colored people do not know and practice diversified farming. No real effort has been made to teach them practical diversification on the farms. The basis of our rural financial operation is built mainly on cotton production. No credit machinery is provided to initiate, propagate and sustain diversified farming.

The financial powers are directing their attention mainly to the solution of the same problem, as it affects the economic condition of the white farmers in the rural communities. The resources that are available are not sufficient to meet the needs of both colored and white farmers, and discrimination has been shown in the distribution of relief.

Better Wages.

We recognize quite thoroughly that it is not possible in an agricultural section like ours, under boll weevil and other unfavorable conditions, for the farmers of Georgia to fully meet the high wages offered by the manufacturing centers in the northern states; that lack of markets for the article produced, and the inadequate marketing system of our section make such wages prohibitive on the part of the Georgia farmer.

We are as thoroughly convinced, however that it is possible for the Georgia farmer to pay a wage much more nearly commensurate to the labor that he requires, than is now paid; and those who have an intimate knowledge of the scanty means of existence which a large majority of the rural negro population receives from the landlord, are convinced that the high cost of living makes his stay on the farm almost prohibitive.

Poor Housing Conditions.

Another is the poor housing conditions. In our cities, the closely crowded tenements with poor sewerage, streets and lights, make it most uncomfortable for the people who are forced to live there. In our rural communities, the shanties grouped together in quarters on the plantations, without light or paint, or places for privacy, are not only uncomfortable, but are prolific breeders of diseases, immorality and crime, which in turn, have a baneful effect upon the efficiency of the laborers. In our judgment, no wiser investment could be made than that which would provide for our colored communities, homes that would at least be in a measure comfortable, which would in the very nature of things, increase the self-respect of the inmates and greatly improve the character and quality of the services which the landlord would receive.

A third is the method of supervising the farms in many of our rural comunities. A very large proportion of the agricultural interest is owned by landlords who live in the cities and small towns, and who leave the care of the farm in the hands of overseers. These overesers, in most cases, have absolutely no interests in these laborers, excepting the amount of work they can extract from them by long hours and hard driving. Many of them are known to lend encouragement to gambling, whisky making, adultery and crooked living in general, as a means of holding his labor on the farm under the threat of the law, if said laborer should choose to withdraw.

What is needed on these farms is not overseers, but captains of industry, who become the leaders of the laborers whom they supervise, and who take an interest in their home life; seeing that they are kept clean and healthy; who are concerned about their religious life, making it possible for them to attend church on Sundays and thus to be lead into higher thinking, rather than allowed to loiter about the plantations and spend the Holy day in riotous living; leaders who would insist upon it, as far as possible, that the laborer should become interested in his own economic welfare, and instructed how to save some of what he earns while times are good, for a rainy day, thereby relieving the landlord of the financial burden that is so commonly felt under the present system of management.

Educationally.

Inadequate provisions for the education of colored children is also a very strong incentive to migration. Although we are 50 years removed from the beginning of the public school system in Georgia, four-fifths of all the public schools for colored are taught in churches and lodge halls, with absolutely no equipment whatever to aid the teachers in imparting the instructions which they are supposed to give. In many of them, there is not a sign of a blackboard, nor a single desk, to say nothing of maps, charts, etc., while the public schools of the white people are equipped with the necessary apparatus essential to modern ideas in education, at the expense of a public school fund. Nine-tenths of these rural colored schools are taught by teachers who have never completed as much as a first rate, eighth grade grammar school course, and who know absolutely nothing of the advantages of a normal school training, such as is necessary to prepare people for the holy task of developing the human mind. The salary of these teachers in many instances is smaller than the wage of the plowhands laboring on the same plantations.

As to high school education, aside from a few teachers' training schools, made possible by the philanthroy of Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, there are less than a dozen junior high schools for colored youths, and only one for a four-year course, while there are more than one hundred for whites.

Although the negro performs 75 per cent of the agricultural labor in our state, there is not a single first-class agricultural school for colored people in Georgia, and only three of any kind, and these receive such small appropriations that improvement upon what they are now doing is practically impossible; while there are twelve for whites, one in each congressional district, aside from the state agricultural college.

We recognize the fact that even the schools for white people are receiving altogether too small an appropriation, that our state university, colleges and technical institutions for whites are themselves suffering immensely from the lack of funds to do the work which is absolutely needed, but we do not consider these facts sufficient grounds for those who have in charge the distribution of the funds appropriated, to divert practically all of the funds for these colleges to those for whites to the almost complete neglect of those for negroes. For instance, out of an approciation of $750,000 to this higher educational work, $735,000 was appropriated to the white s against $15,000 to the colored. How does this $15,000 for the higher education of colored people in Georgia appear compared to the North Carolina appropriation of $1,250,000; Louisiana, $500,000; Mississip $400,000; Texas, $500,000, and Virginia, $750,000?

We also believe, as the records in other states prove, that the public school interest for colored people in Georgia would be greatly enhanced if our state authorities would appoint an upstanding, high-toned, well-prepared colored supervisor, whose office and labors would be under the supervision of our state superintendent of education. Georgia, with her boundless resources, surpassing most of the southern states, cannot honorably plead poverty as an excuse for her failure adequately to care for and nurture the educational interests of any part of her citizens.

Socially.

Accommodations for travel are a constant menace to every self-respecting colored person who boards our passenger trains. It is not unusual to find the coach provided for colored passengers to be at the same time the baggage car, mail car, the butcher's booth and the conductor's desk, where our wives and daughters are frequently subjected to the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered.

Unequal Law Enforcement.

Very few things have contributed more to the present unrest among the colored people and to induce them to seek shelter in other sections than the inequality in

the administration and enforcement of the law. Too often he is made to feel that law was designed solely for his punishment, but not for his protection, along with other citizens. His life is too cheap in Georgia. In practically every instance of personal difficulties between a white man and a colored man, the colored man alone must suffer. If he strikes in necessary defense of himself or habitation, he invariably suffers the extreme penalty of the law, if perchance he escapes the fury of the mob. If his life is taken by an individual white man, the coroner's jury invariably denominates it justifiable homicide. If his life is taken by a mob, even in broad daylight, it is always found that he came to his death at the hands of parties unknown. This inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law can be remedied if those empowered with the authority of government would observe the oaths that they have taken to administer the law with justice and impartiality.

Labor Contract Law.

Unskilled colored labor in Georgia has suffered grievously by the operation of the iniquitous contract law. Under the guise of this law, colored laborers have been held in a state of involuntary servitude, for long periods of time, subjected to corporal punishment, murdered with impunity, confined to certain restricted quarters, their down-sitting and uprising being as closely guarded as in the days of legal slavery, from all of which conditions and cruelties he has often been wholly unable to escape.

We urge the repeal of this law in order that heartless landlords may no longer have apparent legal leave and sanction in their trampling upon the constitutional right of the laborer to be rewarded for his honest toil.

Mob Violence.

Our greatest disturbance, however, is the open defiance of our laws in the form of mob violence. The most disturbing menace of all evils which we now suffer is the menace of the mob. No influence has done more to drive colored people away from the state, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our state, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of colored labor here, than the influence of the mob. In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe over night; and unless checked, it is bound to become a cancer to gnaw away the vitals and destroy the usefulness of one of the most richly endowed states of the union.

The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization. This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary, would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us. We desire for ourselves and our children because of our blood sacrifices, our self-denial and our toil for Georgia and our country, to feel that the immortal Declaration of Independence written by the illustrious Thomas Jefferson and others is the foundation upon which Georgia's civilization rests, and that the words set forth by it are really and truly the basis upon which all the people are to work out our future well-being.

Cause.

The cause of most of the trouble to which we have above referred lies in the fundamental error of attempting to run a democracy without all the people. The leaving of 45 per cent of the population of Georgia out of its government affairs, in our judgment, is largely responsible for the one-sided program which the state is operating, and the neglect that the colored people now sustain.

In a democracy, one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours, has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of the ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show that as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the white people among whom we have lived for three centuries. We lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good white people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scarecrow "social equality" and "negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the colored man in the governmental affairs in our state, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the white group to the end that the white man of big business and of big business capacity, may also be eliminated from the politics of the state, and the government left to the mercies of their rapacious ambition. How well they are succeeding, let the laws of the statute books and the conditions of our state government tell.

We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality or desire for negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood this test, let the pens of your own illustrious worthies and the tongue of your own immoral Grady tell.

Record of Patriotism.

We, their sons and daughters, modestly though proudly, boast that we are "Chips off the old block." Our record of patriotism is common knowledge to all, and we only covet a fair chance to serve in the largest possible way, our fellowmen.

It is written that "Man shall not live by bread alone." We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest effort in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be—the best and most beautiful of all the states in the union. If you deny us this, and insist upon it, that we must continue our existence under the injustices which we have so much and so patiently endured, then we are frank to declare that it were better for us, however sacred and enchanting the old home and church ground, however strong the ties that bind us to our good white friends of the south, of whom we know we have by far a larger number than have yet declared themselves in public, to leave these friends with a prayer of God's blessings upon them and to leave these homes, and these churches and whatever little earthly possessions we have accumulated within these years, to the ravages of fate and as a "rendezvous for the owls and the bats," while we go forth empty handed to seek some spot upon this earth, where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," we challenge you and await your answer.

50,000 COLORED PEOPLE LEAVE 41 COUNTIES

CLEMSON COLLEGE, S. C.—Fifty thousand colored people have left forty-one counties in South Carolina since November 1, with a consequent abandonment of thousands of farms and crops, according to a survey conducted by the Extension Service of Clemson College. Figures for the other five counties of the State have not been completed. Among the statistics compiled by the survey, which was brought about by the increasing exodus of Negro labor to Northern and Eastern industrial centers, were these:

One-horse farms abandoned, 9,243 in 22 counties.

Cotton abandoned since March 31, 14,722 acres in 14 counties.

Corn abandoned, 4,600 acres in nine counties.

The average number of colored emigrants for the 41 counties reporting was 1,217 per county; the average number of farms abandoned, 423 a county, and the average cotton acreage abandoned was 1,072 acres a county.

NEGRO EXODUS REMEDY UP TO WHITES, CLAIM

Change in Conditions Asked by Georgia A. M. E. Church.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 5.—Negroes as a race do not desire to leave Georgia and the south, and the remedy for existing conditions is in the hands of the white man according to a communication addressed to the general assembly and the people of Georgia adopted at a state-wide conference of leaders of the negro race here yesterday. The conference was presided over by Bishop J. S. Flipper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, of Atlanta.

While declaring his opposition to any migration of the negro, Bishop Flipper said he did believe the negro, as well as any other race, ought to have the right to scatter to all parts of the union. The bishop, as well as other speakers, branded 'social equality" and "negro supremacy" as bugaboos created by political demagogues.

The communication, which it is proposed to have printed for distribution to members of the Legislature and throughout the state generally, sets forth the evils which the negroes claim they labor under in this state. These included: Low wages for farm labor; poor housing conditions; and working conditions on plantations managed by overseers in the absence of the owners; lack of educational facilities; poor accommodations for negroes when traveling; inequality in the enforcement of the laws; the contract law, the repeal of which is asked, and mob violence.

The Legislature was urged to pass an anti-lynching law, several speakers declaring they would prefer to see such a law on the state statutes than have it passed by the federal government.

ATLANTIANS TO DISCUSS NEGRO MIGRATION

(Preston News Service

Atlanta, Ga., June 21.—Plans to cope with the labor migration from Georgia will be discussed by the members of the city club at its next meeting on Friday afternoon. It has been pointed out that 35 per cent of the Negro population already has moved outside of the cotton belt. The situation created by this movement of Negro labor has caused a serious problem to fall on the shoulders of cotton growers and merchants in this section. It is claimed that something must be done to check the exodus of Negroes from Georgia or the entire producing system of the state wil be completely broken down.

Edgar Watkins, president of the club, points out that some concerted action must be taken to relieve the tense situation. Just what will be done he said he was not in position to say, but he felt that some measure should be resorted to put an end to general unrest and dissatisfaction among Negroes of the state.

SUMMER MIGRATION HITS VIRGINIA TOO

Farmers' Conference Is Told That 10,000 Have Left Old Dominion State This Year for North

MANY OWN FARMS

Estimate Is That Negroes Possess 1,500,000 Acres of Fertile Farm Lands

Hampton, Va., June 27.—The annual Hampton Institute farmers' conference brought together the colored farm and home demonstration agents, who are working in 31 counties of Virginia to improve rural life, and delegates from churches, community clubs, and co-advisory boards, who are working to improve co-operation.

Thomas C. Walker of Gloucester Court House, a lawyer-farmer and a graduate of Hampton Institute, stated that in Virginia Negroes own 1,700,000 acres of land, not including city property. He declared that colored farmers of Virginia have won the respect of their white neighbors by cultivating their farms successfully and by organizing community clubs and school - improvement leagues, which have been real assets. "We must teach Negro boys and girls that the migration must be stopped. Too many are leaving fields of diamonds. Already 10,000 Negroes have left Virginia. We must tell young colored men to settle down and keep their feet on the soil.

"All that the Negro wants of the white man is a square deal. There are now some 65,000 Negro children in Virginia, out of a school population of 245,000, who are not in school. We must build good local schools and have good teachers. We ourselves must keep on giving for the education of our children. The county agents are agricultural preachers and community builders. There are now about 10,000 Negro boys and girls in Virginia who have been neglected by their parents. Within ten years I have handled 1900 of these boys and girls."

NEGRO RETURNS TO HIS WHITE FRIENDS

After Trying North for While Says He Will Live and Die in South

Upon his return from the north where he went some months ago on the promise of better wages and treatment, John Black, negro, born and raised in Lowndes county, makes a pathetic plea to his colored brothers to remain in the South.

Black returned two weeks ago and appealed to the superintendent of Mayor W. A. Gunter's farm for employment. He found that he not only could get reinstatement on the plantations of Alabama but got evidence of the fact that he is well treated and that the Southern white man is his friend.

Black says to his people: "Don't go north on any promise of better wages or treatment. You don't get either. The Southern white man is the negro's true friend."

After having assurance that he would be welcomed back home Black raised enough money to bring his family back to Lowndes county, where he says he will live the remainder of his life.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

ROGERS THINKS ABSENTEE LANDLORD SYSTEM IS FACTOR IN NEGRO MIGRATION

Chairman of State Highway Commission Tells Advertiser Representative of His Observation on Economic Problem

Interesting, timely and useful suggestions for coping with the problem presented by the migration to the North and East of negroes from the farms of the South, are contained in an interview dealing with his subject, given out Saturday by Chairman John A. Rogers, of the state highway commission. Mr. Rogers, who owns extensive farm lands in Alabama and is an experienced and practical planter, stated his views regarding the migratioin of the southern negro northward and the reasons underlying this movement, as follows:

"The migration to the North of the negroes of the South, has put many people to theorizing about this question. They will talk to you about social conditions, lack of sympathy, education, lack of protection in the courts and so on. The real cause that takes the negro North is the same that brought our ancestors to this country and now brings foreigners here. The negro can earn more money in the North than he can in the South.

"If the South had the great industrial centers of the North which give employment for wages at high rates, the negro in the North and the white man in the North would flock to the South to get these wages. You often hear of discussions by bankers and philanthropists seeking to provide a remedy for the migration of the negro, looking toward keeping him in the South. This question is a rather an individual than a cooperative one. To illustrate what I mean:

Absentee Landlord.

"On yesterday I had a conversation with a gentleman who owns a plantation in Sumter county but lives elsewhere. He said he had been to Sumter to collect rents for 1923. His tenants are all negroes. I asked him had he collected the rents. He said nearly all, but not quite; that one of two tenants had not made enough of a crop to pay the rent, but he hoped to get the balance due, eventually. In other words, this alien landlord had taken everything his tenants made for the rent and when they had not enough to pay him the rest, he expected them to get it for him by outside work of some kind.

"This kind of thing is going on all over the state. Failures in crops, especially under boll weevil conditions are bound to come from time to time, and when these failures come, the landlord shows absolute indifference to the welfare of his tenants, by what process of reasoning does he expect them to stay on his farm? Men, women and children have to live, whether they be negroes of white folks, and when they are in almost a helpless condition on account of ignorance and poverty, as many of the negroes are, what are such people to do for something to eat and wear when their crops fail? There can be put one answer to this question and that is, seek employment at something else beside farming.

"An ounce of actual knowledge earned from experience is worth a ton of theory. This statement is an axiom. It is true of every condition that may come up in life. It is true of the relation between the negro and the white man, landlord and tenant, farmer and share cropper.

Two Models.

"I live in Sumter county, in the northern part of which the lands are worked almost exclusively by negroes. I know of two men in this part of Sumter county, neither of whom live on their farms and neither of whom have ever lost and tenants. One of these men is E. F. Allison of Bellamy who owns many thousands of acres of farm lands in Alabama. The other is my brother, C. M. A. Rogers, of Eutaw, who owns large acreages in Sumter county. It is my belief if their method of handling their tenats should be copied generally in the South, the migration of the negro to the North could be reduced to a minimum.

"In Alabama as in most of the southern states, the white people have moved from their farms to the villages, towns and cities. They rent their lands to tenats, and then leave the tenant to shovel for himself. The tenant having to live, gives chattel mortgages to merchants. A short crop year comes. The landlord demands his pound of flesh regardless of what may happen to the tenant. The merchant is under no obligation to take care of the landlord's tenants. He is out his money for supplies to make the crop. His only recourse to collect a little of what is owing him is to foreclose on the livestock of the tenant.

"When the mortgage is foreclosed the tenant is left without the means of going on. This condition more than anything else, is the cause of so many negroes leaving the South."

PHILA. EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER
OCTOBER 2, 1923

A. L. MANLY, INDUSTRIAL secretary of the Armstrong Association, is doing a good service to his race and contributes toward the peace and harmonious relations of the white and colored races by his careful study of the migration situation and his review in the EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER, what is being done by the colored people themselves for the well-being of the newcomers from the South. Through the churches and fraternal orders much has already been accomplished toward assimilating the migrants, and Mr. Manly gives assurance that they are hard-working and industrious Negroes and by no means the riff-raff of the South, as some persons might imagine from the intolerant utterances of trouble makers. Not only have these additions to the Negro population of the city created no new problem for the police, but they have not increased the demand for aid upon the various welfare organization. The housing conditions are bad, of course, but no worse than if th influx had been of foreign-speaking im migrants from Europe.

Smallpox Propaganda Being Circulated By Southerners

Associated Negro Press.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Aug. 15.—The White South in an effort to retain its underpaid, lynched, mobbed and oppresesd workers, who have fled by thousands into northern industrial centers during the last year, has begun a campaign of malicious slander against the North, according to the tone of several reports emanating in the South and referring to the North.

One report from Selma, Alabama, calls attention to the Pittsburgh district where many Southern Negroes have come. The Selma people declare that smallpox is ravaging the city and that Negroes had better not come here. A letter was sent to the mayor suggesting that he aid the Alabamians in persuading the return of the laborers. He was asked how much Pittsburghers were willing to put up in order to guarantee the return of the plantation hands on special trains.

8-17-23

According to the local health officer there is not a case of smallpox in the city. He explains that in some cases lately Negroes have come here from the South, and that they have been thrown into unfavorable surroundings, but that in every case steps have been taken to improve conditions all around, so that at present there is no need for alarm, that rather, the situation is highly favorable.

Such diseases as these Negroes suffer from, according to health officers in several northern cities, are brought by them from the South. It was this that prompted the vaccination of migrants who passed through St. Louis, Missouri. The migrating laborers objected on the ground of discrimination, so that now the health department of that city had ordered that all persons, of whatever race, leaving the South, must be inspected at Union Station to determine whether they need vaccination as a means of preventing contagious diseases.

THE NEGRO'S TROUBLES IN THE NORTH

Not only southern negroes finding jobs very scarce in the north, but, in many instances, they are also finding living conditions very hard. The situation is rapidly becoming acute, so much so, in fact, that every consideration of humanitty requires a wide disseminattion of the truth. Unless something is done to check the lure of the North to these misguided people great suffering, and even death, will be the inevitable result. The north is unaccustomed to the negro as a laborer, has no practical sympathy for him, and will not tolerate his idiosyncrasies. This is not unnatural, since the north does not know the negro, and, therefore, can not understand him. With mutual understanding sympathetic co-operation is an impossibility.

The great influx of negroes in many of the large centers of the north has developed into a situation that is causing grave concern and unless some effective method is found to stop the inflowing tide it is not easy to fortell how disastrous the result may be.

A telegram published in the Atlanta Journal, from General Superintendent Dolan, of the Department of Public Welfare Detroit, contains a warning the negro will do well to heed. "Unskilled colored labor is a drug on the market in Detroit" he says adding "new arrivals are finding it difficult to find employment". Housing conditions are very bad new arrivals being forced to live in over-crowded quarters, and to pay exhorbitant rates for them Mr. Dolan adds this warning 'If the period of unskilled unemployment continues colored labor will be in dire straits", because the city of Detroit is not prepared to afford financial relief to "an influx of southern negroes, or non residents of any class".

Conditions in Philadelphia are equally bad. The Society for Organized Charity, of that city sends out the warning that negroes already there are living in overcrowded quarters and are a menace to health and life. There are no available houses in which to care for the influx of negroes. In April the Philadelphia housing association made a canvass of 61 135 houses and found only fifty six that could be rented at less than fifty dollars a month, and few, if any, of these were available for negro tenants. The Society warns that "should widespread unemployment develop the condition of these new comers would be appalling".

From Cincinnati comes the information that southern negroes who have migrated to that city are being gouged to the limit by the landlords in the negro district. some of them being charged as much as ten dollars a week for one room. Three and four families are reported living in houses built for only one, because of the extreme congestion in the negro quarters.

Conditions in St. Louis, due to the constant influx of negroes, have already become so serious as to be a matter of very grave concern. A period of slack demand for negro labor would quickly result

in suffering and death.

In Detroit it is said that fully seventy-five per cent. of the unidentified dead in the morgue are negroes.

There is prospect of a widespread slowing down in all industrial activities, which means a slackening in the demand for labor of all kinds, and especially unskilled. Our negro citizens will do well to heed these well meant warnings, and to remember that high wages, at a distance seem alluring, but the cost of living, and living conditions as well, must always be taken into consideration. What seems inviting at a distance, on closer inspection may lose its attraction. Even a lesser wage, with more tolerable living conditions, and among friends, is something well worth thinking about.—The Blackshear Times.

VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
MAY 9, 1923

"RAIDING" NEGRO LABOR

According to Dow Service Daily Building Reports," "underground" methods similar to those of the days before the Civil War are being restored to by Northern manufacturers to entice and transport negro labor from the South, but the raiders are meetinng with difficulties, at some points Southern employers successfully interfering through a combination of legal subterfuges with persusasion or intimidation.

"Whole consignments of (negro) laborers are arranged for shipment North" says the authority named above, "but somehow they do not arrive. It is the rule rather than the exception, according to the experience of building material manufacturers, who at this time are striving particularly hard to keep a steady flow of brick and similar basic material coming to this market. Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude Southern man power have been detained when about to entrain their gangs of laborers for the North by ostensible process of police power, and, while a hearing is in process of being arranged, the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another, and finally the would be employer returned without help.

Whatever the legal view of this "raiding" or the forcible opposition to it, the latter may be accepted as inevitable. "Under ground" methods of securing and shipping negro labor are bound to be met by methods similarly questionable. An outstanding fact of interest in this connection is that after a century the negro is still an object of active contention between white men.

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian

AUG 1 1923

NEGRO RENTING STATUS.

Owners of negro renting property who have been disturbed by the exodus of farm labor to the North and West, need have no worry about their Atlanta houses going vacant. A careful investigation shows that the colored population of Atlanta has not suffered by the migration.

Inquiry at the offices of the Board of Education brought out the fact that colored schools here are overcrowded. In some instances triple sessions are being held. Accommodations everywhere are inadequate.

Renting agents who handle that class of property say they have no vacancies to speak of, and that rates have not fallen.

There is no doubt about negroes leaving the farms and small towns, but they are for the most part going to Southern cities. More, in fact, are going to the cities than are leaving them, for wages in large Southern cities are high and employment good. Those who migrate soon have their places filled.

Unofficial reports also say that many of the migrants are returning, and still more are expected when the fall and winter seasons open. Although there are no official census figures at hand, it is quite probable that the colored population of Atlanta is larger now than it ever was.

MIGRATION MUST END ADVISES GEN. JERVEY

Portsmouth City Manager Says Simple Justice Will End Exodus.

General J. P. Jervey, city manager of Portsmouth, in a talk before the members of the Norfolk Lions' Club in its weekly meeting, said, "The migration of Negro labor to industrial centers of the North is one of the vital problems this community has to face today. We must make up our minds now to keep them in the South, where they belong. Laws to keep them here are futile. The question of labor, after all, is an economic one, and Negroes, the same as white workmen, will go where financial returns and living conditions are best. It is a simple matter to keep them here. Only two things are needed, simple justice and better living conditions."

REMARKS DISCUSSED

A group of representative colored citizens a few days ago discussing City Manager Jervey's remarks, stated that they were interested in knowing if the white people of Norfolk and Portsmouth, that is, those who control the city governments, actually know under what humiliating disadvantages that the bulk of the colored population of the two cities lives. These men said, "It is a fact that the average colored man hopes and strives to have his family live in a decent home in decent surroundings. They want conveniences, such as electric lights, bathtubs, gas and other things conducive to sanitray living. But it is sadly admitted, that with rents at top prices for shanties in these cities, it is entirely out of the question for the average Negro family-head to even think of enjoying these conveniences at the prevailing wages in this section."

Another prominent colored citizen of Norfolk recently returned from the North, said, "Rents are high in the North and West ,and so are wages. Again, you get something for your rent there. People will pay the rent because they can live in comfort and decency. Nobody objects to paying high rent when wages are high and they get conveniences commensurate with what they pay."

17,000 NEGROES WANT TO RETURN TO SOUTH

Illinois Central Survey Discloses Surplus in North.

ASKS NEEDS OF SOUTH

R. J. Carmichael, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Sends Questionnaire to Railroad Agents and Business Interests.

A definite plan to relieve the shortage of negro labor in the south, and at the same time, relieve the north of its growing surplus of negro laborers, who are facing the winter months with the prospect of depending upon charitable institutions for sustenance, was launched yesterday by R. J. Carmichael, assistant general passenger agent of the Illinois Central System at Memphis. Mr. Carmichael has devoted much time and energy to a careful study of the labor situation in both the north and south and the plan he has outlined will do much to relieve a situation that is more or less critical in both sections of the nation.

A survey made during the past two weeks by Mr Carmichael, discloses the fact that two serious situations exists—a scarcity of negro labor in the south and a surplus of 17,000 negroes, both men and women, in cities located on Lake Michigan.

This study reveals the fact that the 17,000 idle negroes in those cities are awake to the fact that they must either return to their former homes or depend upon charitable institutions for food during the winter months.

In an effort to find out the needs of employers of negro labor along the lines of the Illinois Central and Yazoo and Mississippi Valley railroads in the south, Mr. Carmichael has addressed a letter to agents of the railroad and to business interests. Accompanying this letter is a questionnaire to be returned to Mr. Carmichael and the data thus gathered will then be used by representatives of the railroads in having those needs supplied by removal of the idle negroes from the Lake Michigan cities to various points in the south.

17,000 Want to Return.

The letters were sent out yesterday by special delivery and sets forth the plan in concise language, as follows:

"Seventeen thousand negro men and women now living in the principal cities in the north are anxious to return to the south. Scarcity of work and money for daily existence is attributed as the cause.

"In order that I may become acquainted with the number of men and women needed in various sections along the road, it will be necessary to be in possession of certain information. Will you therefore please confer with the business interests in yo city, obtaining from them the data called for on the enclosed form. Upon hearing from you I will then in turn lend co-operation by placing the information before those interested with a view of witnessing in time a reconstruction of the conditions which are now existing in many counties in this part of the country.

"An early acknowledgement to this communication is solicited.

"Just as soon as I get the desired information, it will be relayed to the points in the north where it will be heeded and I hope a big worthy movement, in a big way, will result, as it is anticipated, in relief to planters and business interests in need of labor and also relieve the condition of the idle negroes in the north," Mr. Carmichael said yesterday.

Mr. Carmichael's offer to relay information covering needs of southern planters and business interests to the idle negroes in the north, is not confined to those to whom he has addressed letters. He invites correspondence from those in need of labor and will see to it that the answers to the questionnaire are placed in the proper place to result in a more or less general return of negroes to the south.

The questionnaire which Mr. Carmichael asks those in need of negro labor to fill out and mail to him, is as follows:

Name of Employer .....
City .....
State .....
Number of Men Wanted.....
(Temporary or Permanent Work)...
.....
Number of Women Wanted.....
(Temporary or Permanent Work)....
.....
Character of Work Desired of Men...
.....
Character of Work Desired of Women
.....
Rate of Pay with and Without Living Quarters.....
Remarks: .....
.....
.....

NEGROES MIGRATE TO NORTH

BY J. W. LEIGH
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

NEW ORLEANS.—The south is frightened by the continued northern exodus of the Negroes. It has tried ridicule, pleading, newspaper advertisements—but the migration goes on.

Previous to 1914 there was no large scale migration. In 1917, with the call for men to serve overseas, Negroes from all sections of the south were included in the huge army trains enroute for embarkment. The route carried them through the north, the north which they had never seen, which opened their eyes to a new world. They were better treated. In France they were treated as human beings. These conditions caused the Negroes to dream of a new era. After the signing of the armistice the pull was all to the north. Letters by the thousand were sent south encouraging friends to move north. Meanwhile the north during the war shortage of labor had brought a million and a half Negroes to work in the factories. Agents were sent to the various southern states by the big corporations offering more pay. The migration was inevitable.

Now the pay for Negroes on southern farms is $20 a month, plus two or three acres free of charge, and a house. The laborer is obliged to work on the average of five and a half days a week for this compensation; the rest of the time he can tend the two or three-acre patch. Colored farmers who work on shares handle 25 acres, and in a good crop year make ten bales of cotton with sufficient corn to tide them over another year. In the past 15 years the boll weevil has cut the cotton crop about half, which has caused tenants to desert the farms for the towns.

Negro schools average about five months in the year, with inadequate equipment and poorly trained teachers. Added to this there is economic and legal discrimination against colored people. There is always the immediate or lurking danger of the mob.

Meanwhile the migration goes on, the Negro seeking fair treatment, good wages, education for his children, equality before the law, and the right to vote—privileges denied him in the south.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

Prominent Men Discuss Negro Migration Problem

Ex-State Senator Perry Gives His Views on Migration of Negro

Editor Constitution: At a meeting in Jackson, Miss., H. W. Stone is quoted as saying: "I have lived in the delta for sixty years, I have lived among and handled negroes, and the reason the negroes leaving Mississippi is because some white men are swindling them. I know lots of folks who have become rich in this way."

I am not familiar with the people of the delta and do not dispute Mr. Stone's statement about the people of that section. I have lived in Georgia and worked with negroes and employed them for seventy-four years and I most emphatically assert that Mr. Stone's statement does not apply to this section of the country. There are men in all sections who will cheat a negro or a white man, but they are the exception. The people generally are willing for the negro to have all that belongs to him. The negroes for a long time have been sufficiently educated to know when a man cheated them and soon that man could not hire any negro. The men who treat them right are the ones who get the labor. Neither has the negro left the south through fear for the mob law or any ill treatment.

He has not migrated in search of better schools or better houses, with city water and baths. He prefers to go down to the rock shoals on the branch where the alders grow thick and step down into the clear, running water and take his bath. Many folks are imagining many things that moved the negro from the south, but most of the reasons are purely imaginary. Two things moved the negro from the cotton fields and his beloved sunny south.

The first was the deflation movement forced on the country in 1920 by our national financiers at the time when cotton was selling for 40 cents per pound, and when the south had paid the largest price for making a crop of cotton that had ever been paid. The negro had his all staked on 40-cent cotton. When the price of cotton dropped from 40 cents to 10 cents the negro farmer's all was swept away from him—he was "busted." But, as he had a pig for Christmas and enough corn to do him until credit opened up and a few landlords and supply merchants were willing to risk another crop, the negro went to work to make a big crop in 1921 and pay his debts and get another start. Cotton was again good price.

That summer the boll weevil came to the cotton plant and the result was about three hundred pounds of seed cotton to the plow to pay fertilizer bills, mule feed, etc. The negro was not only broke, but his credit was gone. He loved cotton because cotton gave him credit, but the boll weevil had robbed him of his credit. The supply merchant and the landlord had lost all they put in and could not help the negro. He could not get help—he must do his best to live. He left the south unwillingly, but forced by necessity.

Do you wonder that he was ready to listen to talk from the north and west about high wages? More than 90 per cent of those who have left the south were moved by deflation and the boll weevil and, in my opinion, the south can stand this migration better than some other sections.

The negro has largely clothed the world while he and his family went bare of clothes for want of money to buy them. The negro will never again be forced to work so cheaply. The world must pay more for cotton. The money-makers of the east, the spinners of New England and the world, the bankers and business men of the entire country do not realize the cut that is obliged to be made in the production of cotton on account of the migration of the negro from the cotton fields. Not only have the negroes left, but deflation and the boll weevil have moved many of our white men who could get a job in the city or another state away from the south.

What are the land owners of the south going to do? First, determine to make a living at home for man and mules and cattle and hogs and chickens.

Do not try to make so much cotton. The south can stand on a short cotton crop much better than the world. Under the system of farming that we have followed for many years the negro cannot make a living without cotton. We must help him to learn to make something besides cotton and corn. The land will not bear making corn year after year. Help the negro all we can by giving him all the work we can. The land owners can afford to have his cotton lands drained. Hillside ditches dug around the bottoms to keep water from going over and injuring the bottoms. Do all we can to keep up and improve our land. Keep negroes in buildings to take care of them. Keep land from running down while we cannot make much out of it. Plant peas and other legumes on all the land we can. Have land in better condition when times get better. Where land is in grass—let it grow. Work on the bare places and get it covered with some crop. Help the negro by finding employment for him and teaching him to make something else but cotton. We need the presence of a black population upon its territory."

Viscount James Bryce, writing sixty years later, said in his "American Commonwealth" "But for one difficulty the south might well be thought to be the most promising part of the union, that part whose advance is likely to be swiftest and whose prosperity will be not the least secure. The difficulty, however, is a serious one; it lies in the presence of 9,000,000 negroes."

All discerning foreigners who have made a study of the question have reached the inevitable conclusion, so far as I am aware, that this section will be perpetually retarded in its development so long as it contains so large a proportion of this inferior race.

Our own thoughtful observers have reached similar conclusions. Thus that distinguished Virginian, Philip A. Bruce, in his "The Plantation Negro as a Freeman" expresses the almost universal opinion of those who have thought the problem out in its larger aspect, when he says:

"It would be far better for the whole country if he (the negro) were withdrawn, even though withdrawn so suddenly as to wholly blight for a time the material interests of the south. It would be better, indeed, for that entire section to be relegated to its primeval condition with a view to its being settled again exclusively by a white population just as if it were virgin territory, than for it to maintain its present position partially through the manual exertions of the blacks, but with the individuals of that race increasing so rapidly as to threaten the extinction in the end of every element of prosperity, with no hope of subsequent revival."

The old theory, not often heard now, that white men cannot work in the southern climate has, of course, been utterly exploded. Most of the cotton, I believe, is now made by white labor; in fact the southern summers do not have the intense heat of those of the western and mid-western prairie states.

Indeed it cannot, I believe, be questioned that with our climate, soil, forest, minerals, waterpower, harbors and other natural advantages, had the south been populated only by white men of the Nordic strain it would be today, instead of the least, the most advanced section of our country. So firmly have some of our thinkers been convinced of this that they have seriously advocated compulsory emigration of the negro.

And now, as it seems, when in obedience to economic laws there is beginning to be a voluntary and orderly bringing about of this most desired consummation, some of us are inclined to view it with apprehension and others even to thwart it.

Should we not, on the contrary, do all that we can, legitimately, to promote it? Can we not see ahead of the immediate and temporary depression of agricultural paper and the value of farm lands to our ultimate deliverance?

I believe that we can. I believe that the convincing logic of Dr. Jacobs' position will be recognized and the conferences that have been called to consider the question will come to his conclusions. I also believe that if the thought and energy now being marshaled in an effort to stop the negro exodus be directed rather towards alleviating the temporary distress it is entailing the migration will be accompanied by a minimum of financial disturbance.

Perhaps the solution lies in further amending our immigration laws so as to admit a proportionately larger number of northern Europeans and to reduce the number of all others and then endeavor to divert the desirable immigrants to the south.

But whether we get immigration or not, and we certainly do not want any that cannot readily be assimilated, the present exodus of the negro, if it be maintained at its present rate for the next ten years, will be a transcendent benefit to the south.

BLANTON FORTSON.
(Judge Superior Court, Western Circuit.)
Athens, Ga., July 9, 1923.

Judge Blanton Fortson Agrees With Jacobs On Negro Exodus

Editor Constitution: I have read with profound interest Dr. Thornwell Jacobs' article in Sunday's Constitution on the negro emigration and hasten to endorse it and to congratulate you upon opening your columns to so full a discussion of this most vital question to the south.

De Tocqueville, writing in the year 1832, remarked in his "Democracy in America" (Vol. Chap. XVIII.) that "the most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the union arises from the

Various Things

Russia, Cotton, Etc.

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Senator Brookhart of Iowa tells the world and Secretary Hughes that Russia is a world power and that the Bolshevik government should be recognized. It needs no ghost from the grave to make clear the fact that one hundred and twenty million Russians, in a country as big as all the nations of Europe combined, with resources unlimited, are worthy of serious attention. Our government will realize that one of these days whether it wishes to or not.

The price of cotton hasn't been satisfactory lately, but there is this comfort for cotton growers: Europe MUST buy American cotton.

France can grow her own wheat, and does. Hungary and Canada can report gigantic wheat crops. But France, Canada and Hungary have got to buy their cotton where the cotton grows.

A bridge is to be built connecting New Jersey and New York city, thus attaching Manhattan and Long Island to the rest of the United States. When that is built you will be able to go in your automobile from Montauk Point, on the east, to the pleasant waters of the Pacific without getting out of your automobile, if you choose. And before very long flying machines will make bridges as unnecessary for men as for birds.

The report of the Coal Commission says that "anthracite operators" make three times as big a profit as they did before the war.

Considering that the operators didn't make the coal, don't dig it, transport it, handle it or sell it, they seem to be doing PRETTY well.

The wise Coal Commission decides that "a natural monopoly like anthracite coal, a necessity of life for millions of people cannot be treated as if it were not affected by public interest. That is putting it mildly. What would happen to the monopolists if they undertook to control air or water and told the people to do without?

Coal is just as necessary, and if the people had as much energy as so many caterpillars they would do something about it.

In Alabama there has been excitement because the United States hospital for negro veterans at Tuskegee was manned, but this is certain: The wounded negro soldiers in the hospital as regards its officials, even by colored men. At one time pital would prefer white doctors taking care of them. There it was thought that troops might be called out to quiet the disturbance. Now the white citizens of Tuskegee think they have won their fight for white officials. are competent colored doctors undoubtedly, but not enough of them.

Northern Negro Leaders Urge Steady Migration

SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN
JUL 6 1923

Prominent Members of Knights of Pythias Pleased at Exodus From South—Feel That North Offers More Advantages to and Less Oppression of Their Race—Proud of a Third Generation of College Graduates

THE exodus of colored people from the south seems to be alarming the planters and employers in the same degree that it is pleasing the northern leaders of the race. These are the sentiments expressed by Butler R. Wilson, a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, and prominent during the fifth annual convention of the Knights of Pythias, which closed at the Auditorium Thursday. In company with Dr Walter O. Taylor of Boston and Dr Bruce T. Bowens of this city, Mr Wilson talked willingly and with open mind about the status of the colored man in America.

15,000,000 Negroes in Country

He and his companions are well aware of the political condition which will be created should the ranks of the northern Negroes be overwhelmingly augmented by the southern migration. There are 15,000,000 Negroes in America, 12,000,000 of them living in the southern states. That means that the remaining 3,000,000 are scattered in territory west and north of the Mason Dixon line; a comparatively negligible number, viewed from one side of the political fence. Massachusetts harbors 50,000 colored people, not a forceful enough number to complicate, as a unit, voting machinery; but large enough, Mr Wilson and his colleagues believe, to warrant representation in government.

The old and trusty maxim, that not to progress is to retrogress, is being reaffirmed by the colored race, never in its history so definitely and markedly as right now. This is the proud belief of men like Mr Wilson, Dr Taylor, Dr Bowens, and others prominent in the recent convention who have literally pulled themselves up by their boot straps to the top of educational and cultural achievement. On their climb they pushed away obstacles of prejudice and discouragement and made the way easier for those who would follow. Men like these feel that they are justified in standing at the peak to urge on the ascent of their still struggling followers. It's a long line that has to come, but the fact that it is coming is, in their minds, concrete evidence that the Negro race is definitely committed to progress.

Third Generation of College Graduates

Mr Wilson is genuinely proud of the fact that the third generation of college boys and girls is being graduated. Their grandfathers and some of the grandmothers were the pioneers of their race into the fields of higher learning. Now Harvard, Yale, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, Princeton, University of Pennsylvania and several southern colleges, are sending out a new and larger crop. Their influence cannot help but be far reaching; a powerful factor to be reckoned with in the advancement of their people, he said. It is this inescapable contingency that practically assures the hoped-for future of colored people in America.

Mr Wilson stated that the majority of Negroes are whole-hearted supporters of the 18th and 19th amendments. They are frankly disappointed in the failure to pass the Dyer antilynching bill, and some of them are expected to carry their bitterness to the polls. Here Mr Wilson pointed out a possible and probable switching of allegiance from the Republican party. He would not commit himself in regard to Senator Lodge, merely saying that he was a personal friend of his and the ablest statesman of today, safely expressing the conservative sentiment of the New England people, as far as the Negroes are concerned. He rapidly passed to the subject of Speaker Gillett, saying that he was fond of him politically and personally. He has found that his promise may be absolutely depended upon and that he is frank and open in regard to his dealings with the Negro, and not from a political standpoint.

Missionary Work

To go back to the migration question, Mr Wilson said that the better Negro was finding his way to this part of the country. That is viewed as one of the promising signs. His fresh, untarnished and eager outlook is expected to act as a stimulus to his more resultory neighbor who may have, perhaps, become too strongly inoculated with the busy northern germ of "come easy, go easy." On the other hand, Mr Wilson admitted with candor, that any change for the better is likely to be viewed by the "immigrant" too broadly. It then becomes the duty of the man here to instal the idea that liberty is not license. That it is an obligation which the social and fraternal organizations have undertaken to promulgate. Undoubtedly their missionary work has accomplished wonderful and little-known transformations.

Mr Wilson was asked about the rumor that many of the colored workers who have come north find it less hospitable than they had believed, or becoming homesick for southern skies and the easy-going routine of life in cotton fields and plantations, are asking their former employers for return railroad fares. He was insistent in his disbelief. He granted that it might be true of a certain boating element, who would not be content anywhere, but not with the more substantial Negro who is keenly alive to the living and educational advantages in the th. The Negro is aware that a era has set in for him, and he ave the weapon of knowledge ich to meet the situation, is n which Mr Wilson summed

what he promised for the egro," Mr Wilson replied that the men of clearer vision and intellectual attainments were teaching him to "stand within the law, and to aid the enforcement of law." He hoped for him "fair representation, and the assurance of civil rights in public questions." He does not ask for social equality, assuming that the white man who encounters his mental equal in an educated Negro will accept him as such, disregarding any racial boundaries. After all, all three of the men asserted, that resolves itself into an individual matter.

It was natural at this point to speak of intermarriage. Here again they placed the question purely on the individual plane—a problem to be solved by those most seriously concerned. It is not worrying them. The educated Negro, Dr Taylor said, does not want to marry a white woman. He wants his own sort, and happily for him the Negro woman is rising swiftly to his own hard-won stratum. If she has not been fortunate enough to have had equal advantages, he counts it his duty and pleasure to supply the lack.

It is interesting to note that Mr Wilson's wife is a graduate of Oberlin college. Mr Wilson, who is a prominent Boston attorney, graduated from Atlanta university and Boston university. He is also a trustee of the former. Dr Taylor has an A. B. and A. M. from Lincoln university and an M. D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Dr Bowens is a graduate of Tufts medical college.

835 CHICAGO BREEDER'S GAZ.
AUGUST 25 1923

Blacks for Whites

Several hundred thousand Negroes of both sexes have migrated from the south, and engaged in manual labor and domestic service in northern cities and towns during the past few years. Others are following them. So marked has been and still is this exodus that some of the business organizations in Dixieland have appointed investigators to visit certain northern cities, and question the darkies whose names and street addresses they have obtained, with a view to ascertaining why they departed from, and whether and on what conditions they would return to, the south. It is evident, therefore, that the south appreciates the fact that it has lost and is losing a class of labor which it needs.

A compensating factor in the case is the migration of many northern and western white families to the south. The south will gain more than the north by the exchange of blacks for whites. Each region, however, needs the people whom it is attracting. One of our subscribers, who is not a native of the south, suggests that northern farmers who contemplate locating in the south might well give preference to communities in which northern people predominate.

Something, of course, can be said in support of this well-intentioned suggestion, but we cannot give it a blanket endorsement. If those who locate in the south cannot "fit in" as family units with the white natives, it is doubtful whether the same migrants would fare any better as small colonies or as additions to colonies of northern people already established there. If native southern farm folk are not the kind of neighbors whom "new-comers" from other regions could live amongst on friendly terms, it would appear that there was something uncommon the matter with both classes. We doubt whether this is the case. Southern people have not colonized in the north.

If those who locate in the south take it for granted that their native neighbors are good neighbors, and if the natives take it for granted that the "new-comers" are good neighbors, both classes will be benefited by the resultant contacts and relationships. Each has something to give to the other. If either chooses to "select" or discriminate against the other, then the other might well be equally particular. The south is not calling for agricultural missionaries to save it, although it needs accretions of energetic white people with some capital, and we do not fancy that northern and western farmers who locate therein will conduct themselves as if they were in a foreign missionary land.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

DETROIT [illegible] FREE PRESS

JUL 9 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

History, repeating itself again, has brought the Negro question around to a point where white men in the south are reminding their fellow citizens that the colored man is an indispensable element in Southern prosperity and that his renewed movement northward is crippling business. Discussing that subject a prominent Atlanta business man says it is not the attractiveness of northern wages which causes migration, but peonage, terrorism and lynching. And he urges the governor of Georgia to provide better protection for colored workers.

It is true that northern factory wages are attractive and that they draw whites as well as blacks, but it must be a fact also that equal protection under the law and equal opportunity to make good in business in the past would have kept thousands of Negroes who are now moving north, in the homes where they were born and reared. Recognition of this by white men confirms what Booker Washington taught to the blacks when he told them that if they would make themselves more efficient economically, white men would treat them better. Washington would have had the Negro demonstrate his usefulness by making himself more useful. He has done so by making himself scarce.

There is another fact closely related to this aspect of the question which southern men ought to understand more clearly. It is that there would be more prosperous white men in the south if there were more prosperous Negroes. Southern bankers and merchants are handicapped every day in the year by the masses of Negroes whose productivity and buying power are low, and southern men who are now advocating better treatment for colored men to keep them in the south ought to preach that doctrine whether the Negro goes or stays, because whites and blacks are tied together in an economic organization which will never yield its maximum benefit to any man, until every man has a fair chance.

KINSTON N C FREE PRESS
JUNE 9 1923

NEGRO LEADER IS ARGUING AGAINST EXODUS LABORERS

Conditions in North Unfavorable for Southern Blacks, Says Hagans. No Sympathy for the Negro Worker There

Local empolyers of labor are capitalizing the argument of Henry E. Hagans, reputed to be an influential negro of Wayne County, against migration of colored workers to Northern industrial centers. Hundreds of negroes have left this city and section for New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other states in the North. Manufacturers, planters and others tell of losing trusted employes of many years' service.

In a circular Hagans is quoted as saying "the only interest the employer in the North has in the negro is in the latter's labor. The negro goes North seeking livelihood with little or no previous knowledge of conditions shows much of pluck but little judgment. His only source of protection and defense when misfortune knocks at his door is what he may have been frugal enough to save.

"Here in North Carolina," according to Hagans, "different conditions exist. I cannot think of any firm, corporation nor individual who would not willingly go to the relief of any laborer in its or his employ, were the unfortunate in any degree worthy.

Cold in All Respects.

"The North is a cold and frigid article from any point of view, totally devoid of sentiment. In the years of my observation I have not known of a dozen instances where men who have thrown up their jobs here and gone North have really made good."

The financial gain is not material under all the circumstances that apply to the case of the Southern negro worker in the North, Hagans declares, while the "understanding" that exists between Southern white and black people is entirely lacking in the Northern states. "I entreat the colored laborer to remain here in the land of his forebears."

JUL 19 1923

EFFECT OF NEGRO MIGRATION ON THE SOUTH.

Negro labor has been cheap labor, and because it has been congested in the cotton-growing South, it has made cotton a cheap labor crop, a low-priced crop. The negro has lived in a shanty, has gone half-clad, poorly fed, and made cotton on this basis, and the white man making cotton had to compete with this sort of cheap labor. It has been a competition as ruinous as that which the white Calinfornians faced when incoming Chinese and Japanese with their low living standards began to threaten California with pauper labor and pauperism. The reason England has not been able to grow cotton in her colonies is simply because Southern Negroes and Southern Whites, by goisg poorly housed, poorly clad and poorly fed ,have made cotton virtually on a slave wage basis, and therefore cheaper than England can grow it in Africa.

Moreover, a large part of our Southern Negroes making cotton have not really been farmers, but simply persons eking out existence by getting rations from a store while they helped pile up an over production of cheap cotton by growing "cotton and nothing else but cotton" to pa yfor their supplies. No wonder farming hasn't paid. Agriculture has been prostituted to make profits for a mercantile class.

If more Negroes of this "cropper" type go North, it will lessen the production of cotton and boost cotton prices while at the same time making room for more real farmers in the South. The new farmers will grow the hay, meat, lard, canned goods, milk, poultry, cheese, etc., of which we now import so much, will take better care of the soil; and will take more interest in rural social and community life, rural education, and general rural progress. And such a result, as we have said before, will help not only the white farmers of the South, but thrifty and enterprising Negroes also.—The Progressive Farmer.

NEGROES FACE HARDSHIP

Coahoma Man Finds Migrators Unable to Get Work in North.

CLARKSDALE, Miss., Aug. 14.—Charles E. Sessions, Coahoma County planter, is home from Michigan City, Ind., and he has just written a letter to friends here in which he predicts want and privation for many of the negroes who are forced to winter in the north. Mr. Sessions' letter in part follows:

"Enclosed you will find an article from the Michigan City News which describes the situation here. After talking to representatives of the railway and factory employment agencies in Illinois and Indiana, I find the negro labor from the south is not proving satisfactory and in anticipation of slack business as large orders are about filled and new orders are not coming in as usual, the industries will shortly begin laying off men and the negro will have to give his place to the man who was trained in the work before he came north. The negroes here are not saving their money and they will face many hardships this winter. Many of them will wish they were back in the south where there is lots of work in the cotton fields and where they can always make a living."

The article referred to, which Mr. Sessions enclosed is as follows:

"A surplus of labor is being noticed in the Calumet region for the first time in a number of months. While a few weeks ago it was impossible for all the industrial plants to fill all of the jobs that were open many men are now available, and willing to work, it is reported. Three weeks ago the Standard Oil Company's refinery here was forced to import about 50 men a day to keep its force up to full strength, but now there are more than enough at the employment gate every morning to meet all demands, according to officials. Industries are reported to be laying off men to some extent, anticipating a slackening of business in the fall."

COMMISSION TO HALT NEGRO EXODUS FAVORED

Washington, September 29.—Creation of a commission of representative southern negroes to advise the members of their race in the south to remain in that section rather than to emigrate to the north was recommended to President Coolidge today by H. L. Remmel, republican national committeeman from Arkansas.

Mr. Remmel discussed with the president the labor shortage in the south resulting from the movement of negroes to the northern industrial centers and told the president that the situation was rapidly becoming serious. He estimated that 150,000 or 200,000 negroes had left the south this year with serious results to the cotton and other farmers.

The president was greatly interested in the suggestion, Mr. Remmel said, and advised the national committeeman to confer with Secretary Wallace on the proposal.

OCT 4 - 1923

NEGROES LEAVING

Exodus At Selma Is Attributed To Ku Klux Klan Activity.

SELMA, Ala., Oct. 4.—Special.—City ticket agents of local railway offices state that they have been busy issuing tickets to negroes from Selma and Dallas County to Northern points, principal among the destinations of the travelers being Chicago and Detroit with a sprinkling for Baltimore, Md., and Toledo, O.

The exodus of negroes all at once this week is being attributed to Klux Klan letters that have been sent out from Selma recently, according to reports.

Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH
JUL 8 - 1923

THE NEGRO'S VIEWPOINT

A SCORE of the leading Negroes of Georgia have issued a statement to the White people of the State as to the exodus and conditions in general, a part of which statement is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia. Greetings:

We, the undersigned representatives of forty-five per cent of our State population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously endowed this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the entire globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our Southern States. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our State, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic, and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and it is possible to be for a longer period than either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of Negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for Colored people, than our own Southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last fifty years, may be greatly retarded, and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if conditions could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away, might return.

Of these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy, if you are willing so to do. . . .

In a democracy, one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the Colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The Colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of a ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show, that as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the White people among whom we have lived for centuries. W lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good White people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scare-crow, "social equality" and "Negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the Colored man in the governmental affairs in our State, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the White group to the end that the White man of big business and of big business capacity, may also be eliminated from the politics of the State, and the government left to the mercies of their rapacious ambition. How well they are succeeding, let the laws of the statue books and the condition of our State Government tell.

We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality or desire for Negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood this test, let the pens of your own illustrious worthies and the tongue of your own immortal Grady tell.

We, their sons and daughters, modestly, though proudly boast that we are "chips off the old blocks." Our record of patriotism is common knowledge to all, and we only covet a fair chance to serve in the largest possible way,our fellowmen.

It is written that "Man shall not live by bread alone." We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to all well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest effort in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be,—the best and most beautiful of all the States in the Union. If you deny us this, and insist upon it, that we must continue our existence under the injustices which we have so much and so patiently endured, then we are frank to declare, that it were better for us, however sacred and enchanting the old home and church ground, however strong the ties that bind us to our good White friends of the South, of whom we know we have by far a larger number than have yet declared themselves in public, to leave these friends with a prayer of God's blessings upon them and to leave these homes and these churches and whatever other little earthly possessions we have accumulated within these years, to the ravages of fate, and as a "rendezvous for the owls and the bats," while we go forth empty handed to seek some spot upon this earth where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," we challenge you and await your answer.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Rev. R. S. Williams, D. D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D. D., LL. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D. D., Ph. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A. M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D. D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Industrial High School, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday school department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

The above was adopted unanimously as resolutions by the Negro conference in Atlanta last week.

N Y TRIBUNE
JULY 26, 1923

The Negro Migration

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Passage of laws in Georgia and Alabama fining and imprisoning labor agents will not stop the exodus of negro labor from these states. Such laws are an excellent example of treating a symptom and not the disease.

When Georgia and Alabama and other Southern states make conditions livable for colored people—when they stop lynching, Ku-Kluxing, robbing and insulting human beings because their skins are dark, and give them the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution—then colored people may stay in the south despite unfavorable economic conditions.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON.
Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
New York, July 23, 1923.

MACON GA TELEGRAPH
JUNE 20, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION

Surgical operations have their pains, but the pain is of a more reasonable kind than that of continued illness.

The South will feel keen pangs on account of the going of a number of Negroes from its communities; but it must adjust itself to the loss; and the adjustment agriculturally will be that fortunate thing that has been needed so many years, in that the section will move further away from slavery to the one-crop system.

No more excellent event ever happened in the entire history of the South than the emigration of the colored man in large numbers. It is not only excellent for the white man; it is good for the Negro—and most of all, for the North. It will be highly educating to the East and Middle West; and the Lord knows they need the education. It will teach them broader understanding and a finer sympathy. It will distribute the racial problem, and the burden—and criticism—as well.

The South has not received the credit due for what it has done for the Negro. The malcontents anad misinformed of other sections have not allowed it. But a different day is dawning. We wish all that go God speed and good luck! We will have to stand the needed operation.

The Movement of Negroes.

The United States Labor Department's survey of negro migration from South to North during the year ending August 31 shows an aggregate of nearly half a million—458,700.

Of that total, Georgia showed the greatest loss of colored population 120,600. Alabama and Florida tied for second place with 90,000 each; Mississippi was a close fourth, 86,600 negroes having moved away. South Carolina and North Carolina are reported to have lost 25,000 each. However, the net loss of negro labor to North Carolina is probably much less, since many of those leaving this state and Georgia had North Carolina as their destination.

Considering the number of her colored population, the migration from South Carolina was not extremely pronounced, but it is noteworthy that the movement from Texas, where there are six hundred thousand negroes, was but 2,000—which is probably about normal. What is the explanation? And while the exodus from Mississippi was tremendous—86,600—but 15,000 severed home relations with Louisiana.

The State
10-29-23
S. C.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

PRESS O NEGRO MIGRATION

Although the movement of Negroes northward is said to be still in progress, yet it appears that the appeal to which they are responding is an artificial and temporary one. The North has offered higher wages than the South because of the competition for labor. This competition has been due to the centralization of industry in the North. In this connection, therefore, those who study the question in its wider aspects perceive that before long, with the great trend of industry southward, the Southern demand for labor will rectify any present tendency to migrate. Indeed, it would not be surprising if, within ten years, the migration should be reversed, and not only colored labor but also white labor be traveling southward. The Negro, therefore, will find himself economically in much stronger position by remaining where he is and working himself into the growing demand for labor in the South.

This, however, does not assist in the solution of the Southern farm labor problem, which has been rendered more acute by the migration, for, remarks the Tampa Tribune: "According to the report of a government investigation, 32,000 Negro farm hands have left Georgia for industrial centers of the North, thirteen per cent of the total number of Negro farm hands in that state. South Carolina has lost 22,700, or three per cent, and Florida about two per cent, Alabama has lost ten thousand, Arkansas 15,000 and Tennessee forty-five hundred. All this has taken place within a year. The effect upon the cotton crop alone may be easily understood. . . . Dr. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, believes that conditions in the South as regards the Negro are so rapidly improving that this migration will soon cease."

As to the serious depletion of farm labor, the New Orleans Times-Picayune takes the hopeful view that Negro migration "would probably operate to make easier the enlistment of white settlers. . . . We cannot expect to balance Negro migration with white migration in a single season or a single year. But as the white colonists are settled here and there over the South, upon terms that are fair and under conditions favoring farm success and community content, the movement this way will, before very long, begin to march under its own power." The Atlanta Journal likewise believes that there is a southward movement of white which more than offsets the northward movement of Negroes, and says: "More persons than ever before have means to visit this region when their northland is locked by rigorous winter; and, once having a taste of a clime where December is almost if not altogether as pleasant as May, many become permanent residents." The Journal also quotes Forbes' Magazine to the effect that "experience has proved that it is easier to attract workers to pleasant climes than to districts where extreme heat and cold alternate. Not only so, but the output per worker is greater when climatic and living conditions are favorable than where they are less favorable." In the long run the South has nothing to fear in this competition for population, especially as industries multiply and health conditions are made superior to those elsewhere.

The Wall Street Journal looks at the practical results of the migration as affecting the cotton crop and ventures the opinion: "This movement of the colored people is not like the spring migration of the birds that go north for the summer, but is mostly a permanent change of habitation. A continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future while demand is on the increase. Like the boll weevil, the Negro now is to be counted in th market as a bullish factor." The Columbia, S. C. State realizes the situation and considers means of checking the migration. The State concluder: "The one way by which white people can prevail upon the Negroes to stay is to give them something to stay for. The time has passed that Negroes are helpless to get away. Northerners are inviting and assisting them." The State suggests two ways of stemmiing the tide. The first is to attach them to the soil by "encouraging and assisting them to buy lands and establish homes." The second method proposed by the State "is for the whites to co-operate with and enlist the Negro leaders in trades and professions, in endeavors to dissuade Negroes from leaving."

It appears, however, that the real solution of the labor proble mcaused by Negroes leaving Southern farms is to encourage better methods of farming. All will not leave the farms either white or black. But the number per unit of tilled land is bound to be reduced and is being reduced. That being the case, the Southern farmer must take a leaf from the book of better farming and learn how to farm more acres with less help and do it better. As preliminary to this, it is necessary to adopt methods that will increase the yield per acre. Intensive farming is fuller of results and of profits than extensive farming. It is much easier, cheaper and more profitable to raise a bale on one acre than on four acres. As long as labor was plentiful and cheap, the low yield per acre was compensated for by farming more acres. Now that labor is scarce and high every acre must do its duty. Where there has been hand labor, there must be machinery, and where there have been a dozen mules, each drawing a one horse tool, there must now be a tractor or teams with modern equipment capable of taking the place of several men.

Each acre must be sown with the very best of seed of varieties that will make the highest yield, and each acre must receive whatever enrichment of soil is found profitable. The Negro may cease going north, but he will still leave the farm to some extent, for the sake of higher wages in factories. Agriculture can and will so adjust itself as to compensate for his loss.—The Mobile Register.

BUFFALO N Y NEWS
MAY 8, 1923

THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH.

Southern negroes have been attracted in so great numbers to northern industrial centers in the last several months that the South is expressing concern for its labor supply. In some places force and intimidation have been applied in the attempt to prevent the exodus.

It is not all a matter of easy jobs and good wages. The southern negro would stay in the warm southland regardless of low wages in preference to undergoing the rigors of northern winters, if he were well treated. Statistics show that he cannot long stand this climate.

But the record of lynchings, of burnings at the stake, of disfranchisement, with bad living conditions and few opportunities for education, explains the colored man's readiness to take his chances in the North. For the possibility that it will be deprived of the labor on which it has relied for so long the South has only itself to blame.

ASHVILLE N. C. CITIZEN
APRIL 27, 1923

The Negro Migration

The Dillon, S. C., Herald takes an optimistic view of the Negro laborer's migration northward. The Herald sees much of good coming to Southern agriculture in districts where the blacks have constituted as much as 80 per cent. of the population. As the colored farm hand goes away in response to the industrial demand for common labor brought about by labor shortage, The Herald predicts that Southern farmers will of necessity rely more and more on the increased use of farm machinery, and greater machinery power on the farm should mean production on larger scale at less cost per acre.

Such a development in many Southern States is desirable, and there are other good effects that may follow from the hegira. Northerners will have an opportunity to learn more about the race problem and colored folk may find it easier to command respect for Negro labor if they prove their adaptability to new environment. But one cannot but speculate as to what will happen when the next swing of the pendulum of industry brings with it a surplus in the country's labor supply. The black man will then be fortunate if he does not find himself in his new homes an object of hatred, out of work, probably out of money and far from the cotton and tobacco fields of the South.

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES TELL THE WORLD WHY THEY LEAVE SOUTH

The Negroes held a mass meeting in Jackson on May 1, and after pledging themselves for mutual co-operation, issued the following address:

To the Citizens Mass Convention of the State of Mississippi, Greetings:

Gentlemen:

Having been informed that the object of your meeting is to take steps to try to stay the present exodus of Negroes from the State of Mississippi and being ourselves property-holders, citizens of the State and most deeply interested in the future welfare of the commonwealth, realizing that anything that is detrimental to the common good of the State is equally detrimental to us, and being Negro citizens ourselves, we beg to submit the following as a few of the many reasons which cause the Negro to be so easily induced to leave the State:

1. The Negro feels that his life is not safe in Mississippi, and his life may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation, by a white man.

2. The record filibuster, vote and defeat by the Southern representation in Congress against the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, in the last Congress, has caused the Negro to believe that the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate therein lynch-law and mob violence in the South.

3. The Negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section, and a few of the following facts all tend to force him to this conclusion:

(a) While he realizes that the law on its face is fair, yet he feels that when it comes to an application of that law to him, only too often it is but a dead letter.

(b) He realizes the fact that though he is equally taxed with the white man, that he gets only too often, but few of its benefits, and that while all school money, under the law, should be divided equally, that he gets only about one-twentieth of his share, or in other words: for every dollar spent for the education of the Negro child in the State of Mississippi, there are about $20.00 spent for the education of the white child.

(c) That there are more than one thousand high schools in the State for whites, while there is but one such public school in the State maintained for Negroes.

(d) That though there are about eight hundred consolidated rural schools in the State for whites, there is not one for Negroes.

(e) That though more than $100,000.00 is spent monthly for the transportation of white children to and from school, not one dollar is spent for Negro children.

(f) That the wage paid Negro teachers is wholly insufficient to induce competent teachers, as a rule, to teach Negro schools.

(g) That though all schools for whites are built out of the common fund, raised by the taxation of both white and black, the Negro is called upon by the State through its representative to solicit charity, to build his own little, meagre school house out of his own personal funds, supplemented by philanthropy, wherever he may perchance, find it.

(h) Though there are 50 odd agricultural high schools supported by the State for whites, there is not one such school in the State for Negroes.

(i) That though the State has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth, at a cost of more than $1,000,000.00 and spends $30.00 per month, per capita, upon each white derelict youth, to bring it back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent in this way for the reformation of the Negro derelict, but he is thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals, only to be made worse.

(j) That though the State has spent several million in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the State, yet there is no place whatever in the State where the Negro may go and receive treatment for this dread malady, notwithstanding the fact that the Negro is said to be more subject to this disease than the whites.

(k) That though the State has spent several million dollars for white feeble-minded children, and though the Negroes are in the majority in the State, not one dollar has been spent to aid the feeble-minded Negro youth.

(l) The capacity and support of Alcorn College is not one-tenth what it should be—the State itself contributing less than five cents per capita, Negro population, of the higher education of Negroes.

Though there are several colleges and a State Normal College maintained by the State alone, for whites, no such institutions are maintained for Negroes as such—Alcorn being a Morill Land Grant School, intended to be the equal of Starkville A. & M. College, but has not had one-tenth of the support heretofore given that great institution.

(m) The State maintains and supports an institution for the white blind, and has for the past forty odd years, but none for Negroes.

(n) It appears that almost innumerable Negro tenant farmers charge their landlords with either no settlement, or an unfair settlement, and many of these Negroes, after appealing to both State and Federal authorities in vain, have given up in despair and sought other climes, some of them charging that a state of peonage exists in certain sections of the State.

(o) The Negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of a hundred Negroes.

That no public improvement, as a rule, is made in those sections of towns and cities occupied by Negroes.

(p) No landlord should be permitted to sell his tenant's crop, but should be forced by law to deliver to him in kind.

(q) The State of Mississippi sent more Negro soldiers to the World War than whites, but the Negro boys on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the State and Government which they fought to defend, than the German enemy whom they helped to stay from American soil.

(r). The Negro, generally, finds himself wholly excluded from all of jury service, whatsoever, and from all participations whatsoever, in the State and National Government under which he lives.

This he holds responsible for all of his many inequalities and injustices under the law, and feels that notwithstanding the kindly feelings of many to the contrary, that such a state and condition must ever remain, just so long as he is denied the ballot, since history affords no example of mutual co-operation, contentment, and mutual welfare, where one group assumes guardianship of another, and attempts to govern them without the consent of the governed.

(s) In our humble judgment there is no hope whatever of bringing back the Negroes who have already left the State, but the only hope now lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of those who are here.

Respectfully submitted, Committee on Address: S. D. Redmond Chairman; M. E. Anderson, Secretary; J. W. Hair, G. W. Cox, E. L. Trivine, E. W. Richardson, W. L. Mhoon, R. L. Johnson, A. J. Thomas, E. L. Patton, W. A. Scott, J. W. Isable, O. W. Jones, R. J Garrett, A. M. Redmond

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Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.
Houston Tex
Post

AUG 1 1923

An Appeal That Disillusions

That organization which is appealing to Southern negroes for funds with which to assist negroes in distress who have migrated to Northern centers is engaged in a charitable work, but it is likely to set the Southern negro to thinking.

If the Northern cities are such a paradise as the labor agents and other propagandists claim, why is it that many of those who have left their homes in the South to go "Nawth" are virtually public charges? intelligent Southern negroes will ask.

If the jobs are so plentiful at high pay and the negro is so much more appreciated in that section of the country, why should the fact that excessive rents, shortage of living quarters, and objection to negro tenants in white sections, worry the immigrant? Why should he need funds to keep him from starving?

The only answer is that the jobs are not waiting with outstretched arms, as has been represented, and the working and living conditions are anything but suitable for negroes accustomed to life in the South. The Southern negroes who have remained at home are being asked to finance the folly of restless members of their race.

The returning negro emigrant with his story of hardship and disillusion, and this appeal for charity, will doubtless do more to content the negro in the South and keep him at home, than all the laws Georgia and Alabama can pass to check the movement.

Lufkin Texas
Daily News

AUG 28 1923

A news story from Dawson says that, while many negroes have gone North from Terrell, the loss of labor is scarcely felt. Which is true of practically all parts of the cotton belt, where the boll weevil got in its work this year. There is very little cotton to pick, and what there is can be gathered without having to hire negroes to pick it. Had there been a full cotton crop to harvest, the labor situation consequent to the negro hegira would be another story, altogether. As it is, the migration has removed a great many whom the owners of plantations would have found it difficult to take care of.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., Times-Union

SEP 16 1923

TWO SIDES OF THE SHIELD

Sometimes one comes across a queer mix-up in reading the exchanges. For instance an editorial in the Albany Journal referring to the fact that many of the negroes who moved North are returning to the South says:

> Few would ever think of leaving the South, but for the outrages sometimes committed upon members of their race. When, throughout the South, negroes have equal protection of law with the white inhabitants, there, will not be an exodus from that region.

In the same batch of papers was found the following from the Columbia State under the caption: "Stop the Northern Outrages:"

> A policeman was killed. Subsequently a negro received an anonymous letter of a threatening nature. Fifteen hundred negroes left the town in a night—or in a few hours. The town was South Bend, in Indiana. We have never heard of a "migration" of negroes from a Southern town quite so sudden and numerous. The mayor of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, orders all negroes who have not been in Johnstown seven years to "go back whence they came." The senators and representatives of the Southern states should see to it that their former constituents who have migrated receive their constitutional rights in Pennsylvania and Indiana. We are tired of reading of these Northern outrages.

Between these two it looks as if the negro ought to receive protection somewhere. A great trouble, however, is that the protection is at long range while the mistreatment is close at hand.

The pot loves to call the kettle black and the kettle is black but so is the pot. Of course the editorial in the State was irony but the quotation from the Journal shows that there was ample occasion for irony. The South is being constantly lectured by Northern papers on the treatment of the negroes. It is high time that Southern papers give some of the lectures. The North needs them as badly as the South and should not be deprived of its due.

Durham N.C
Herald

JUL 23 1923

The Negro Up North.

There are indications that the great influx of negroes from the south is not regarded as an unmixed blessing in the northern cities most favored. For example, Philadelphia's director of health reports to the mayor that "the increased migration of negroes from the south" has caused a situation "entirely out of control of our present forces" and asks that "additional inspectors" be appointed. He fears" serious danger" to the health of the city from "overcrowding in various parts of the town" and calls for "prompt abatement of insanitary conditions." It seems that political difficulties are also feared in some quarters. Recently a negro committee called on an announced candidate for mayor, told him that there are now 140,000 voters of their race in the city, and intimated that they (the committee) "controlled" most of these.

Commenting on this effort to do business betimes, the Philadelphia Record says: "No small group of colored men control a majority of the colored voters of Philadelphia. The condition is worse than that. A majority of the colored voters of Philadelphia are controlled by a small group of white men, leaders of the Republican party." The Record adds that the voters, "colored as well as white," should be interested in electing a new administration that will give the city honest and efficient government, but it does not seem hopeful that the new accessions from the south will better a situation that it has often complained of in the past, asserting that the majority of Philadelphia's negro voters regularly accept the dictation of the dominant political machine for a substantial consideration.—Winston Journal.

COLUMBUS O JOURNAL
NOVEMBER 10, 1923

Negro Migration.

About 100,000 negroes have departed from their homes in the South during the past year and have located in the North. The larger cities have been attractive to these homeseekers and to them they have journeyed in large numbers. The figures are made public by the National Industrial Conference Board that spent some months in investigating the movement.

The board's report is interesting, because it very frankly recognizes the importance of the problems presented by this migration, declares they are not difficult of solution and urges immediate attention. With proper care the new citizens may be absorbed by the cities where they have located, right conditions may be developed and good results secured

The migration brings to the South a shortage of labor, a problem of importance to the people there, particularly in the cotton-growing states. It brings two problems to the northern cities where the colored people located, that of establishing right relations between the whites and the negroes, and the important problem of providing proper housing. Many of these people say the miserable housing conditions in the South were one strong reason for their trying to find a home elsewhere that might be better. The South can provide better housing conditions and solve part of its problems.

In most cities of the North there are organizations giving attention, thought and help to the development of friendly understanding between the whites and the negroes. That work continued may be expected to bring good results, ought to be a large factor in solving the problem. The housing question can be handled but will require attention. These people came to the North in response to urgent requests for more labor. Those who receive the help may be expected to show interest in helping obtain adequate and decent homes for their workmen. Cities should co-operate with large employers in that work. There is no valid reason why these working people may not become good citizens, contented and happy, but they need help and friendly counsel and the city that provides these things quickly promotes its own interests.

Greenville, S. C., Piedmont

SEP 22 1923

Tells How South Carolina Can Bring Whites Here to Replace Migrating Blacks

J. F. Jacobs, Ad Expert of Clinton, Delivers Highly Interesting Address to Boosters

Stating that South Carolina is the most fertile of all the Atlantic States and has much to advertise and congratulating Greenville for originating the suggestion of telling the world about South Carolina, J. F. Jacobs, senior member of the firm Jacobs and company, of Clinton, nationally known advertisers gave emphatic endorsement to the proposal here today in an address to the Boosters club.

Mr. Jacobs stated that the State can easily bring 10,000 farmers from the northwest here by telling them what we have to offer; that the western farmer was in bad shape at present; that he could sell his high-priced land in the west and reinvest in southern land of a much better quality at much smaller price. Mr. Jacobs spoke in part as follows:

Mr. President and gentlemen:

Permit me first to congratulate Greenville upon the movement to advertise South Carolina, originated by the suggestion of Mr. Holmes B. Springs, president of your Chamber of Commerce. This suggestion, taken up by our Governor, is rapidly taking form under an organization perfected as you know, a few days ago in Columbia, consisting of a commission of the state, the duty of which commission is to raise additional in appropriation by the South Carolina General Assembly forming a fund of $100,000, which is to be expended by an executive committee of seven representative citizens, one from each judicial district of the state.

The importance of this movement must be immediately apparent to every forward looking South Carolinion. We have much to advertise and we have much need to advertise what we have to offer. South Carolina is the most fertile of all the Atlantic States. Some of the original fertility has been lost in years past by wasteful agricultural and lumbering methods, but in more recent years improved methods or agriculture and a tremendous increase in fertilization has resulted in restoration of the productivity of the soil in a large degree, so that only a few years ago South Carolina ranked at least for one year as the leading state in the Union in the dollar value of its agricultural produce per acre. It ranks as the first state in the Union in the amount of fertilizer which it uses per acre. We can therefore regard South Carolina as reasonably progressive from an agricultural standpoint. However, we stand face to face with the fact that the coming of the boll weevils enforces upon our agriculturists a revolution in their system of production.

Cotton culture when the boll weevil is present involves not only greater expense, and a great deal more labor in poisoning the boll weevil, but it also makes the cotton crop a much more highly speculative proposition, and it has been all too highly speculative owing to the wide market fluctuations, and variation in weather conditions. The consequence is that under the lure of higher wages in the North and West our negro labor is leaving us. This is due primarily to restriction of immigration which leaves the manufacturing interests North and West short of common labor, and in the absence of the normal inflow from Europe the northern and western manufacturers come South after our negro labor, provide the funds to move the negroes North and they have gone in considerable numbers, and will not doubt continue to go so long as those economic conditions remain in force. I believe that there will be no radical change in our immigration law; that as long as there is industrial progress in the North and West there will contnue to be a constant and alluring influence drawing the negroes out of the South until wages in the South approximate wages in the North, cost of living considered. The process of the negro exodus is likely to continue until a reasonable parity exists between incomes of the North and of the South for ordinary labor, cost of living considered.

Under these circumstances we might just as well face the fact that an agricultural revolution is necessary in South Carolina, and is in process, and furthermore has advanced quite a long way in development. The process is first the removal of the surplus negro labor, then the removal of negro labor which is employed South, but can find employment at more remunerative wages North. This tends to raise wages in the South, meaning a greater cost in the production of cotton. Against this is matched off the greater risk, so that a great many of our farmers are giving up farming. They do not know how to produce other crops profitably, and they can see nothing in raising cotton even at the higher prices now prevailing. Many farms are vacated and are growing up in weeds and bushes. Necessarily the value of these lands is declining, and other occupied lands necessarily decline with them. This means a tremendous leakage of our agricultural wealth, and the only answer to the problem is the moving in of substantial white laboring farmers, men who are accustomed to hard labor. The question arises, can we find such men? The answer, fortunately, is a very easy one. There are hundreds of thousands of farmers in the North and West who are laboring under conditions very much more adverse than they would have in South Carolina. They are hog raisers, cattle raisers, truck farmers, florisits, producers of small grain, corn, hay, and other minor farm products. Should they move South they have the following advantages to gain: They sell higher priced lands and buy very cheap lands, so that for every acre they sell in the North and West they would probably be able to buy from five to ten acres in South Carolina. They leave a climate which is severe, with short summer, and long winter, in which the cost of clothing, and heating is incomparably greater than it would be if they were South Carolinians. Many of them are farming in districts much further removed from the great consuming centers than are the farmers of South Carolina. We are but about 700 miles from New York city. Many of thes farmers are 1500 miles from New York. Here we have to offer them the best climate in the United States, with perhaps the single exception of a little strip of the Pacific Coast; warmer winters and cooler summers, less extreme in variation of temperature; an excellent rain fall; no extreme droughts; fuel on every farm instead of the necessity of buying high priced coal and hauling it out to the farms; lower taxation than exists in most of the States; rapidly improving educational system; a rapidly improving highway system; three great trunk line railroads carrying the goods to the eastern markets, an excellent port and coast wide water transportation.

We have also to offer them a social system which for the most part is superior to that of any other State in the Union, a neighborhood of law abiding citizens, laws which are as reasonably equitable as those of other States, and a State government which is as fully efficent in the maintenance of peace and order as that of any State in the Union.

To the Protestant of the North and West we have to offer excellent churches, widely distributed through all the counties, rural telephones in most districts, and as against the lands of the North and West. costing from $100.00 to $400.00 or $500.00 an acre, we can offer lands ranging from $5.00 to $50.00 an acre, capable of producing a range of crops double or treble in variety the range in the North and West, and capable of producing two crops per annum in the North and West. Here is a lure for the working white man of the North who has some means. He makes money by making the move. He improves his living conditions. Moreover, he will eagerly be welcomed by our South Carolina white people. We are to have a white state and white people are wanted. The advertising program, it seems to me, should be developed along lines which will bring to South Carolina people largely of the same blood as ourselves, speaking our language, believing as our Protestant South Carolinian believes in the matter of religion. Many of them will be Republicans and will do no harm to South Carolina if when they come they develop a clean Republican party. We are in a bad fix in South Carolina politically only on one point, and that is that we have but one clean party. The introduction of new thought from the North and West will give us a by-partisan system of government, which will be a great advantage, though many of these people will come South as Democrats, and others who come South will change from their Republican viewpoint to Democratic, but they will bring us more independence of thought politically, possibly a broader viewpoint religiously. They will also bring us information as to how to raise crops which we do not raise at the present time, and by their example they will show us how to work hard, save, and accumulate, improving the land and getting rich on it. Our gentlemen farmers of the days before the war between the states could not adjust themselves to free labor, and most of them failed. Their sons and grandsons were more practical farmers, but still had quite a touch of the old theory of the gentleman farmer. They will not be able to adjust themselves to the changed labor conditions and to the boll weevil because they are adjusted to a system of cotton production with pauper labor. As the pauper labor disappears they also will disappear except in so far as they can adjust to the new conditions. Many of them will fail and their lands will change hands. We must change to a working white state, a state in which the farm owner, his wife and daughter do their own work, own the lands, produce the product, sell it and live off of it. The farmers of South Carolina in the future will be richer, but they will be harder workers manually. An infiltration from the northern and western states of hard working farmers will do much to encouraeg our own greatly discouraged farmers, showing them how to work and showing them how to save, and how to accumulate, how to improve their lands, their stock, poultry, hogs, etc.

Of course we have exceptional successes in farming all over the state of South Carolina. Unfortunately. they are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority. Now if we can bring in 10,000 farmer families from the North and West and distribute them over the state of South Carolina that will lead to still other families coming, and eventually we would have 50,000 or 100,000 northern and western white substantial farmers to settle in our state. This will take a persistent line of advertising. It will accomplish the raising of land values, improvement of the quantity of production, larger earnings for the state of South Carolina, and greater prosperity for the towns and cities as well as the country.

The rest of Mr. Jacobs' talk dealt with the ways and means of advertising the state and the kind of literature that should be gotten together for this purpose, collecting of data, etc.

Keyhoe, Ga. News

OCT 11 1923

"DON'T KNOW HOW TO TREAT 'EM."

Sheriff Sumner of Ben Hill county talked to a lot of negroes on his recent trip to the North as well as to a lot of white persons. The white officials seemed to be glad that a Southern officer had come for a negro charged with wrongdoing and apparently would have been glad if he had come for a hundred others. Some of the negroes were coming back South because, they said, the people of the North "don't know how to treat a negro." Both the white man in the North and the negro have acquired a great advance in practical education through the migration of recent years. The negro has learned that the North is not the Promised Land; and the white man of the North has learned that the theoretical oratory that used to be spilled by Northern politicians about the negro has no basis in fact. Maybe the lesson has been worth a lot to both.

But while there is great satisfaction in the South that at last the true facts are beginning to permeate where they will do most good, it is well for the South to remember that, because of this very new condition, this is the best of all times to endeavor to bring about the best sort of relationship between the two races in the South. The negro, in the mass, is going to stay in the South, where he belongs, and it is the South's duty to see that he gets the treatment that is best from the point of view of the South; that his education is practical, that he is given opportunity to be industrious, saving, worth while. The South, that is, some persons in the South, surely should have learned something from recent events, just as the Northern w man and the negro have learned many thing

Jackson Asks Coolidge to Stop Migration

WASHINGTON, D. C. Nov. 12.—Giles B. Jackson, attorney and banker of Richmond, Va., called at the White House yesterday and told President Coolidge that the migration of colored workers from the South should be stopped by law in the interest of the colored people. Jackson urged passage of a bill introduced in the last Congress by Representative Layton of Delaware to create a colored industrial commission to report on the question.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

EDITORIAL SHOTS OF GOOD MARKSMEN

(The Negro World, July 21, 1923)

THE MEANING OF NEGRO MIGRATION

The Pittsburgh American

As we welcome the coming of our Southern brothers North, we wish to direct their attention and that of all serious minded and intelligent Negroes to the deeper meaning of the migration. On the surface it would appear that the Southern whites disapproved of this influx on the Negro North, when the fact is they are pleased and have a hand in this affair. 8/10/23

To the Negro this coming North means freedom, the chance to be a man; the opportunity for his sons to grow up as plants in their youth and their daughters as cornerstones polished after the similitude of a palace; a chance to earn a respectable living wage. To the Southern and Northern white it means that plus much more. It is an important part of his gigantic plan, the plan that was materializing before and brought to a sudden stop by the great war.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The war is now over. The Negro has contributed his full share of money, devotion and blood. He has now become the "menace" he was before the war. So the scheme is revived, revised and placed into operation. The plan is so intelligently formulated, so adroitly executed, that it requires more than ordinary intelligence to penetrate it.

This influx is but the result of an organized effort to distribute the Negro throughout the country, thus making him less dangerous and more easily divided. By rushing him into crowded cities and more unsanitary and poorer conditions, he will be more easily destroyed. He, in his efforts to keep from being destroyed, will destroy himself. The more damaging part of the scheme is to so place him economically that he will either starve or move. But where will he go?

In the islands and other parts of the world where there is no "jimcrowism," but where positions and other things requisite to life are contingent upon money, the whites see to it that money is kept from the blacks, thereby achieving their dastardly object. In America this is not done except in the Southland; but a more deadly and certain scheme is pursued. The press is the instrument. Flaming headlines and ingenious editorials flourish, designed to draw the white public's attention to the fact that the black "menace" is upon them. To the casual reader this is not true, but to the interested and concerned student the scheme is apparent. Why designate labor as "Negro Labor"? Labor is but labor, and laborers, are but laborers, whether white or black. But the fact of this designation "Negro laborer" is but further proof of the scheme. It is but emphasized evidence that the white man means for the Negro to know that this a "white man's country."

The other part of the scheme is to displace the blacks with white foreigners, Scandinavians and northern Europeans, making sure a white South. Crowd him out in the South, starve him, freeze him out in the North. What then will be his fate?

This great peril is upon us. What are the so-called Negro uplift movements doing to warn and save the race from it? The N. A. A. C. P. is doing naught but drafting Negro intelligence for the exploitation of the whites, tying it hand and foot. The other Negro "paper organizations" are now idle, since they "got" Garvey and unified the U. N. I. A.

Only the U. N. I. A. has the courage to point out the danger, and the way out of it. Only the U. N. I. A. warns Negroes to flee from the wrath to come. Only Marcus Garvey dares to give due warning, in answer to the troubled cry of suffering Negroes. "Watchman, what of the night!" Black men, the day is not far distant when the test will be on between those who have and those who have not. And "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he seemeth to have."

Think it over

Indianapolis

ANDERSON S C MAIL
JUNE 26 1923

NEGROES IN NORTH WIRE MONEY TO RELATIVES HERE

Many Anderson county negroes, left behind in the movement toward the North, are receiving sums of money varying from five to a hundred dollars to defray their transportation out of the South. This was revealed Saturday when E. N. Lewis, manager of the local Western Union offices, stated that a large number of moneytransfers are received each week by the company, indicating that funds for negroes wishing to leave this section are supplied more often by friends and relatives who have gone ahead than by labor agents operating in this state.

Each week-end sees a large number of these transfers, Manager Lewis states. From a few that drifted in several weeks ago, the volume has steadily increased until yesterday the maximum was reached, the Western Union office paying out several hundred dollars to negroes. The funds are in many instances, to negro women from their husbands or other relatives already in the North while others remaining in the South are receiving support from relatives in the North.

Judging from the number of these transfers received on Saturdays, this day must be recognized throughout the North as pay day. More transfers are received on the last day of each week than at any other time.

The steady flow of negroes toward the North remains unabated. Railroad ticket agents here state that the number of tickets sold for negroes and their families has increased during the last few weeks. There is no indication of a let-up in the number of negroes leaving Anderson and this vicinity. It has been conservatively estimated that fully 100 negroes leave this city each month, while others leave from Belton, Williamston and other points in the county.

In a report to the Department of Agriculture a short time ago, S. M. Byars, county farm agent, estimated the number of laborers and tenants who have departed for greener fields at approximately 1,100. Many well informed farmers and business men in position to make an estimate of the proportion of the migration, believe this is a fair estimate. No home owners the farm agent's report shows, have left the county during the past year, which is taken as a very hopeful indication.

FLYNN WORKING ON A MOVEMENT TO HOLD THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

The Birmingham Reporter

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Hattiesurg, Miss., Aug. 14.—R. H. Flynn, president of the National Progressive Association of Negroes, is endeavoring to organize a chapter of that organization in this city, and in an address proposed a council of Negro leaders to confer and co-operate with white leaders to bring about a better understanding between the races and to impress upon the colored race that their proper place is in the south.

8-15-23

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Office of the Secretary
Washington

The Mosaic Guide

An unexpected phase in the placement of Negro labor passing from the South to northern industrial is the inclusion of skilled workers of this class. The Department of Labor made this announcement today from a survey conducted by Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, who has been detailed as an observer of the migration now in progress. The results accrue from a careful analysis of payroll statistics of 273 employers of Negro labor in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma and Wisconsin. Returns from these firms indicate a heavy intake of Negro labor, but difficulties were encountered in discriminating as to whether those employed were recent migrants or from the class that were already located in the North. However, sufficient specific classification is given to suggest that the South is not only yielding up a great mass of unskilled workers, but a remarkable number of skilled hands are finding employment.

Distribution is difficult as to the source of the present Negro labor utility, whether it is directly from the South or is a left-over from the 1916-1919 shift; but the conclusion is safely drawn that the mass of this labor emerges from southern sources and its entire movement is covered in less than five years. Many employers replying to requests indicated that they were placing Negro labor, but were without definite information as to the number that were purely of Southern origin. Allowances are made for drifters, who are already North, seeking change of locative employment, a disposition strongly characteristic of this labor.

Along the New England coast many cases were disclosed wherein Portuguese black men are employed. These, of course, are rare under present immigration restrictions and are represented only by a few hundred units.

INCLUSION

Comparisons were made between 42,371 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 10,794 skilled and 31,577 unskilled workers, as of April 30, 1922, and 60,421 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 14,951 skilled and 45,470 unskilled employees as of April 30, 1923, as reported by 273 firms engaged in such typical pursuits as are necessary to produce iron and steel, foodstuffs, leather, machinery, tobacco, automobiles, paper bags, copper goods, boilers, billiard tables, brass articles, chain, bricks, oil, saws,

wire, railroad equipment, rubber, glass taxtiles, chinaware, cement, paper, and varied other articles of necessity and comfort, together with numerous occupations in construction work, railroad work, and transportation.

During the year for which observations were made among the 273 firms listed with the Department, Negro workers were increased on payrolls by 18,050 men, of whom 4,157 and 13,893 were skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. The total per cent of increase was 42.60 and the per cent of increase of skilled and unskilled workers, respectively, was 38.51 and 44.

Expose Plot To Send Back Migrants

"Cracker" Farmers Ask This City to Aid in Proposed "Back Home" Movement.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

An effort to have migrants from the south abandon employment in the Pittsburgh district and return to the farms, was revealed Tuesday when a letter received by Mayor William A. Magee from Selma, Miss., was made public.

The letter, signed by "M. McGee Stokes," said it was reported that 40 sections of Pittsburgh were under quarantine for smallpox, and proposed that the migrants be shipped back to Mississippi, where they were needed for farm work.

The letter detailed that, according to reports, smallpox was spreading throughout Pittsburgh, and the city desired to "get rid of the southern Negroes." Selma, the letter added, could use 1,000 families, and asked how much Pittsburgh would contribute toward sending them to Mississippi by special trains.

The letter was referred by Mayor Magee to Dr. C. J. Vaux, director of the department of health, who wrote in reply that not a house in Pittsburgh was under quarantine for smallpox; that only five cases had developed since last January, and each of these was extremely mild.

"The department of public health," wrote Dr. Vaux, "has had a working arrangement wtih physicians engaged in industrial medicine in the city, whereby all southern citizens coming here are immediately vaccinated and examined for other communicable diseases and a constant check on this situation is made."

HUNTINGTON, W. V., DISPATCH
JUNE 20 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

History, repeating itself again, has brought the negro question around to a point where white men in the south are reminding their fellow citizens that the colored man is an indispensable element in southern prosperity and that his renewed movement northward is crippling business. Discussing that subject a prominent Atlanta business man says it is not the attractiveness of northern wages which causes migration, but peonage, terrorism and lynching. And he urges the Governor of Georgia to provide better protection for colored workers.

It is true that northern factory wages are attractive and that they draw whites as well as blacks, but it must be a fact also that equal protection under the law and equal opportunity to make good in business in the past would have kept thousands of negroes who are now moving north, in the homes where they were born and reared. Recognition of this by white men confirms what Booker Washington taught to the blacks when he told them that if they would make themselves more efficient economically, white men would treat them better. Washington would have had the negro demonstrate his usefulness by making himself more useful. He has done so by making himself scarce.

AUG 2 1923
7-28-23

A NEW MEMANING FOR THE "COUNTY UNIT SYSTEM OF GEORGIA."

For a good many years the "county unit system" has had a distinct political significance in Georgia. A good many hard battles have been fought over the county unit system. But today Georgia's 154 counties face the hardest battle of their existence, and this battle too must be fought out on the couniy unit plan—mostly the Turner county plan if it is to be won. Here are the facts which are facing every agricultural community in Georgia, every county in Georgia, to a more or less degree:

First. There are today 55,524 idle plows in Georgia, according to reliable reports and investigation.

Second. There are 46,674 vacant farm dwellings in Georgia.

Third. In the past three and a half years 228,938 negroes have left the state. For the past 9 months this migration has amounted to 77,500. At the same time 29,513 whites have left the farms.

Fourth. The labor shortage in Georgia today on the farms is estimated at 70,843.

Fifth. As to the future, the report shows that conditions are improving in 41 per cent of the counties, no change in 11 per cent, and no improvement in 48 per cent of the counties where this migration is still going on.

All of the above seems to be serious enough to stir up every county unit in the state, bringing the leaders in community thought and action together to devise ways and means for the common good. It is good to note that county after county in Georgia has already taken steps to call county conferences and to intelligently discuss present problems and to prepare for the future. More and more counties will have to fall in line and pool their problems and make a community matter of their solution. We predict that the Turner county plan with local modifications wherever necessary is going to be universally adopted in Georgia and throughout our neighboring state of South Carolina in the near future.

Machinery and diversified crops can largely solve the present labor shortage—crops that can be planted with machines, and largely harvested with machines, can release thousands from the farms of the South. Tractors with gang plows can prepare thousands of acres better and more quickly than the old one-horse plows, pulled by a feeble mule. which barely scratched the surface of the ground. Thousands of idle acres must be made into rich and luscious permanent pastures and without extra labor can be made to produce $50 per acre in dairy, meat and pork products. Georgia must grow more corn and oats and peas and hay and velvet beans and soy beans, etc.

There must be a silver lining to the agricultural cloud that seems to be enveloping the state, and it is up to every county to orginize its resources, to agree upon a county plan and to complete as quickly as possible the readjustment that has become absolutely necessary to the agricultural life of the South.—Athens Banner.

Southern Negroes Relieving Labor Shortage in Wheeling District.

The Manufacturers Record

Wheeling, W. Va., August 9.—[Special.]—It is estimated that more than 5000 negroes have migrated from the South to the Wheeling manufacturing and mining area during the last two years and such an exodus from the South is said to offer a solution of the labor shortage in the Wheeling District. In most instances, the negroes find work either in the steel mills or the mines and are said by mill managers to make fairly good workmen. The arrival of Southern negroes this summer has been steadily increasing.

Four causes are assigned by the negroes themselves for leaving the South. They are: 8-16-23

1. Higher wages.
2. Better living conditions.
3. Greater educational advantages.
4. Less race prejudice.

Negroes working in the mills and mines are paid exactly the same scale as the white workers. There appears to be no friction between the two races, owing to the sunny disposition of the average Southern negro.

JUL 2 1923

Halting the Negro Migration

The South realizes the problem it faces in the migration of negro labor. A bill which has just been introduced in the Georgia Legislature makes it a felony to solicit labor in Georgia for other states. Alabama's Legislature is considering a bill to tax labor agents $5,000 for every county in which they operate. Other states in the South are seeking almost in desperation means to check the outflow of colored workers.

The migration which has been in progress for several years shows no signs of abatement. Last year more than 3 per cent of Alabama and South Carolina negro farmhands moved North. Georgia lost 13 per cent. This year the exodus is even more alarming. The cotton planters have been exceedingly hard hit. The president of the Tuskegee Institute has noted that "on a casual journey through the South one can see from the windows of the train white women, as well as men, working in the fields because no other labor is available."

The main reason for the drift is not far to seek. The negroes are moving to Northern industrial centers, where they can get higher wages. The trend is bound to continue so long as a labor shortage exists and the South does not raise the wage scale. Other motives, perhaps, are the negro's dissatisfaction with the Southern social order and his hope of better living conditions, illusive as that hope may be. It is doubtful that the plantation workers will find more lasting contentment in Northern factories than in Southern cotton fields.

The South must either stop the migration or set itself to vital economic readjustment. It will mean higher cost of labor and smaller crops at the best. The exodus of the negroes from their old homes bodes no general good. The South needs them and they will, perhaps, be better off in the South in the long run. Southern leaders are justified in taking all fair measures to keep them there.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Negroes Migrate to Flivver City by The Thousands Now

TAMPA FLA. JUL 8 - 1923

By Lester A. Walton in New York World

BY LESTER A. WALTON

In 1910 some 5,000 and odd Negroes lived in Detroit, Mich. This number had increased to 42,000 in 1920, according to the United States Census. On June 1, 1923, the Negro population was 52,000. These figures succinctly tell the story of what an alluring objective the Nation's fourth largest city has been in recent years to the Negro migrant from the Southern States.

Fully 6,000 Negroes have settled in Detroit, since Jan. 1. During April alone approximately 3,000 abandoned the South to take up residence in this thriving and rapidly growing. Middle Western city.

This year's influx has been greater than ever, more Negroes having wended their way to Detroit in the past six months than any similar period, the migration during the World War not excepted, and there is no sign of abatement, Georgia, Alabama and Florida furnish the largest per cent of migrants.

Big Money Attracts Migrants to Home of the Popular Flivver

Better wages is the chief reason given for leaving the Southland and making Detroit the home of adoption. The impression is current down in Dixie that big money may be made at the home of the flivver, and for this reason many migrants hit the common trail for Detroit with no assurance of work or shelter.

Former field hands find employment in industrial plants as common laborers, receiving from 43 to 55 cents per hour. Added to this is the bonus offered the steady employee who "produces." Half of the concerns work their men on a piece basis, which is quite an incentive to the industrious and ambitious.

The prevailing wage for the unskilled laborer for a nine-hour day is from $5 to $6. Compare this remuneration with 60 cents for a day's work often earned by field hands in the boll-weevil-ridden cotton fields of Georgia last year and the reason should be quite clear why thousands of Negroes are evincing a preference for a change of scenery—perhaps less picturesque, but certainly more appealing to the pocket.

Approximately 17,000 Negroes are at present employed in the 79 large industrial plants of Detroit. About 5,000 work in the Ford plant.

John C. Dancy, director of the Detroit Urban League, and son of a former Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia under Roosevelt and Taft, says that owing to the rapid increase in the Negro population, and because of the limited area in which the Negro has to live, a serious housing situation exists. There are no more places in the Negro quarters for rent and no space is available anywhere in the city. "Doubling up" is necessary, and few houses can be secured for less than $45 monthly. Some houses are in need of repairs.

In an effort to adjust newcomers to their new surroundings, representatives of the Detroit Urban League usually meet them at the trains, find places for them, carry on recreational activities and give "noonday shop talks."

Hamtramck, Mich., a surburb of Detroit, has a total population of 60,000, and of this, 3,000 are Negroes. Although forming but one-twentieth of Hamtramck's population, Negroes elect one of their number to the City Council and are represented in other responsible local office. The present Councilman is Dr. J. M. Henderson, a graduate of the University of Michigan.

Hamtramck's population is made up largely of foreign-born workingmen who have not become citizens of the United States. Having no vote they figure but little in Hamtramck's political equation. On the other hand, the 3,000 native Negroes do.

Virginia Governor Bespeaks Fairness and Justice to the Negro

Gov. E. Lee Trinkle of Virginia, speaking to a mixed audience in Brunswick County at the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School, said: "I am, I hope, the Governor of all the people, I am interested in everything that pertain to the uplift of this Commonwealth. I am, of course, interested in the advancement of the colored people of Virginia. Education should be the chief concern of the people of the United States and especially of the people of Virginia. Today 40 per cent of our Virginia appropriations are used for education.

"There are in Virginia today 650,000 children of school age. The annual average daily attendance in Virginia is 400,000, for which an army of over 16,000 teachers must be employed and 6,700 buildings must be used. Virginia is spending through State and municipal authority $25,000,000 annually for education."

In directing his remarks to the white people Gov. Trinkle said: "Virginians are in a position to deal with colored people in the spirit of fairness and justice. Colored people, on the other hand, owe unusual service to Virginia. • • Today there can be found work and reward, peace and plenty for every man and woman. It is the part of white people of Virginia to see that we give a square deal to every member of the commonwealth."

Charles M. Thomas, professor of economics of the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., thinks industrial and economic readjustment are prime causes of Negro migration. "Having made more than 500 trips into the South within the past five years," he says, "and having observed conditions and interviewed hundreds of white and colored people from different sections I feel that it is time to say that both races are confronted by obligations that must be recognized and assumed to save the Nation.

"That the white people of the South have complete and undisputed control of the Government, the courts and the commercial world, places upon them directly all responsibility for injustice discrimination, class legislation, inadequate schools and cruel and unjust punishment. Rather than apply remedial measures to the undesirable reaction of Negroes they have met every weakness and undeveloped reaction by greater tyranny. In the single instance of the railroads of the South I have yet to find any concerted effort to advance the state and condition of the Negro laborer whose toil and demands of life contribute so largely to the prosperity of the industry. Migration from the South, therefore, is now and has been urged by those conditions.

"The entire economic organization of the United States has been altered by the reaction from the war. People with capital have become investors as never before. Practically every white American has advanced toward the financial or capitalistic stage of economic development. On the contrary, the colored people, lacking industrial training and discipline necessary for urbanization, largely because of mistaken opposition to the Booker Washington plan of education, remain hands, receive low wages and have been locked out of skilled industry by the prejudice and opposition of organized labor.

"Just as the South made the mistake of protecting chattel slavery as a vested interest despite its blighting effects upon social development, so the entire American people have neglected the fair and wise development of the colored people as their best industrial asset," Prof. Thomas concludes.

NO HOMES FOR NEGROES MOVING TO ST. LOUIS

Atlanta Constitution
9-14-23

St. Louis, September 13.—The influx of the negro here is such to "present the most serious problem from a health angle that has ever confronted St. Louis," Health Commissioner Starkloff asserted in a statement today. The statement said that approximately 100,000 negroes are residing in St. Louis and that the housing situation was inadequate to care for this number; adding that negroes are coming to this city at the rate of 1,500 a month.

Whites Forced to Farms Deserted by Migrators

Kansas City Star
Kansas City, Mo.
9-23-23

Farm Hands are Scarce, and Big Planters are Forced Themselves to Pick Cotton and Do Things They Once Scorned

Yazoo City, Miss., Sept. 20.—The migration of colored people northward is still on. It has abated but little. It is most felt here, where the great farms are, from which colored farmers, almost to a man have left. The big plantations which held from 75 to 100 families now are deserted except for a few white families that have come to take their places. So acute is the labor shortage on the farms here that a leading planter has placed a standing order with employment bureaus for 100 or more families for his farms. It is stated that cotton, many hundreds of bales of it, remains unpicked in the fields; potatoes and other farm products are ungathered. The migrators are not picking a season to leave; they are leaving as soon as they are able.

The Old Order Changeth.

When one white planter asked his farmers to remain until they gathered up their crops, they are alleged to have told him that they had been on his farm since their birth, and had nothing to show for it except a body torn by toil, and a regrettable state of poverty. From some source they had obtained money to "go north" and nothing could persuade them to stay. Race relations are much better, it is reported, than once was the case. A committee of citizens, representatives of the colored farmers, called on the Education Board of a small county near here and asked that their two-room school house be increased to six rooms, with 4 additional teachers. Their request was granted almost immediately. They pointed out that the two-room school has been their only school for 20 years. Efforts at other times to increase it were futile.

Old Plantation System Doomed.

That the old methods employed by big planters are doomed is seen in the fact that hitherto, when a few hundred farmers left the estates of their lords, "new" colored labor was brought in from the less fertile farms of regions farther south. There are no colored farmers in this "lower" region now, so that a real crisis has arisen. In many cases white planters are themselves compelled to "hoe their own rows" and do other things which hitherto was done by colored laborers.

"Alarmists" Start Propaganda.

Some of the white papers of this section of the country have started their campaign of "alarm." They are printing stories of horrible conditions in Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Cleveland and New York, in an effort to frighten the remaining farmers and laborers out of the idea to migrate. An idea of the greatness of the migration may be seen from these facts: Chicago's colored population, which was 110,000 in 1919, now has reached 150,000; in that city there is a "Mississippi" Club, composed of former residents of Mississippi, which has a membership of more than 900. In Kansas City there is a "Texas" club which has a great membership. In all the bigger cities, so numerous are Southerners who have migrated recently that the more enterprising ones have organized themselves into clubs, named after their former states.

Cotton Picking Once Scorned.

For years the thinking part of the South has been saying that the bol' weevil has proved a blessing in disguise, because to cope with it white farmers had to quit "farming on horseback and farm behind the plow." Ten years ago it was considered beneath a white man's dignity to pick cotton. This view has changed. Even the owners of vast estates finding their cotton going to ruin in the fields, are hieing themselves out to save a part of the crops. It is an easy matter, now, to find white families occupying the shanties where once colored farmers lived. So deserted are some sections, that the colored teachers of the few months' schools have been dispensed with. The attendance at such schools, it was said, was less than what was required as necessary to maintain a school and teacher.

AUG 28 1923

Do Not Greatly Feel Loss of Negro Labor

Many Blacks, However, Have Gone From Terrell County

DAWSON, Ga., Aug. 27.—While many negroes have gone from Dawson, Terrell County and this section during the past several months, their loss has not been considered a great one and labor has been plentiful in all lines of business. A report of the agent of the Central of Georgia Railway Company in Dawson May 31 showed that from October, 1922, through May, 1923, 291 adults and 35 children or a total of 326 negroes had left for various points in the North and East. Records for the month of June, 1923, show that 83 adults and two children, or a total of 85 negroes left during that month alone, which number was a little in excess of a fourth as many as left during the

period from October to May. For the month of July 88 adults and 3 children or a total of 91 negroes left for points in the North and East, an increase over the month of June. To date for the month of August the agent reports that 56 adults and 3 children have left. Some few are returning and doubtless many would return were they able financially to do so, but the migration of the negroes from this immediate section has hardly been felt.

Charleston, S. C., American

SEP 16 1923

DIXIE BOUND IS NEGROES MELODY

Many Who Went North Earlier in Season Making for "Sunny South"

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15.—Reports from Southern states indicate that large numbers of negroes who migrated to the north and west in the late spring and early summer have returned to their native homes. The back home movement has not become general, but many dissatisfied individuals have landed on the cotton plantations, whence they started.

Expert observers in the department of agriculture said today they had received no official report on the extent of this new migration. They believe it is made up of stragglers, who are constantly on the go. Their information from men in the field shows that a large majority of the negroes who went north and west obtained suitable work at good wages and will become citizens of their adopted states.

It was pointed out at the department of agriculture that cotton picking season, which always attracts native southern negroes, is drawing near and that cold weather will drive many back to a warmer zone.

Southern business men and agriculturists are trying to induce immigrants from northern and western Europe to settle in the cotton regions of the south. The purpose is to get families that will buy land and build homes. Hundreds of thousands of acres now not under cultivation because of a lack of labor and the ravages of the boll weevil will be offered to a "good class of immigrants at a resonable price and easy terms." That is the slogan.

SEP 26 1923

Help Stop the Exodus.

Cumberland. Va., Sept. 20, 1923.

Considerable progress has been made along educational, economical, industrial and religious lines by our people in this part of the State, yet better and more effectual work could be accomplished if our pastors and teachers were unified and co-operative in their efforts to reach the masses. In States and sections in which such harmony and unity of effort prevail, the results are good and far reaching.

Our pastors stand in the fore front as leaders and instructors of the people in their different communities, while the youth look, or should look, to the school room for instruction and guidance. There should be harmony, union and understanding among pastors, parents and teachers. Many of our best young people are drawn away each year to points North and West because of better opportunities, more favorable conditions and higher wages. This is only human and natural. So it is incumbent upon the good people, those who lead and control affairs, to take steps to counteract and offset this existing spirit to migrate, by broadening avenues and improving conditions to the end that opportunities to educate, elevate and make headway here will equalize accordingly.

An educational, industrial and religious conference for Central Virginia should be organized by the most thoughtful and far-sighted leaders. In this, some of them must take the initiative. I have talked with a number of our leading citizens regarding this condition and have conferred with our supt. of schools here in Cumberland as to the advisability of a call to get such a movement on foot, and he is in hearty accord, pledging his influence and personal help toward the formation and maintenance of such an organization among us to meet annually at some point in the territory and we shall strive to get in touch with all the pastors, teachers and leading citizens of Cumberland and adjoining counties.

It is suggested that a get-together meeting be held this fall on some date in October or November. Mr. Gresham, supervisor negro education for Virginia, is strongly in favor of the movement and will lend his co-operation to get such an organization on a working basis.

Middle Virginia to the front ! Broader avenues and better conditions is the slogan and get together the watchword.

Suggestions will be appreciated. With sincerity, I am very truly, yours,

GRANT DUNGEE.

The Growth of the South

Wichita Falls Record-News.

It is said a million negroes have migrated from the South to the North since 1920. It is said that this migration movement is growing in volume all the time. It is said that thousands of deserted farms in the States east of the Mississippi river tell the story of the flight of the blacks.

Senator James E. Couzens of Michigan, an independent republican and a man who has accumulated a fortune of $30,000,000, decided the South was the land of opportunity after he had toured that country with the senate committee on reforestration.

Senator Couzens is a very wise American, a very successful American, a very broad man in his mental makeup, who is for equal rights and equal justice for all. He says if he were a young man and had his life to live over again and was sure he could retain his pep, he would surely go South, as the South has everything to make for success.

And this is what is going to happen to the South: Millions of negroes are going to the North, to the industrial centers and great cities of the North. Millions of young white men are going to desert the North for the South, where land is cheap, where the climate is salubrious, where there are millions of opportunities to get on, where manufacturing is making gigantic strides and where all the raw materials are to be found.

It will be a splendid exchange for the South at least. It will give the North a race problem. It will not give the South a labor problem, as some have predicted. The editor of a textile trade journal, in a recent review, declared the cotton manufacturing capacity of the cotton growing States is only 78 per cent of the capacity elsewhere, but because of greater activity in the South the consumption of a raw material is larger. According to his figures, seven-eighths of the increase in the production of cotton yarns from 1899 to 1919 was in the cotton growing States; the number of mills in the South in that time increased from 395 to 708, while elsewhere the gain was from 660 to 788.

Futhermore, the number of wage earners in the industry in the cotton growing States rose from 96,138 to 189,180, recruited from the native population, while the gain elsewhere was from 206,723 to 257,672. While wages are lower in the South, he says, they have been rising higher than elsewhere, and living is much cheaper, as the mills are mostly in small communities. Moreover, since the 1920 inflation, the recovery of the Northern mills has been slow, while the Southern mills have almost reached peak figures. This is the conclusion of the writer: "Cotton manufacturing in the South tells only a part of the story. The growth in other lines has been pronounced. Also electrical progress in the Carolinas has been second only to that of California and Illinois."

White labor in the Carolinas is skilled labor. It was unskilled twenty years ago. Now the claim is made that, with the smallest percentage of foreign born population, the State of North Carolina has achieved a rate of industrial growth almost unsurpassed in the last two decades, and maintains it; that her birth rate tops the roll of States, and will probably become higher with the departure of more of the negro population whose small natural increase has kept the percentage down.

Nor is this increased industrialization of the Carolinas being purchased by the abandonment of agriculture, as was the case in New England, according to the writer. Speaking of the farmers of the Carolinas, he asserts that cotton and tobacco growers are getitng high prices, and tobacco growers have increased their prices, in the face of increased production of the weed through co-operative marketing.

Texas has unharnessed water power. Texas will produce more than a third of the American cotton crop this year. Texas has a population of more than 5,000,000. Texas and Mexico are neighbors, and Mexico has a population of more than 15,000,000.

The are 60,000,000 of prospective buyers in the Pan-American countries. Texas has vast reservoirs of coal and oil and gas. Now, why shouldn't Texas become a great manufacturing State?

Twenty years ago the Carolinas were poverty-stricken. Now they are among the most advanced of the American States. Texas is a sleeping giant. Some day Gulliver may come out of his trance.

GRIFFIN, GA., News

JUL 21 1923

WILL SEEK REMEDY FOR NEGRO EXODUS

CITY CLUB OF ATLANTA WILL MAKE GENERAL SURVEY OF SITUATION WITH VIEW OF MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 21.—Effort to find an effective temporary remedy for the negro migration has been begun here by the negro migration committee of the City Club, according to announcement by Joel Hunter, nationally known business counsellor, who is chairman of the committee. Opinions of members of the committee and prominent men from all parts of the State have been submitted to the committee by Charles E. Robertson, secretary of the City Club, in line with the program of the club to make a general survey of the situation with a view of recommending methods of dealing with the problem, both as an acute temporary emergency, and in its more general phase as a movement which actually has been in progress at a slower rate for many years.

"We realize," said Chairman Joel Hunter, "that the question involves both a temporary and a permanent aspect, which makes our task more difficult. There are certain remedies which might retard the movement over which no committee nor organization has the slightest control and it is altogether problematical whether such remedies would prove effective.

"The City Club has no notion that it can solve the whole question which goes back more than 50 years, and which vitally concerns every phase of life in the south," he continued. "It is the earnest hope of our committee that our survey may clarity the situation and contribute in some degree to a basis for an enlightened public opinion. If we can accomplish that, we shall have rendered a lasting service and have justified the contention of the City Club that it seeks to ascertain the truth on matters which affect the welfare of our commonwealth."

Labor — 1923.

Migration Movement.

NEW ORLEANS LA., Picayune
SEP 4 1923

"Migrants" in St. Louis

St. Louis joins that growing group of Northern and Midwestern communities which begin to view the negro migration with alarm. The Post-Dispatch of last Saturday reports the movement into that city "increased from about 1000 a month at the beginning of the year to 4500 or possibly 5000 in August. The influx," it continues, "is causing the city health department and social welfare agencies a great deal of anxiety. The already congested negro districts are full to overflowing. The police report that many are sleeping in the open. While the health officers are endeavoring to vaccinate all that have not been inoculated, many are known to be entering the city without passing through the Union Station terminal. Unless foresight is exercised by the city authorities they may find a serious problem on their hands What of housing, what of employment, what of sanitary conditions, what of law and order? There is concern for other than the health department in the answering of these questions."

"Are these people," the Post-Dispatch asks, "being lured from their homes in the South by the false representation of labor agents and irresponsible persons? If so it should be made known, and if so it is time that St. Louis authorities were co-operating with the authorities of the states which are the sources of the movement. The work of labor agents or other interested parties, of myths, rainbow chasing and emotional stampede should be counteracted by making known the facts."

With a negro population of some 70,000 in 1920, St. Louis should be reasonably well prepared and equipped to absorb its "quota" of the new migration. If the influx already is become so worrisome to the city authorities there, how much keener must be the perplexity and anxiety of Northern communities whose negro population, negligible hitherto, has been multiplied by the recent drift from the South? With the approach of the Northern winter their problem must grow more acute—while the plight of the unwelcome migrants themselves, under the conditions described by the Post-Dispatch and other newspapers North and East, is likely to prove painful and unpleasant indeed.

Polk Negro Bureau Holds Barbecue

CEDARTOWN, Ga., August 27.—The Polk County Negro Farm Bureau held its annual barbecue nea here, and a number of prominen citizens of Cedartown were invite and attended. The white guests re ported one of the best 'cues they eve attended.

Jeff Lee presided, and a numbe of excellent speeches were made b both white and colored speakers The progressive farming methods were clearly demonstrated by representative men of their race, wh told of the effects of co-opeativ buying and selling, diversified crops better live stock and progressiv methods. All speakers urged th negroes to stay on the farm

Thomas Co. Negroes Return From North

THOMASVILLE, Ga., Sept. 1.—One by one many of the negroes leaving Thomasville for Northern and Western cities during the past months, are returning home and they all appear to be glad to get back and take up their old jobs. One colored workman who returned states that he found plenty of work to do while he was gone and good pay, but the expenses were so high that they took all he made. There were also many things in conditions there that did not suit him and he is glad to be back home again. He says that the crowded conditions in the North are very serious and will no doubt prove hurtful to many who have gone from the South. Already several going from here have died the well-known negro being brought back this week for burial

How the Negro Fares When He Goes Up North

Jamestown, N. Y., June 4, 1923.

Editor of Advertiser:

You will be interested in the attached clipping. It interests me also.

In my travels over the north I find that many southern negroes are drifting in. There seems to be a renewed movement similar to the one that took place in 1917, following the heavy rains and invasion of the boll weevil.

There does not seem to be very much love for the negro in the north. I was in Wells county, Indiana, the other night atending a farmers meeting and was told that there was not a negro in the county. I was recently in that same county at Uniondale with an agricultural train and in which we had a private car with two negroes as cookman and porter. One of the negroes ventured out into the town that night, and in about ten minutes came back to the car pone and ashy white, and told me that he had seen a Ku Klux parade, and never did he set his foot on the ground again until he was out of the state of Indiana. There are many such settlements in the north where negroes are not allowed.

I have talked to railroad superintendents and engineers who are working large gangs of negroes on construction work at this time. Almost invariably I find that they are employing negroes because they are unable to get the class of foreign laborers which they have used heretofore. There is a great scarcity of workmen of all kinds in the north at this time, and much work is being held up for this reason. When there is a let up in building operations, there will be a surplus of common labor, and many of the negroes will be forced out. At that time I look for trouble, with race riots breaking out in certain sections. I feel very sorry for the negroes, because they are certainly up against a hard proposition.

In Meadville, Pa., the other day I saw two country looking negroes ambling down the street, and as I passed one of them said, "Mister, does you know where dere is a colored restaurant?" I looked them over and then told them there was no such thing in that town. They soon found that I was from the south when I called it a "nigger restaurant", and were very glad to see me and talk to me. I learned that one had come from Gadsden and the other from Piedmont. Both said they had come north because of the boll weevil, and that they left families at home. They were not riff-raff, but seemed to be good negroes. They came to Meadville because some friend of theirs was working there in a foundry. If ever there were two sad homesick negroes, they seemed to be it.

Many of these negroes on railroad construction work are living in the same cars with Mexicans and all other kinds of mixtures. In the towns where they settle their living conditions are much worse than can be found in the cities of the south, where they live among their own kind, and enjoy life in their own way.

The negro who comes north now may find work at a fair wage, and feel reasonably prosperous for the time being, but there is certainly a day coming when he will be forced out of work (in some cases very forcibly) by the class of common labor which has prevailed in the north heretofore. If at that time the negro underbids in wages, he is certainly flirting with serious trouble. The black man's color makes of him a very contrasted race, and he can expect trouble from those who do not know and understand him. The place for the future welfare of the negro is certainly in the south, if there is any possible way for him to remain there and make a living. The south is the coming section of the United States, and is so recognized, and the economic opportunities for the negro are better there than in the north.

Yours truly,
LUTHER D. FULLER,
Agricultural Agent Erie Railroad Company.

Jamestown, N. Y., Morning Post, June 2, 1923.

NEGRO ASKS FOR MATCH AND POLICE SAVE HIM FROM MOB

"BUFFALO, June 1—The Tonowanda police tonight rescued two negroes who had been beaten almost to death by a mob. The riot began when a negro stopped a white man and asked for a match. Since the Civil War days, no negroes have lived in either of the Tonowandas until recently when a steel company imported laborers from the south."

GADSDEN ... NEWS
AUG

NEGROES CONTINUE TO LEAVE GADSDEN FOR THE NORTH

Three Have Returned But They Are Silent As To Conditions.

Although the exodus of negroes from Gadsden to the northern states was apparently over, there were somewhere between 60 and 70 negroes who left Gadsden during the month of July. Of that number 70 per cent were men. On last Saturday 18 negro men and three women left the city on one train bound for the land of promise.

It is believed that fully as many if not more negroes bought tickets in Attalla and no definite check can be secured as to the number of negroes that have left this city.

During this week three Gadsden negroes have come back home having hoboed their way on the train and so far as can be learned these negroes are not telling any big stories of the good working conditions and high salaries of the north.

WANT TO COME HOME IS PLEA OF NEGRO FROM NEW HOME IN NORTH

Montgomery Advertiser

Jim Frazier, negro, until recent date on the payroll of the Capital Grain and Feed Co., of Montgomery, now views his name on the growing list of negroes who have become stranded in the north and who are turning a gaze of longing on their erstwhile home in the south.

Like many other negroes who went to the land "flowing with milk and honey," as the expanse above the Mason and Dixon line has appeared to the blacks of the south, Frazier has written to his employers for an advance to buy a ticket home. In Jim's case, the letter was preceded by a telegram. The latter is discreetly within the fifteen word limit but into it is compressed a whole volume of desire. It reads: "Please wire me at once $35 railroad fare. I want to come home."

The letter that followed the wire has more details. Written from McKee's Rock, Pennsylvania, the epistle reads:

"I take great pleasure to drop you these few lines to let you hear from me. I sent you a telegram the first of this month but I fail to get any answer from it. I ask you to send me my R. R. fare which is $35. Please send it to me at once so I can come back home and go to work. I found my miss stake just like you told me this last past Saturday." The letter carries a postscript which asks for an answer even if the money is not forthcoming. Concluding, Jim writes: "But I hopes you won't fail to send it because I wants to come home at once.

GREENVILLE S. C. NEWS
JUNE 5, 1923

SOME ADVICE TO NEGROES.

The negro migration that is occupying the national spotlight just now is an economic migration. The negroes are moving not because the South is an unpleasant place for them, or because political and judicial conditions are not to their liking. They are actuated by one principal thing, and that is the desire to get better wages. The Rev. A. J. Hall, a prominent colored minister, who has a communication in today's News, sounds what has been The News' observation when he says the negroes are leaving because they have been led to believe they can prosper better in the North. And it is interesting to have the testimony of this minister that he has lived both North and South and has found "the opportunities for making money far more in the South than in the North." In the South an effort is made to furnish employment during dull times when employment is not really desired, but in the North no such spirit exists—and that explains to a degree the basis for this statement.

Governor McLeod was dead right when he declared the problem was one primarily for the negroes to solve. The negroes are taking a greater gamble than the white men of the South who give them up. They are moving to a new country and among white men with a different feeling toward them. Some of them will prosper and do well, but for the mass the future is uncertain. "My people," says the Greenville minister, "should stay where they can buy land and own homes." That is what The News believes. But we are not excited about the migration because the negro will learn what is best for him. No restrictions should be placed about the negroes who wish to migrate of their own volition. The South will eventually be the gainer by the movement. There have been not a few migrants in the past and many of them have returned. Despite those that have "stuck", the South has gone forward.

JUL 21 1923

HOW TO CHECK NEGRO MIGRATION

(From the American City Magazine)

The New York Times, in a recent issue, calls attention to editorials appearing in various Southern newspapers which show a growing recognition of the fact of municipal and civic conditions on negro migration. The editor the ENQUIPER-SUN, of Columbus, Ga., is quoted as saying of the negro:

"He does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him homes think that any sort of shack is good enough for the negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the negro fails to receive the proper attention."

Says the New York Times in comment:

"The South wants the negro and, given equality of treatment, the negro prefers the South. When the white men in the South begin to appreciate the part that that they have played in furthering the exodus, it is likely that they will be able partly to check it. To attempt to stop it by legislation, however, or by terrorization, or by depriving the negroes of the opportunities of learning where their labor is in demand, is to fail to strike at the fundamental causes."

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

It is true that there are some artificial conditions in the present situation. One of them is the restriction of immigration which cuts off the supply of labor for the industries. Reports to the Georgia Bankers' Association from 92 out of 154 counties of that state show that 41,383 negroes have left those counties this year and that 15,760 white people have left the farms. Upon that basis the calculation is made that 77,500 negroes have left the State and that 29,513 white people have left the farms. It is further shown that including the year 1920 and to the date of this inquiry 228,938 negroes have left the State of Georgia. Several other Southern states have had a similar exodus. This movement is in response to the call for labor in northern industries and shows how cutting off the supply in one quarter stimulates a supply from another quarter. The wage advantages in the steel and other industries which took place about a year ago and last Spring have been factors in the movement.

Economic forces are far-reaching in their influence, and no matter how they may be hampered by curbs and regulations they work unceasingly to distribute the effects throughout the entire industrial organization, with the result that they frequently show up where nobody is looking for them. Another influence in this movement from farm to city is the arbitrary policy of wage-fixing in the town industries. The increase of population in the cities and decrease in the country will not only increase the cost of living in the cities but increase the competition for city jobs, and the uncertainty of employment, until country life again looks attractive in comparison.

—National City Bank.

GEORGIA SEEKS LAW TO KEEP ITS NEGROES

ATLANTA, Ga., July 19.—[illegible] to check the migration of Negroes and other farm laborers was given by the authors as the reason for the introduction of a bill in the Georgia Legislature today which would make it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States. Punishment would be a prison term of not less than three years nor more than seven.

NEGRO MIGRATION AS VIEWED BY A PITTSBURGH RELIGIOUS PAPER.

THE Christian Statesman, a leading religious paper of Pittsburgh, in discussing the movement of the negroes from the South to the Nort hand West heads it "A Dangerous Migration" and says:

"No demand of industry in the North justifies the sending of labor agents through the South with promises of social and political equality and extravagantly high wages, to bring hundreds of thousands of negroes North until they shall have been prepared by education and social experience to hold their own—not by an improper mingling with the white race, but in sturdy, self-respecting competition." The Christian Statesman warns against flooding the North with negroes from the South, not only because it is dangerous for the North, but because, as it says, "There are some Southern products, notably cotton, upon which the North is dependent, as is also the world at large." Discussing the race antagonism engendered in the North by the flow of the negro population, the Statesman adds:

"The war between the negro and the white in the North, wherever it appears, is quite as murderous and hateful as any similar war in the South. The North does not understand the negro any more than the negro understands the North. He likes the high wages and the appearance of larger social freedom; and the political bosses like his vote. He gets an exaggerated idea, immediately, of his consequence. Without the power of accurate observation, and without any preliminary training to equip him to carry his share of social and political responsibilities with self-respect and safety, he is incited to assert equality with white people, and this assertion very often appears as an arrogant claim of superiority."

Race hatred in the North becomes intense and bitter and we would change the Statesman's expression by saying it becomes far more murderous and hateful as expressed in a race war in the North and in the West than in the South. The South understands the negro as the North does not and possibly never will and yet, even under these circumstances, the MANUFACTURERS RECORD believes that much good will result to the South from the movement which has so far been under way of the negroes from the South to the North. A good many of these negroes are of the roving kind. Some of them leave the South for the South's good. Some are of a better class, but very largely the better class of negroes understand that the South is the best place for them and if they are property owning negroes they are likely to stay in the South and take an active part in the building up of the South. Many of those who have gone North or West will later on return to the South completely disillusioned as to charms of life elsewhere.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the negro race far prefers the South to the North or West, and the South infinitely prefers the negroes to the lower class ers with which the North and West have been curse

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
JULY 13, 1923

SKILLED NEGRO LABOR IN NORTH

GOVERNMENT DISCLOSES NEW PHASE OF MIGRATION.

Labor Department Issues Report on Exodus From South—Connecticut Takes on Largest Per Cent —Reasons for Movement.

An unexpected phase in the placement of negro labor passing from the South to Northern industries is the inclusion of skilled workers of this class, according to an announcement of the Department of Labor. A survey conducted by Phil H. Brown, commissioner of conciliation, who was detailed by the department as an observer of the migration now in progress, including an analysis of payroll statistics of 273 employers of negro labor in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma and Wisconsin. Returns from these firms indicate a heavy intake of negro labor. Sufficient specific classification was found to suggest that the South is not only yielding up a great mass of unskilled workers but a remarkable number of skilled hands are finding employment.

Distribution is difficult as to the source of the present negro labor utility, whether it is directly from the South or is a leftover from the 1916-1919 shift; but the conclusion is safely drawn that the mass of this labor emerges from Southern sources and its entire movement is covered in less than five years.

Percent of Increase.

During the year for which observations were made among the 273 firms listed with the department, negro workers were increased on payrolls by 18,050 men, of whom 4,157 and 13,893 were skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. The total per cent of increase was 42.60 and the per cent increase of skilled and unskilled workers, respectively, was 38.51 and 41.

Based upon a descending scale the total increases in percentage of negro workers taken on in the various States were: Connecticut, 88.74; New Jersey, 74.82; Indiana, 70.17; Ohio, 69.93; California, 66.67; Pennsylvania, 64.91; Michigan, 63.77; Wisconsin, 58.24; Maryland, 55.48; Illinois, 45.14; Kansas, 40.42; New York, 37.19; Massachusetts, 25; Kentucky, 24; Missouri, 18.30; Oklahoma, 14.10; Delaware, 2.63. West Virginia showed a slight decrease in the per cent of negro workers.

High marks were reached in the increase of negro skilled workers, who advanced by 186.86 per cent in Maryland, 90.48 per cent in Connecticut, 70.73 per cent in Michigan, 68.97 per cent in Kansas, 68.04 per cent in Ohio, 60 per cent in California, 43.68 per cent in Pennsylvania, 39.94 per cent in Illinois, 33.33 per cent in Wisconsin, 30 per cent in New York, 18.18 per cent in Indiana and 13.93 per cent in Kentucky. New Jersey and Oklahoma showed respective increases of 12.96 per cent and 3.85 per cent in the number of negro workers taken on in the skilled occupations during the year, while West Virginia showed a loss of 1.82 per cent.

Negro unskilled workers are slightly ahead of their skilled associates in a remarkable increase during the year. Returns indicated an increase of this type of negro labor of 102.86 per cent in Indiana, 88.58 per cent in Connecticut, 85.15 per cent in New Jersey, 77.52 per cent in Pennsylvania, 71.21 per cent in Ohio, 68 per cent in California, 62.48 per cent in Michigan, 60.48 per cent in Wisconsin, 46.69 per cent in Illinois, 39.79 per cent in New York, 37.13 per cent in Kansas, 27.67 per cent in Maryland, 27.15 per cent in Kentucky, 16.17 per cent in Missouri and 15.69 per cent in Oklahoma.

Migration Figures.

Accurate figures describing the migratory phases of negro labor coming direct from the South during the year ending April 30, 1923, were nearly as difficult to acquire as they were during the intensive migration during the wartime shortage. Nevertheless, the department was able to observe 19,747 negro employes among the whole number of 60,421 on hand April 30, 1923, and to make estimations as to the number included therein whom employers could positively identify as having moved northward into employment during the past year. Of the 19,747 thus observed it was found that 4,702, or 23.81 per cent, had come direct from the South during the year. From another viewpoint, taking the whole number as a base and discounting .06 per cent thereof as being impracticable of distribution, the department estimates that the distribution of migrants among the States listed can be approximately indicated by the following percentages:

	Per Ct.		Per Ct.
Ohio	37.26	Kentucky	4.36
Pennsylvania	21.63	Connecticut	3.04
Michigan	10.53	Maryland	1.30
New Jersey	6.4	Wisconsin	.85
New York	4.76	California	.32
Missouri	4.74	Oklahoma	.26
Illinois	4.49	Nondistributable	.06
Total			100.00

As a final step in the migratory feature of negro labor the Department endeavored to ascertain what proportion of payroll employes, as of April 30, 1923, could be regarded as migrants, and the following results are deemed as reliable approximations:

	Per Ct.		Per Ct.
New Jersey	62.19	Missouri	19.08
Oklahoma	54.54	Wisconsin	19.14
Michigan	52.27	Kentucky	14.91
Ohio	36.01	Maryland	12.03
California	30.00	New York	11.88
Pennsylvania	20.82	Illinois	5.17
Connecticut	20.82		

Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts and West Virginia were omitted from the last conclusion on account of lack of authentic reports from employers.

This last conclusion points strongly to two conditions which evidently have a tremendous influence upon migrants, namely, (1) wages and types of employment available in northern States and (2) geographical location of the points considered by oncoming migrants. No doubt direct touch of trunk lines from Southern points and the amount of railroad fare required have their effect upon those workers who desire to move northward; and, on the other hand, distinctive types of work with attractive wages form another inducement.

The reports indicated that migrants frequently come to border States and after working a while use a portion of their earnings to remove to points of vantage further North. This particular feature is, perhaps, largely productive of causes of turnover which was not strongly noticeable in the States farthest North.

CHICAGO [illegible]
SEPTEMBER 17, 1923

LYNCH LAW FEAR SENDS GEORGIA NEGROES NORTH

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 16.—[Special.]—Georgia has been hardest hit by the present exodus of the Negroes from the south to the north and much study is being given the leaders of both races to the causes of the migration and what can be done to stem the rush to the "promised land" overflowing with 16 cents a quart milk and 10 cents a spoonful honey.

They are beginning to say down here that the Negro migration is due not so much to the "pulling of the north" as it is to the "shoving of the south." One growing view is that poor housing conditions, lack of educational advantages, inequality in the courts and in law enforcement, bad working conditions on farms managed by overseers, the labor contract system, the increase in mob violence, and the apprehension caused by the Ku Klux Klan floggings, although these have been almost exclusively confined to whites.

Shove Negroes North.

All these things serve to propel the colored worker northward, exerting as much of a shove as the $4 and $5 day does in the way of a pull.

Several estimates of the exodus have been made, none of them agree. One government bureau some months ago reported 32,000 had migrated northwards in the last year from Georgia. The state college of agriculture recently reported that within six months 100,000 persons had left Georgia farms, of which 80,000 were Negroes, and 11,840 farms had been abandoned. Not all these went north, but it appears that of this shift some 40,000 to 50,000 farmers, mainly Negroes, went north, about 35,000 of them moving through Chicago.

A resume of migration has also been given by the state bankers' association and by the City club, estimating that 80,000 have left Georgia since New Year's, that the number will reach 100,000 by Christmas, that 46,674 farm houses are now vacant, and 55,524 plows are idle, the loss to Georgia is set down at $27,000,000 and the exodus is said by some to be causing more loss than Sherman's march to the sea.

Boll Weevil Active.

Of course, not all these 55,000 plows are idle because of the migration. The boll weevil has been the great cause of abandoned farms and the hard straits which caused the migration.

Negro leaders lay emphasis on deeds of violence as the first factor in sending the colored worker north, the high pay in the mills serving mainly as a ticket. This view is also taken by many white leaders, who say that behind the migration are years of abuse from a certain element of the whites who have been beating the Negro up, killing him on slight pretext, tacking pictures of skulls and crossbones on his doors and terrorizing him in general.

Some are pointing out that Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and other states with anti-lynching laws are suffering little from migration.

Symptoms of Exodus.

Thee City club of Atlanta, in its review, after emphasizing the boll weevil, low priced cotton, bad roads, unsound credit facilities and unorganized marketing as basic conditions in the migration, went on to discuss some of the "symptoms."

"We have the situation," it says, "that agriculture in Georgia is unprofitable; that housing conditions are poor, educational facilities are bad, and Negro labor cheap. And too frequently injustice in law and in equity, all o which might be termed secondar symptoms. On the other hand, in the industrial centers there exists a substantial labor shortage with consequent high wages which constitute the primary symptoms.

When Demand Stops.

The report said: "The migration will continue at its present rate until the industrial market becomes glutted, and then it will gradually diminish."

Leaders of both races say that better schools, more equal justice in the courts, better housing, elimination of the labor contract law and the suppression of mob violence are a necessary program if Georgia is to keep its Negro labor, although some thinkers say the colored worker will gravitate back to the south after he gets a lungfull of cold weather and a frostbitten ear. Not more than 10 per cent of them actually drift back, but so far affairs have not advanced much beyond the conversational stage.

Cleveland
N. E.
JUL 23

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

The Department of Agriculture, after a special survey of the shortage of farm labor in the Southern States, seems to take a rather alarming view of the situation. Up to the time this survey was made several weeks ago over 32,000 negro farm hands had left the State of Georgia alone for the various industrial centers of the north. South Carolina has lost 22,700; Florida about the same number; about 10,000 have migrated from Alabama; 15,000 from Arkansas; Louisiana about 7,000; Tennessee nearly 5,000; North Carolina about 15,000; Mississippi 5,000. In addition to these large numbers have migrated from Kentucky and the Virginias.

All this occurred within the past twelve months. As a result the cotton farmers in the Southern States are facing a serious situation.

President Moton, of the Tuskegee Institute, the negro institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, attributes this unusual exodus to the question of wages. Before the war field hands could be employed for 50 cents or a little more a day. Today the lowest rate is from $1.25 to 2.00 a day.

The North is materially affected by this tremendous labor change. The manufacturers there are the principal beneficiaries, as the negroes have taken the place of immigrant labor which was called home to Europe during the war. Another thing has happened which was inevitable, it has precipitated the race problem in the public schools in many industrial northern centers, besides exercising a marked change in the political complexion of some of the doubtful States.

There is one thing which is true: The negro is one hundred per cent. American, and in that regard is far superior to much or most of the element we have been receiving from Europe.

Commenting on the negroes leaving the South the Philadelphia Record says:

Cleveland has been so overrun by negro migrants from the South that its Superintendent of Employment Service has been compelled to give notice that it is quite impossible to find labor for any more newcomers. It would be interesting to know if the saturation point has not been reached in Philadelphia and its immeditae vicinity. Certainly the exodus from the South is greatly aggravating the housing situation here and producing in many localities a most undesirable congestion of population. Germantown feels it no less than the Seventh ward. Philadelphia has always shown a kindly disposition to the negro, but there is such a thing as pushing a hospitable host too far.

PITTSBURG [illegible] TEX
AUGUST [illegible] 23

SOUTHERN EDUCATORS ON LYNCHING

The exodus of Negroes from the South to the North has lately reached such proportions as to cause the white people deep concern. It is reported that last year Georgia lost thirteen per cent. of her farm hands, and more than three per cent. of the agricultural laborers of Alabama and South Carolina moved to Northern states. Doubtless this year the proportion is larger and all the Southern states are affected. In commenting on these facts, the Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph says: "The inducement of higher wages is no doubt a powerful impulse in the present movement, but other factors also have their weight." Concerning these other factors it goes on: "Persons familiar with the way in which the Negro is defrauded of his rights as a citizen of the United States throughout Dixie will give this feature of the situation a proper appreciation. Negroes are counted in the census reports in order to ascertain the representation of states in the National House of Representatives, and are not allowed to participate to any appreciable extent in the elections. Then there is the awful lynching record of the Southern states, a subject which has been gone into many times, in detail, in connection with flagrant illustrations of the low value placed on lives of Negroes by many communities south of Mason and Dixon's line."

That the intelligent people of the South are becoming more and more concerned over this matter of lynching and are determined to create public sentiment against the abominable and menacing practice is shown in the following appeal: "We, the undersigned, engaged in the work of education, earnestly appeal to all citizens to exert their influence constantly and actively in condemnation of the crime of lynching. We furthermore urge upon our state legislators and executives to enact, if necessary, and persistently to enforce, such laws as will tend to put a stop to this species of lawlessness." This statement was issued by eight superintendents of education, eight presidents of state universities, eighteen presidents of state technical and normal colleges, twenty-five presidents of privately endowed and denominational universities and colleges and twenty-four professors in universities and colleges —all white Southerners.

N Y C NEWSPAPERDUM
SEPTEMBER 13, 1923

Advertising Addressed Exclusively to Negroes in the South

IN the New Orleans *States*, issue August 22, appeared a most unusual page of advertising. It appealed to negroes, urging them not to desert the south for the north, and sketched a dismal picture of the plantation darky who quits a climate suited to his health, his happiness and his labor, to settle in a region that is too cold for him.

Across the top of the page is an illustration in which a typical colored man, shivered by cold and pinched by poverty, is hugging a small stove while he dreams of his former home in sunny Louisiana, where, with his family and friends, he is dancing before the cabin door.

Statistics are published to prove that the death rate of the negro in the south is much lower than that of the negro in the north, and altogether there is enough said and substantiated, to scare the life out of the average colored person.

But the remarkable feature of this advertising is that it presumes the eradication of illiteracy among the negroes and takes it for granted that all of them can read the printed word.

The advertisement we are commenting upon is the fourth of a series to be run by prominent leaders of the colored race, the committee in charge making the point that the black man's dollar will buy for him in the south two or three times as much as it will in the north, and that he is "foolish to fly in the face of Providence."

SEP 16 1923

Negroes Turning South Toward Home Again

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 15.—Southern negroes, who a few months ago joined the colored pilgrimage north with the hope of finding a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, are returning south as rapidly as they can obtain funds to pay transportation, according to Elbert Thornton, proprietor of a local cafeteria, who has just returned from Cleveland, Ohio.

"I advertised for 150 negroes to help prepare and serve a barbecue dinner to 12,000 Shriners and their families," said Thornton," "and about 500 swarmed down on me. When they learned we were from Atlanta, scores of them begged to be brought back to Dixie."

He explained that southern negroes were used for common labor and for certain industries during the summer months because they can stand the heat there. "When cold weather comes," he said, "the negroes are replaced by foreigners who are more accustomed to the zero weather. That leaves the negroes unemployed and up against it. Two extra coaches carrying nothing but negroes were attached to the train which brought me back to Atlanta.

NEGROES SEEN WALKING BACK FROM THE NORTH

COLUMBIA, S. C. SEP 23 1923

Special to The State.

Anderson, Sept. 22.—An Anderson man driving through the state of North Carolina a short time ago saw two negro men walking slowly along the highway. One of them was an old negro man, and he looked footsore and weary. This man, being a Southern man, stopped and said, "You niggers look tired. Where are you walking to?"

The old man replied, "We'se goin' home, young Marster, please God!" Then the man told the negroes to get in and they might ride as far as he went. After the negroes climbed in the young man asked them where they were going.

The old man repeated again, "We'se goin' home, Boss, to Clumbus, Georgy." The young man said, "Well, where are you coming from?" "We'se comin' frum Pittsbug, Boss, en' been wukin' in de steel mills, en' ef we ever gits home ergin, we won't nebber leave no more, de good people down dere done tole us bout goin' Norf, we wouldn't listen. But, Boss, we sholy will listen nex' time."

Travelers report on many roads now they see negroes walking, presumably they are some who went in the great exodus. Many have written back begging their "white folk" to send them money to come home on.

One farmer said just at the time he was needing hands badly on the farm five of his best men went North, that was all they knew, they were just going North. One morning recently one of them came back, and asked him to give him his place back. The farmer told him that he did not need him now, and he wouldn't take him back. The man stood around a while, and then told his former "boss" that he was going to work for him, and he didn't care whether he paid him anything or not. He had been back two weeks, when one day the other four came in with practically the same story and now all are on their former jobs, and the happiest negroes to get back South in the world.

CONFLICTING REPORTS

While the report is being circulated that the tide of Negro emigration has changed and is now flowing back toward the south, another report says the travel northward is still on and from Georgia alone as many as fifteen hundred Negroes a month are leaving for the northern sections. We are not certain as to which report is correct, but the latter looks more probable to the casual observer who notes the traffic on railroads which shows the majority of passengers northward bound. There may be a lull next Spring if the price of cotton remains at thirty cents, which wil make for more prosperous times as concerns the southern colored man.

ST. LOUIS MO. POST DISPATCH
SEPTEMBER 1, 1923

THE GROWING NEGRO MIGRATION.

Negro migration from the Southern states into St. Louis has increased from about 1000 a month at the beginning of the year to 4500 or possibly 5000 in August. It is roughly estimated that about a third of the arrivals, after stopping in the city, push farther north. At this rate the negro population of the city is increasing rapidly and has already been swelled to an estimated 100,000, or 30,000 over the last census.

The influx is causing the City Health Department and social welfare agencies a great deal of anxiety. The already congested negro residence districts are full to overflowing. The police report that many are sleeping out in the open. While the health officers are endeavoring to vaccinate all who have not been inoculated, many are known to be entering the city without passing through the Union Station terminal.

Unless foresight is exercised by the city authorities they may find a serious problem on their hands. What of housing, what of employment, what of sanitary conditions, what of law and order? A great many of the new arrivals have found work, but how many more can be taken care of if anything like the present influx continues? There is concern for other than the Health Department in the answering of these questions.

When the city reaches its limit in providing work and homes for these people they will eventually stop coming in such tides as at present. But a great deal of suffering may occur before the word gets back to the source of migration unassisted. Are these people being lured from their homes in the South by the false representation of labor agents and irresponsible persons? If so it should be known, and if so it is time that St. Louis authorities were cooperating with the authorities of the states which are the source of the movement. It should be made clear to the migrants just what prospects in the North are likely to be. The work of labor agents or other interested parties, of myths, rainbow-chasing and emotional stampede should be counteracted by making known the facts.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement

Special Train Will Bring Negroes Back to Dear Old Dixie

MEMPHIS, TENN., Dec. 9.—A special train on the Illinois Central railroad, bringing 247 negro families from Chicago to Mississippi is scheduled to arrive here Monday morning, officials of the railroad announced here today.

R. J. Carmichael, assistant general passenger agent of the Illinois Central railroad, declared that this is the first of a series of special trains which will bring many negroes from Chicago and other cities to the cotton-growing states of the south. He has been cooperating with planters and officials of Mississippi in furthering the movement, and declared that negroes in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other eastern cities, as well as in Chicago, are ready to return South.

"I believe we will be able to supply those planters who want negro labor," said Mr. Carmichael. "Owing to conditions in the north, with the labor market flooded, I believe that within a comparatively short time the south will have recovered many of the negro laborers which it lost when there was a general exodus northward."

NEGROES LEAVE NORTHERN CITY, ARE DIXIE BOUND

Special Train With 247 Families Race for Sunny South.

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GORDELE, GA.

AUG 7 1923

LET THE NEGRO LEARN

The migration of negroes to the northern and eastern cities is said to have passed its peak. The health conditions in many cities are said to be menacing because of the congestion in the negro quarters. The housing and sanitary problem is a serious one.—Madisonian.

We have the impression that much of this talk about housing and sanitary conditions in the north and east is "bunk." Housing and health anywhere in the world ought to be as good for the negro as he enjoys in the south so long as he is not huddled in great numbers into quarters too small. We know too much about his housing in the south. It cannot be of a superior or palatial tendency. But negroes do by their own thrift sometimes build good houses. Certainly it is more possible in the south because the cost is always less.

But we want the negro to go and see for himself—we want him to find out about other sections of this country. It is his, the north and east, as well as the south. Let him settle this question of who is his friend. The south needs this transition as it needs nothing else.

NORTH SOUNDS WARNING.

The Nashville Tennessean editorially comments on the warning, broadcast by the city officials of Cleveland, Ohio, through the United States department of labor, that that city cannot place any more negro emigrants from the south by suggesting that it comes in good time and "should serve to prevent many making a mistake that would mean disappointment and keen discomfort to them."

The fact is that the same warnings has been sent out of Pittsburg, Detroit, St. Louis and other industrial cities, and already in many sections of the north organized movements have not only begun to stop the tide of negro migration into those sections, but to send the overplus of idle negroes already there back into their home states in the south.

The Cleveland warning points out that every job in that city is filled and there is alarm lest, as industry slackens in the fall, the city will be left with a large surplusage of unskilled labor which will be unable to provide for itself, and which the city cannot provide for.

Beginning with July 1 the United States began to admit 71,563 aliens monthly, and the arrivals thus far indicate an overwhelming majority of able-bodied males, prepared to enter into the manual labor positions for which the southern negroes were sought when there was a scarcity of immigrant labor.

Such a situation means that as industry slackens the negro laborer will be the first to be laid off, and with living expenses high—rents in negro tenement districts having advanced 40 per cent in St. Louis and in other cities proportionately—the prospect is a gloomy one for the migrating negro attracted north by promises of high wages, and for that restless and more irresponsible element that sought the north because of the mistaken idea that the atmosphere was more genial and inviting.

The fact is, the south is the natural home of the negro. He fits into industry better, and certainly more comfortably for him, in the south than in the north; and the female members of the family fit into domestic service better in the south than in the north, where the majority of domestics are foreign-born.

And there is work a-plenty in the south for every negro who wants to work, and at wages that are fair, when the respective costs of living are compared.

Negro leaders, through churches, societies, lodges and all public gatherings, should further broadcast these warnings coming out of the north to those who have not yet felt the lure. If this is not done, with the immigrant tide coming in as it is, the suffering, and mortality rate among the southern negro colonies in the north this coming winter, promises to be appalling.

SAYS EDUCATION WILL KEEP NEGRO IN SOUTH

White Man Our Best Friend, Says Negro Educator.

BY WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON.

RALEIGH, N. C., Oct. 20.—North Carolina's stand for negro education has put this state in a class by itself. In this respect it leads the nation. That is why so few negroes left here during the exodus and why most of those who did leave for the untilled fields of the north are expected to return when cold weather sets in. Already they are coming back. One has but to ride a "down train" from Washington to realize that.

On a recent occasion one of the railroads from Richmond to Raleigh moved all the white men from the smoking car, turned that over to the negroes and merged the accommodations for men and women in the single day coach that was left. If anybody had a "kick" on this "jim crow" arrangement, it was the white man and not the negro.

Becoming Farm Owners.

"More negroes are coming into the ownership of farms and homes, relatively, than white people in North Carolina, and especially is this true of the eastern part of the state," said Gen. E. F. Glenn, United States army, retired.

"Are you willing to be quoted on this point?" the general was asked.

"Of course I am," he replied, "because it is true."

There has been no especial concern in North Carolina over the negro exodus north. At no time has the matter reached the point where a "conference" was necessary in order to formulate plans to "take steps." The question of negro migration has never been discussed in officialdom. The big thing claiming the attention of North Carolina officials has been the education of the negro.

"The best friend the southern negro has is the southern white man," said Dr. James E. Shepard, himself a negro, president of the National Training School, at Durham, which recently was taken over by the state and will be made one of four state normal schools for negroes. There have been in existence sometime. One of these will shortly be turned into a negro college, operated by the state.

Continuing Dr. Shepard said: "I am happy that the state has taken over the school for which I have worked so hard these past years and will run it through its own trustees. My one big hope is that it will be selected as the negro college site.

"In years past I have had to appeal to northerners for support, but even in this undertaking the greatest help I had came from two southern gentlemen. I refer to the late Gov. Robert B. Glenn and the later Federal Judge Peter C. Pritchard. The former was a Democrat, the latter a Republican. Each had the interest of the negro at heart.

"For several years the First Presbyterian Church, white, or Durham, has paid the salary of one of our teachers, amounting to $1,200 a year, and five white men have contributed $200 each to the school's support."

He named prominent white men all over the state, who have had a part in making substantial contributions to the National Training School, now the state's fourth negro normal. Other negro normal schools are at Elizabeth City, Fayetteville and Durham.

Negro's Home Is South.

"What do you think of negro migration north?" Dr. Shepard was asked.

"I don't think anything of it," was his quick reply. "Neither do the other negro leaders of the state. The negro's home is in the south. His best opportunities are here. Why should the members of my race be leaving a state that is doing more for them than any other state in the republic?"

Dr. Shepard laughed when reminded of some of the wild tales that are being told in the north about alleged "cruelties" to the negro in the south.

Another opponent of negro migration is Dr. James B. Dudley, president of the Negro Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro, N. C.

"We have suffered less from negro migration than any southern state," said Dr. Dudley. "You ask why? I am ready to give you the real answer. It is because the negro enjoys better educational advantages in North Carolina than in any other state, and because we receive justice in the courts."

Dr. Dudley expressed gratification state administration is doing for the members of his race and declared of Gov. Cameron Morrison, for whom one of the buildings at the negro A. & T. College will be named: "His bold and unprecedented stand for negro education, for good roads, his wonderfully progressive policies which have blessed North Carolina, including the negro, have profoundly impressed the negro leaders of the state. I do not know of a single one who is ungrateful or unsympathetic. Every negro leader, so far as I know, is ready to acclaim him one of the truly great governors."

Social Equity.

The question of so-called "social equality" is one that is never discussed among the really great negro leaders of the state. There is no demand for social intermingling.

"What are you doing among the negroes?" was asked of a member of the staff of the state board of health.

"The same things we are doing for the white people," was his reply.

Recently an amusing story found its way to North Carolina from a far northern state. A negro was wanted here for an alleged crime, and his defense against extradition was that he was wanted for "human slavery;" that slavery still existed in North Carolina and that negroes were sold for $15 a head. In another northern state a negro is fighting extradition on the ground that he cannot receive a "fair trial" in North Carolina. Such claims are as ridiculous as they are untrue. In many sections of the United States a negro is a novelty. In the south he is a necessity. In North Carolina his loyalty to his white friends, exemplified through his remaining at home, attending to his own business, consistently working out his own destiny, enjoying the confidence and respect of the white people, has helped to keep this the most truly American state in the Union.

North Carolina has made no bid for foreign-born immigrants. As a matter of fact, the sentiment here is decidedly against the importation of unnaturalized persons. It is realized that when the negro goes it will be necessary to look to other sources for labor. In 1920, out of a total population of 2,559,000, there were fewer than 8,000 foreign-born in North Carolina,

which, with his homogeneous population, has the highest birth rate in the United States.

The average negro here is a good American citizen and a loyal North Carolinian. He owes allegiance to no foreign country. With rare exception, he has a real, abiding faith in God, the exercise of which might well be emulated.

Now, the question arises: "What is North Carolina really doing for its negroes that commandes their loyalty and respect?"

Spending $4,000,000 Yearly.

The answer is simple. First of all, it is spending money to educate them, at the rate of nearly $4,000,000 a year. It is paying negro teachers nearly $2,000,000 a year, which is twice as much as was spent for all educational purposes by North Carolina in 1900, and it is putting up school houses at a cost of more than $1,000,000 a year. Last year North Carolina paid its negro teachers nearly a half million more thand uring the previous year.

Georgians Study Conditions

Atlanta, Ga., June 28.—In an effort to solve industrial problems and get a better understanding of why Negroes continue to leave the South, the Georgia Manufacturers Association sent a commission to all important industrial centers throughout the North to make a survey of the conditions among southern Negroes who have gone North.

That southern Negroes who have migrated to such cities as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Cleveland, are facing a rising tide of race prejudice and above all things are being gouged to the limit by avaricious landlords in Negro districts is charged in a statement issued by the commission following the investigation.

In Cincinnati many of the Negroes are being charged as high as $10 a week for one room, and three and four familes are living in one house, built for one because of the extreme congestion in the Negro quarters."

This statement was given the investigators by Benjamin W. Overton, executive secretary of the Colored Y. M. C. A., in Cincinnati, and is said to be an authority on Negro conditions in that city.

In Cleveland and other northern cities with a large foreign populaation, the southern Negroes are clashing with the foreigners who resent both the intrusion of the Negro into his quarters as the result of migration, and the Negro's competition with them in the field of labor. This statement was given by Dr. John L. McLeish, director of the America House in Cincinnati, and said to be an authority on conditions among the foreign born in the North.

In Cincinnati the Negro quarters are largely located on the Ohio river front in what is known as "The Bottoms," and which is partially or entirely flooded each year. During the floods the Negroes have to seek safety in other parts of the city, and many have been drowned in these annual floods. Because of the fearful congestion in these quarters the southern Negro has fallen prey to consumption and other diseases caused by cold and over-crowding.

What was found in Cincinnati is practically the same in all other northern industrial centers.

After reading the report issued by the Georgia Commission W. P. Bayless comments as follows: "Granting that southern Negroes suffer all the inconveniences pointed out by the southern commission representing manufacturing interests in the South the puzzling thing to me is why southern Negroes continue to come North in such increasing numbers and put up with such 'unbearable conditions as described. I know of Negroes who have gone back south and brought up their friends with them. And I have been told by scores of them that while they found conditions extremely hard to bear in the North, they found it much easier than what thew had to suffer in the South. I am confident that southern whites know why the Negroes are leaving and they also know what to do to keep the Negroes South, but they cannot bring themselves to the point where they can treat Negroes justly and fairly. When they actualy have a change of heart in their attitude toward the Negro I believe those who are there will remain and many will return."

JUL 9 1923

Not only southern negroes finding jobs very scarce in the north, but, in many instances they are also finding living conditions very hard. The situation is rapidly becoming acute, so much so, in fact, that every consideration of humanitty requires a wide dissemination of the truth. Unless something is done to check the lure of the North to these misguided people great suffering, and even death, will be the inevitable result. The north is unaccustomed to the negro as laborer, has no practical sympathy for him, and will not tolerate his idiosyncrasies. This is not natural, since the north does not know the negro, and, therefore, can not understand him. With mutual understanding sympathetic co-operation is an impossibility.

The great influx of negroes in many of the large centers of the north has developed into a situation that is causing grave concern, and unless some effective method is found to stop the inflowing tide it is not easy to fortell how disastrous the result may be.

A telegram published in the Atlanta Journal, from General Superintendent Dolan, of the Department of Public Welfare, Detroit, contains a warning the negro will do well to heed. "Unskilled colored labor is a drug on the market in Detroit" he says, adding "new arrivals are finding it difficult to find employment". Housing conditions are very bad, new arrivals being forced to live in over-crowded quarters, and to pay exhorbitant rates for them. Mr. Dolan adds this warning: "If the period of unskilled unemployment continues colored labor will be in dire straits", because the city of Detroit is not prepared to afford financial relief to "an influx of southern negroes, or non-residents of any class".

Conditions in Philadelphia are equally bad. The Society for Organized Charity, of that city, sends out the warning that negroes already there are living in overcrowded quarters and are a menace to health and life. There are no available houses in which to care for the influx of negroes. In April the Philadelphia housing association made a canvass of 61,135 houses and found only fifty-six that could be rented at less than fifty dollars a month, and few, if any, of these were available for negro tenants. The Society warns that "should widespread unemployment develop the condition of these new comers would be appalling".

From Cincinnati comes the information that southern negroes who have migrated to that city are being gouged to the limit by the landlords in the negro district, some of them being charged as much as ten dollars a week for one room. Three and four families are reported living in houses built for only one, because of the extreme congestion in the negro quarters.

Conditions in St. Louis, due to the constant influx of negroes, have already become so serious as to be a matter of very grave concern. A period of slack demand for negro labor would quickly result in suffering and death.

In Detroit it is said that fully seventy-five per cent. of the unidentified dead in the morgue are negroes.

There is prospect of a widespread slowing down in all industrial activities, which means a slackening in the demand for labor of all kinds, and especially unskilled. Our negro citizens will do well to heed these well meant warnings, and to remember that high wages, at a distance, seem alluring, but the cost of living, and living conditions as well, must always be taken into consideration. What seems inviting at a distance, on closer inspection may lose its attraction. Even a lesser wage, with more tolerable living conditions, and among friends, is something well worth thinking about.

Greenville, S. C., News

OCT 2 - 1923

WILL ADMONISH NEGROES TO REMAIN IN LAND OF COTTON

Leader Touring Dixie Says Blacks Fare Better In South.

Does the Southern negro gain anything by going North?

This question will be answ
Prof. W. A. Filler, negro e
and graduate of Yale Un
who will address a mass m
of negroes in Greenville on Oct
10, it was announced last night.

TO COUNSEL NEGROES

"The Migration of the Colored Man to the North" and some reasons, which in his opinion, warrant adherence to the sunny Southland on the part of the negro will be the negro leader's subject. Representing the Society for the advancement of the colored race, which has headquarters in Chicago, Filler has spent years in the study of negro problems, and has travelled extensively in the South during the last few months, in an effort to persuade the colored man that the North is not the land of wealth and luxury for the negro that it is fabled to be.

"The negro fares better in the South where he can work for white men who know him and his ways. The white people of the South understand the negro, and can use him to best advantage for himself", stated Filler, when discussing his intention of coming to Greenville to address the colored people.

Citing the instance of negroes from the South who were recently ordered to leave Johnstown, Pa., within 24 hours by the mayor of that city, Filler affirms that the Southern negro who sallies forth to the realms beyond he Mason-Dixon line with dreams of bigger wages and better living conditions is doomed to disappointment. The society Filler represents is now endeavoring to raise funds to transport the colored exiles from Johnstown reported to number 4,000 back to the "land of cotton he stated."

A sum of $4,000 has been expended by the negro organization within the last three months on railway transportation for negroes from northern points to the South. More than 1,800 colored people have been returned by the society to South Carolina during the last month from various large cities of the North.

CLIMATE IS DEADLY

Labor conditions and living conditions are unsuited for negroes in the North today, said Filler. The climate kills off the negroes almost as fast they migrate from the South There are no educational facilities for negro children in the large northern cities as there are in the South. Jobs are scarce, and while wages are slightly higher in the North, added living expenses more than consume the difference.

Filler will speak at negro mass mettings in Anderson and Columbia before coming to Greenville for his address on October 10, he said. A hall to be used as a meeting place is now being sought. The meeting will be advertised to negroes here through the pulpits of the colored churches.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

COLUMBIA, S.C. State
AUG 15 1923

A NEW SOUTH IN SIGHT.

The esteemed Kansas City Times is in absolute accord with The Columbia Record, in predicting a new and better day in the South as a result of the migration of the negro from this part of the country to the far North. The planter of the South, and indeed, many other industries may be temporarily harmed by the exodus of the negro, but the migration of the black will ultimately be a blessing to Dixie.

This newspaper has referred to that fact before. It has no hesitancy in reiterating such an opinion. People of the South are even now fairly complacent about the negro's departure. The class that is generally going North at the present titme have been more of a debit than an asset to the South. The black rush into the North will give the people who have been so willing to advise us about a square deal to try it themselves.

It diffuses the race problem—which was originally brought to America by the Down East Yankees—so that the question that has hovered about the negro since his advent into this country will have to be dealt with in the North and West as well as in the South. We do not know but what this program will be better for the public welfare and for both races.

But so far as the economic effect of the migration is concerned, we feel assured that it will mean far more scientific methods of farming in the South. Great as has been the development of agriculture in this part of the nation since the Civil War, there is yet room, yea great need of additional machinery in added improvements in farming all along the line in Dixie. Labor saving machinery on certain plantations of the South has already demonstrated its usefulness to the citizen and to the country.

With plenty of scientific farms here and there in Dixie, the rank and file of the farming population has gone on living from hand to mouth, going in debt in the Spring and paying out all they earned during the Summer for what they lived on while they made the crop. This endless chain system of living, depending on shoddy negro labor—for which the negro was in no sense to blame—has hurt the South in the past.

Our Kansas City, contemporary is eminently correct when it says that a ready supply of cheap labor for cotton production has retarded both the perfection and the use of machinery on the Southern farm. It has also assured the one-crop fallacy, so that when the price of cotton slumped, as it has a habit of doing six times out of ten, or more, the bottom fell out of business in the South, while the other parts of the nation which grew everything they could produce, were in the midst of prosperity.

But when the supply of haphazard cheap labor is exhausted modern machinery will make two stalks of cotton grow where one grew before, and it will make various other crops that we need in our lives daily as plentiful as the oats of Colonel Thompson's colt. More extensive cultivation, fertilization and greater production per acre is a necessity that is paramount to all protective tariffs and enforcement laws in the nation.

The negro is taking a long chance on establishing himself in the midst of his Northern advisors, but the South will profit by his move. A breaking up of the old order of business relations in the South, in fact, throughout the nation, will not be a bad thing for the public welfare.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

JUL 8 - 1923

AS TO NEGRO EMIGRATION.

On this page is a communication from Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, president of Oglethorpe university, relative to the negro emigration problem, that is worthy of most careful reading and thought.

The Constitution does not agree with Dr. Jacobs in all his conclusions, and we are particularly of the opinion that the south is the best place for the negro. It is best for the whites that he remain here.

We agree with Dr. Jacobs that the negro is entitled to fair treatment. Public sentiment should demand that he receive it.

There can be no doubt, however, that the question of the negro leaving the south in such large numbers is not an altogether one-sided one.

Dr. Jacobs takes a different, and perhaps an equally logical, view of the situation—and in some respects a broader view—than most of the southern men of either race who have thus far expressed themselves in the public prints.

For instance, he believes, and argues his points quite convincingly, that the negro exodus from the south to the north and west is not without its compensating benefits to the south, to the southern white farm population, to the economic and political equilibrium of the nation and to the negro himself.

His course of reasoning is thoroughly connected, and is based upon the following conclusions—

First—That the negro is primarily a laborer, thus fits into industry; and by going north to meet present demands he not only receives higher wages than are obtainable in the south, with better school and housing conditions, but that through the process of a quota leaving the south those who remain in the south thus automatically get their own economic conditions improved; that is to say, that the wages in the south begin to advance to more nearly strike a balance, and that living conditions are improved as congestion is relieved, and the real worth of the negro as a laborer is thus more keenly appreciated.

This argument is undoubtedly along sound economic lines. So long as the negro should remain an unchangeable fixity in the south just so long would there be no impelling incentive for remedying those economic conditions of which he has a right, in some ways, to complain.

Second—That the white labor of the south is advantaged by the exodus.

Removing the overlapping competition of negro labor; at least bringing it down to a more balanced basis, must necessarily improve the demand for, and thus the condition of, southern white labor, and particularly on the farms.

One of the crying needs of the hour is more inviting rural conditions—more attractive community life—and around this revolves the social as well as the economic condition of the white farm hand, and the tendency toward which public thought is coming, that of supplanting tenancy with farm ownership, and automatically higher estimates of citizenship.

There can be no doubt that the thinning out of the negro surplus in many of the rural sections of Georgia will have a heartening and an uplifting influence upon the provident whites who are left.

Poverty may block progress, but it does not necessarily destroy ambition; and the enlargement of a horizon of usefulness is the greatest known incentive to ambition.

There is sound truth in Dr. Jacobs' conclusion that so long as the white people of Georgia look upon the farm work as a work for the negro hired hand to do so long will Georgia farmers be below the average of the best farmers of other agricultural states where all farm labor is white, and where it is inviting and inspiring to be employed in the great industry of agriculture.

Third—The political effect of an equitable distribution of the negro throughout the states of the union, thus removing the "problem" from any state or section.

Dr. Jacobs argues that this will be a decided advantage to the negro, because the tension between the races will never be over until he ceases to be a problem, and this can never be until he ceases to be a predominant or even a dominating factor in population in any state or section.

He takes the position that as soon as the natural increase of the negro is no greater than or less than that of the white man in the south the whole attitude of the races to one another will change to that of helpfulness, and the negro will be able to attain a hold and a place in American life as a citizen that is denied him under present conditions.

Dr. Jacobs' conclusion, as to this feature of his argument, is that if the negro should be evenly distributed over the United States he would not amount to more than 10 per cent of the population of any state, thereby he would cease to be a problem and become a citizen of the United States with rights and privileges unabridged.

The fourth and last point which Dr. Jacobs makes is perhaps the most vital, and that is that white farmers from northern Europe and from the great northwest, so provident and so powerful in the building of that great section of this country, can never be attracted to the south, with all of its superior advantages, until the negro has ceased to be a problem in the south, and until he ceases to be a predominating competitor to frugal white farm labor reared and trained in a section unaccustomed to the negro.

These are all thoughts of appeal, and Dr. Jacobs' discussion will no doubt create widespread interest and comment.

The southern white man, as a whole, has always been the negro's best friend, but there is no mistaking the fact that the human disposition "to let well enough alone" has retarded southern agriculture, evolved a certain degree of lethargy and obstructed that spirit of quickened thrift on the farms that have made the per capita wealth of the farming states of the white belt a great deal higher than in Georgia, or any other southern state, even North Carolina.

At any rate Dr. Jacobs' very able paper is food for deep and serious thought.

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
MAY 27, 1923

The South and the Negro.

The Chronicle has received from Hon. Richard H. Edmonds, Editor of the Baltimore Manufacturers Record, a clear-cut discussion of the subject of migration from the South to the North. We regard this discussion, by this gentleman, as of the highest importance, and submit the letter with confidence that it will command the deepest interest and consideration:

Letter From Hon. Richard H. Edmonds.

Editor Chronicle:

Sir:—In a recent issue of the Chronicle there was an article by Mr. N. L. Willet entitled "The Negro, South and North," in which he says, There is a Baltimore journal that reads a lecture to the South as to the negro wages and conditions and invites the negro to Baltimore, citing the fact of Baltimore negro schools, negro churches and negro real estate owners. As a matter of fact, there are more well-to-do negroes and compartively wealthy here in Augusta and more comfortable homes per capita owned by them than can be found in any northern city in the country."

Now, my friend, Mr. Willet, instead of saying a "Baltimore journal" might just as well have said the Manufacturers Record and instead of saying that we were trying to invite the negro to Baltimore, he might have stated the exact facts. We were not inviting the negro to Baltimore. We were trying to show that the South must meet the conditions which exist in Baltimore and elsewhere for the comfortable housing of negroes, if it is going to keep the negroes in the South. Baltimore has over 100,000 negroes but there isn't a negro house in this whole city that hasn't a bathroom, for there is a law in Baltimore in operation for twenty or twenty-five years or more which forbids the building of any dwelling in the city, however humble it may be, without a bathroom and sanitary facilities. In mentioning this fact and citing as one indication of how Baltimore is seeking to educate the negro here, that it is building a negro high school at a cost of $1,250,000 I was simply trying to indicate some of the ways which the South must carry on its campaign to retain the better class of its negroes.

There are a great many negroes in the South whose leaving would be for the good of the South, but many of those who are leaving are among the class whose leaving is a direct loss to the South. I have never been much disturbed by the movement of negro population from the South to the North and West. It has some temporary hardships but in the long run it will be better for the South and for other sections. It will shift the negro problem which has heretofore been purely a Southern problem and make it a national problem. It will show to the people of New England for instance, who have often berated the South for negro illiteracy, the problem which the South has faced and heroically carried. The West will learn much on the same subject, and therefore instead of this being purely a sectional problem as we have had in the past, it will become national.

To some extent the negro will be disillusioned as he seeks to make a living in the North and West. He will find in many cases that he hasn't the same degree of sympathy of the better class of people that he had in the South. He will probably find the struggle in the end, in times of depression, a little harder on him than he had to endure in the South, but many negroes will succeed in the North and West, just as they are now doing. The thought of the better homes such as those for instance which exists in Baltimore for them will be helpful and will stimulate larger desires on the part of the whole negro race.

I was talking yesterday with one of the really great young-old men or old-young men of the country, Henry M. Leland of Detroit, eighty-one years young, full of vitality and vigor and enthusiasm and love of work. He told me of an experience which he had once, when many years ago he established a foundry in Detroit. After it had been running a few weeks, one of his best men was fined $50 by his labor union and made about 50 cents one day over the union rate of wages, which at that time, as I remember the figure, was $2 a day. The union had a rule that no man should be allowed to earn over that amount. Mr. Leland found that the secretary and president of that labor union were in his employ. He had them come up to his office and he pointed out to them the absurdity of limiting their amount of income. He said, "You cannot possibly take care of your family with reasonable comfort and save any money on $2 a day; I will gladly pay you whatever you earn if you will take off your maximum limit." His offer impressed them and at the next meeting of the union they agreed to raise the limit so that a man could earn $2.50 a day and they came back thinking that they had won a victory. Again Mr. Leland pointed out the folly of limiting themselves to small wages and after two or three trips back and forth, these men succeeded in having their labor organization cut out entirely the limit of pay and earned whatever they could. Mr. Leland said to them, "If you earn $5 a day more, it will give me great pleasure to pay it; you will be better off; you probably won't save much because when you get $5 a day instead of $2, you will want to live better, you will buy a carpet or a dress for your wife or something else, but you will be living with more comforts and attractions in your home and the spending of the $5 a day will make more general prosperity than will be the spending of the $2 a day to which you have been limiting yourselves."

That argument of Mr. Leland's applies with equal force to the day laborer, whether he be white the burden of low pay for negroes. Every ining a living. If he gets a little higher pay or makes a little more money, he surrounds himself and his family with a few more comforts, provides a little better for his family, develops himself with his family to a little higher standard and in doing so helps to add to the prosperity of the entire community.

The whole South would be benefited by developing, on the part of the negroes, a larger desire for more home comforts and conveniences, for once the desire is created and the opportunity is opened, people will work harder in order to achieve these things and that means more work, more production, more money spent, more happiness and more prosperity.

No man dare say that the rate of wages in the South on the farms for white and black men alike has not been too low. This has been a powerful weight pressing down wages and salaries of every class of people throughout the South. The white man's burden in the South has been the burden of low wages, and low salaries, due to carrying the burden of low pay for negroes. Every intelligent man knows that much of the prosperity of the Pacific Coast is due to the high rate of wages paid and the high salaries of clerks, teachers and preaches, and so it will be in the South. When we lift the rate of pay in the South, we will lift comforts and standards of living, we will lift burdens from many hard pressed teachers and preachers and salaried men and women; we will increase the circulation of money and all to the prosperity of everybody.

Some say it cannot be done by reason of the low prices which have prevailed for cotton. Then let us cut our cotton crop to the quick until cotton brings a price which will enable us to pay good wages. Let us create on the part of the negro and the poorer class of white people a desire for better homes with modern, sanitary conditions and we will increase the healthiness of all classes and the prosperity of everybody.

If out of the negro movement and the discussion that this has brought about, there shall come a broadening vision of the South in favor of higher wages and higher salaries, the loss of the comparatively few negroes who are going North and West will prove a very great blessing to the whole South.

But, do not let your good writer, Mr. Willet, say that I am trying to read a lecture to the South as to negro wages and conditions. Having been writing on Southern questions for something over forty years, I feel that I can at least be permitted to continue to express my opinions on any and every phase of every question that bears on the progress and prosperity of the South.

Very truly yours,
RICHARD H. EDMONDS, Editor.

Baltimore, Md., May 22.

SALISBURY, N. C., Truth

AUG 30 1923

SALISBURY MAN HEARS PITIFUL STORY OF SOUTHERN NEGROES ANXIOUS TO LEAVE THE NORTH

The fact that many of the negroes that migrated from the South to the steel districts of Pennsylvania and other industrial centers in the North were misled, are dissatisfied and are taking advantage of the first opportunity to get back home, is attested to by a well known Salisburian, Dr. S. O. Holland, who has just returned from a business trip that took him to Ohio and back through Pennsylvania.

Dr. Holland, on his return, came in contact with a large party of negroes, between fifty and sixty, who were returning to the South by way of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, having saved enough money for railroad fare and invested their first spare money in tickets to their former homes are as near them as possible.

The Salisbury man was interested in the matter and sought information from some of the men and learned that they were from points in South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. They had been induced to migrate north by labor agents and alluring stories of good wages and splendid living conditions, but they said they found conditions anything else.

Some of the men said they went to the steel districts on promise of $5 a day, good board and housing conditions. After getting there and going to work on one pretext or another the men were not given $5 a day jobs but the best paid of them stated that they drew only $3.60 a day, while others were paid less, and that the food was not sufficient either in quantity or variety for a laboring man and that the sleeping quarters were miserable, the men being housed in crowded and cheap dormitories ,with only such accommodations as the companies were forced to furnish. One of the men told Dr. Holland that from what he had heard of slave days in the South they snaps in comparison with what many of the negroes who had gone north recently were encountering.

They were all keenly disappointed and were glad to be on the way back South, declaring they had had enough of the North and would remain in their former sections once they got back.

However, it was said there are some few negroes who have gone to some sections and secured very good jobs with reasonable living conditions, but these are few, and that they were not drawn there through the efforts of labor agents but had gone voluntarily after investigating matters in connection with the jobs they were to take.

The men with whom Dr. Holland talked stated that large numbers of negroes who had left the farms and construction jobs of the South were leaving and returning home and that many others were anxious to do so and would take the first opportunity to get back south of the Mason and Dixon line.

The Salisbury man said it was really pitiful to see these negro men in large numbers, some of them with only railroad tickets and no money, making their way back south, and to hear their stories of how they had been enticed to leave under alluring promises and then to find the situation just the opposite.

It was said that it was true there was a labor shortage in the industrial sections, especially the steel districts, due to the restriction of immigration, but that the Southern negro was not accustomed to living under conditions such as the horde of cheap, ignorant element in these districts had been doing.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

JUL 15 1923

"I HEAR YO' CALLIN' ME"

It is Estimated that 100,000 Negroes Have Left the Farm Districts of the South for Industrial Plants in the North

—Journal of the American Bankers Association.

Immediate Cure Of Negro Exodus Sought by Club

Effort to find an effective temporary remedy for the negro migration was begun by the negro migration committee of the City club at its first meeting, it was anounced Saturday by Joel B. Hunter, chairman. Opinions of members of the committee and prominent men from al parts of the state were submitted to the committee by Charles E. Robertson, secretary of the City club, in line with the program of the club to make a general survey of the situation with a view to recommending methods of dealing with the problem, both as an acute temporary emergency, and in its more general phase as a movement which actually has been in progress at a slower rate for the last 50 years.

Members of the committee who discussed the problem at the meeting were Joel B. Hunter, chairman; Josiah T. Ross, C. W. McClure, Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, Otto Schwab, Walter McElreath, Judge George O. Grogan, of Elberton, and Stewart F. Gelders, secretary, and Charles E. Robertson. Others whose suggestions were considered by the committee were William C. Bradley, Judge Blanton Fortson, of Atlanta; G. D. Perry, of Madison; J. S Hall, of Barnesville; J. T. Hollomon and others.

"We realize," said Joel B. Hunter, chairman, after the meeting, "that the question involves both a temporary and a permanent aspect, which makes our task much more difficult. There are certain remedies which might retard the movement over which no committee nor organization has the slightest control and it is altogether problematical whether such remedies would prove effective.

"The City club has no notion that it can solve the whole question which goes back more than 50 years, and which vitally concerns every phase of life in the south," he continued. "It is the earnest hope of our committee that our survey may clarify the situation and contribute in some degree to a basis for an enlightened public opinion. If we can accomplish that, we shall have rendered a lasting service and have justified the contention of the City club that it seeks to ascertain the truth on matters which affect the welfare of our common wealth."

No Legislative Remedy

Confronted at every harvest time with the problem of irregular and scarce labor, the South is faced this year by a very exaggerated situation the seriousness of which is enough to create general concern. Attracted by the higher wages and better living conditions of the North, the Negro population is moving out of the Dixie territory in numbers so large that a common alarm has set in. Georgia, for instance, is threatened by losses estimated for this year at $27,000,000. In the wake of the exodus of Negroes, according to an Atlanta banker, are 46,67[illegible] vacant farm houses and 55,524 idle plows. Thousands of untilled acres and empty dwellings stare at the tourist. There is absolutely no demand for the improved farm lands which in 1919 produced from $40 to $75 an acre.

Some of the figures given are actually startling, and though they deal with Georgia alone they represent conditions equally applicable to the adjoining states. Since the beginning of the year 80,000 Negroes have migrated northward and 30,000 white laborers have followed. The Georgia Bankers' association computes a population loss in three years of 230,000. Carried over the entire South the total of the shift must be enormous.

In an official way Georgia is trying to meet the situation with a mistake. It is trying to legislate its way out of the dilemma by hampering and penalizing the numerous labor agencies which has sprung up—measures as futile as Canute's edict aganst the rising tide. The exodus continues, and it will continue until the economic balance is restored. The bankers deprecate all legislative remedies and urge better living accommodations and a wage scale more nearly the northern level; and undoubtedly they are right. That alone will check the abnormal population shift.—Pioneer Press.

Ponchatoula Farmer Telegram
Aug 29 1923

The Negro Exodus Will Not Hurt Georgia.

Ga.

AUG 24 1923

The negro exodus will not hurt Georgia in the long run. It means death to the large farms which have hurt the state.

If farm products could be sold for more than the cost of production there would be a plenty of labor. The white men of Georgia would be glad to stay on the farm if there was a living there.

If there was a real marketing system inagurated whereby the farmers could sell their products for what they are worth, you'd see white men working small farms of their own and enjoying a good income. With the exodus of of negro labor and good prices for farm products, you'd see the large farms cut up into small ones and each one of the lesser ones owned by a prosperous and contented white man. With such a condition Georgia would become great.

MEMPHIS, TENN. Com'l-Appeal
SEP 1 6 1923

NEGRO EXODUS OFFSET BY TREK HOMEWARD

Average of 1,200 Leave Weekly; 700 Return.

LABOR MARKET SWAMPED

Local Railroad Official Says Blacks Coaxed Northward by Letters From Friends and Relatives, Not Labor Agents.

The general exodus of negroes to points in the north is offset to a great extent by the return to the south of negroes who, unable to find employment in northern cities, are returning to their former homes to resume their places in the cotton fields, according to information gathered by R. J. Carmichael, assistant general passenger agent at Memphis for the Illinois Central system.

The bulk of the negro exodus is handled out of Memphis by the Illinois Central Railroad and an average of 1,200 negroes are going north each week, in extra cars attached to regular trains every day and a special train each Saturday night. To offset this exodus that has presented a serious labor problem to the south, an average of about 700 negroes are returning to the south each week, present statistics show.

"My opinion is that southern negroes are finding the labor market in Chicago flooded, and, unable to secure work, they are coming back home," Mr. Carmichael said yesterday.

"My information is that great numbers of men are out of work in Chicago and that sections of some of the streets there present scenes reminding one of periods of depression rather than time of prosperity.

"We are operating daily two or three extra coaches out of Memphis for Chicago, to handle the negro travel from here. On Saturday nights we operate a special train and it is invariably well filled and often crowded.

Hundreds Coming Back.

"Our statistics show that about 700 negroes are leaving Chicago each week for points in the south. I have no exact information as to the cause for their return other than reports emanating from Chicago that there is a surplus of labor there."

"Campaigns against labor agents are, in my opinion, a waste of time and energy. Many negroes have gone north and secured work and they have written to friends and relatives at home urging them to go north. In some instances these letters have been written at the instance of foremen and superintendents at points in the north, where negro labor is employed."

Negroes Want to Come Back.

In response to inquiries in several northern cities as to the possibility of securing negro labor in the event it may be wanted during the cotton picking season, the Southern Alluvial Land Association here has been informed that it will be possible to get negro laborers who went north in the last few months and who are now anxious to return "home," but the number obtainable likely will not be large.

"Frankly, I must say that I am in no position to say in just what numbers families can be secured," wrote a St. Louis labor agent, "but I feel reasonably certain that negro single men can be secured in good numbers. This varies at times. I would judge that from 10 to 25 men can be gotten at one time on short notice; more if we have a few days to advertise."

The same agency reported it had just sent 40 negro laborers into Oklahoma for railroad track work at 30 cents an hour, most of them leaving jobs paying 40 and 45 cents an hour.

"A great many are sorry they came north, as there is a growing depression at hand and the 'darkies' seem to get released when things become bad, and I feel safe in saying that many have not the money to return home, as much as they would like to. This condition is not as manifest here as it is farther north."

OCTOBER 7, 1923

HOUSING SHORTAGE DRIVES NEGROES TO TENTS IN DETROIT

Landlords Boost Rents to Blacks Living in Same Buildings With Whites.

MIGRATION WAVE AT ITS PEAK LAST JULY.

Many Cities of North Find Problem of Living Quarters Severe as Winter Comes.

By LESTER A. WALTON

The high water mark of the Negro migration wave has been reached. Ebb tide has set in. Nevertheless the abnormal rush of Southern Negro farm hands to Northern industrial centres, which started last December, has left in its trail resultant effects more tangible and outspoken in October than they were in July. Especially has the housing shortage among Negroes in Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis come to be generally recognized as most disturbing.

Migrants are living in tents in the suburbs of Detroit, so acute has the housing problem become in a city which had a Negro population of 5,741 in 1910, and to-day one of 53,000. In the northwestern section of Detroit, about eight miles from the business district, Negroes are buying building lots averaging $1,300 each on monthly payments. They live under canvas but are making desperate efforts to erect cottages before cold weather sets in.

Detroit Is Unique.

In one respect the housing situation among migrants in Detroit is dissimilar to that existing in other large Northern communities in that outside of the St. Antoine Street section there are few distinctively Negro districts. For blocks and blocks Negro tenants occupy one floor of a house and Jewish or Italian tenants the other.

A much higher rent is almost invariably demanded of the Negro tenant. Although living in the same house, he is required to pay on an average of $11 a room monthly while the white tenant pays only $9.50. On Chapel Street are two houses of the same design and size. One, tenanted by a Jewish family, rents for $35 a month; the other, in which resides a Negro family, rents for $60.

This policy of charging Negro tenants more rent than whites for the same housing accommodations is not confined to Detroit. The Negro migrant in Chicago faces a like situation. This summer officials of the United Charities of Chicago became perturbed over what they first suspected was a plot of the Negro from the South to get relief money from the organization by misrepresenting facts. A comparison of stories related by applicants for financial assistance brought to their attention that the Negro migrant always put his rent far in excess of others.

A survey was made by the United Charities. Investigators learned that for the same type of houses in the same area a higher rental was exacted of the Negro tenant than the white. A notable example of this inequality was found in the stockyards district, where Negro families were charged $25.50 monthly and Polish families $12.18 for the same type of houses.

Rents in Chicago.

The prevailing rate among Negroes for the rental of houses in Chicago is approximately $12.50 a room monthly, although some pay $15 a room for more desirable dwellings. The elastic schedule at present operative is as follows: Five rooms, $57; six rooms, $80; eight rooms, $100.

"Why don't philanthropically inclined citizens of wealth build model tenement houses for the poorer classes of both races in our large cities, which venture, aside from its humanitarian feature, should prove financially productive?" I have repeatedly asked sociologists. To date no satisfactory answer has been forthcoming.

Statistics obtainable in Chicago and Detroit show that while a goodly number of migrants came North in August and September, the peak of the wave was reached in July. All records for the number of migrants entering into Chicago on one day were broken July 21, when nine extra carloads were brought in over the Illinois Central.

In six days 3,603 Negroes from the South rode into Chicago, the figures being: Sunday, June 17, 918; Monday, June 18, 112; Sunday, June 24, 818; Monday, June 25, 102; Sunday, July 1, 892; Sunday, July 8, 761.

During June, July and the first part of August between 700 and 900 Negro migrants were going to Detroit each week. By the last of August and the first two weeks in September the number had decreased to between 250 and 300 weekly.

The Southern Negro is not the only migrant who has invaded Detroit in large numbers. Out of a total population of 1,200,000 in the metropolitan area of Detroit more than 800,000, or 67 per cent., are of foreign-born parentage.

Three hundred and forty thousand are alien born.

JOURNAL
SEP 9 1923

W. WOODS WHITE POINTS REMEDY FOR MIGRATION PROBLEM

An address by W. Woods White, well-known Atlantian, on the relation of the southern negro to the law, featured a meeting at the Big Bethel A. M. E. church Sunday afternoon, at which the negro migration problem was discussed.

The meeting was held in connection with the educational and thanksgiving anniversary of the Big Bethel church.

Mr. White stressed the importance of support of the law on the part of negroes.

"Think the whole thing over slowly and then make your decision," he said. "Show an interest in your brothers and care for them. That is the only way to build a nation and a great civilization such as we have in making. We must be patient."

Judge George Hillyer declared the negro question in the south was an old problem and one that would take the best thought of both races to solve.

"Prior to 1865," he said, "there probably were not five separate churches for negroes in the entire south. During that time the negroes sat in a gallery and the white people on the ground floor. There was a better feeling between the races then."

Clark Howell, Jr., of the Atlanta Constitution, also spoke, stressing the economic and social disadvantages confronting the negro in other sections and contrasting them with the advantages offered by southern institutions, and emphasizing the fact that the white men of the south sympathize with the negro and are more willing to work for his best interests.

Dr. Richard Stinson, of the Atlanta Normal and Industrial institute, spoke in behalf of his race, declaring that the normal school already had done much to eradicate illiteracy among the negroes of the south, but that it needed more money to carry on its work.

MIGRANT NEGROES RETURNING TO SOUTH

Dissatisfied With Conditions in North and West.

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

(New York Herald-The Commercial Appeal Special.)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10.—Reports from various southern states indicate that large numbers of the negroes who migrated to the north and west during the late spring and early summer have returned to their native homes. The back-home movement has not become general, but many dissatisfied individuals have landed on the cotton plantations from where they started.

9-11-23

It was pointed out at the Department of Agriculture that cotton picking season, which always attracts native southern negroes, is at hand and that cold weather will drive some of those that went north during the warm weather back to a warmer zone.

Department of Labor investigators have found that the negro is taking the places of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, now barred from this country by immigration laws which limit their number to be admitted. They believe the migration from the south will continue as long as the ban is in force against the Italians, Montenegrins and others, who would swarm into the United States if the bars were let down for a few weeks. The normal immigration last year, it is estimated, would have exceeded 2,000,000. A million came in in 1907 and 1,250,000 in 1914.

High wages and demand for labor have aroused a desire in millions of foreigners to come to this country. Italy alone would have sent over 500,000 and Russia nearer a million.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

STEADY STREAM OF RACE MOVING NORTH

Three Hundred Query Answers From All Sections Show Growers Are Leaving.

RICHMOND, Va., June 15. (Special)—Three hundred replies from correspondents representing practically every section of Virginia have been sufficient to convince the State Department of Agriculture that the exodus of the farm labor has become a menace to rural prosperity.

The replies from correspondents are the result of a recent survey of the farm labor situation in Virginia made by George W. Koiner, State Commissioner of Agriculture, and by Henry M. Taylor, statistician in the United States Department of Agriculture.

835 Families Left Farms

The officials named dispatched a special inquiry to more than 500 correspondents in the State, from whom replies have been received from upward of 300. Correspondents were asked how many families in their communities had left farms to go to the cities, and how many families had come from the cities to the farms.

Replies show that a total of 835 families have this spring left the farms for the cities, while only 144 families have recently moved to the farms. This means that for every 100 families that have left the farms only 17 came to take their places.

In each community represented by reports there has been an average of 10 Negro laborers who have left the farms for other work.

Negro Exodus Tremendous

A total of 2,600 colored laborers were shown to have left the country for Nothern industrial centers, according to 268 of the reports from correspondents. This, in the opinion of Statistician Taylor, represents but a very small percentage of the actual number which have left the State.

Shortage of Negro labor throughout the country sections of the State is reported to be as acute as at the close of the World War. The situation in the estimation of Commissioner Koiner may soon become alarming.

"There are many reasons for the present large movement of farm families and farm labor from the country to the city," said Mr. Koiner today, "the principal one being the economic disadvantages suffered by farmers by reason of the low price of farm products.

Gain By Sticking Eventually

"Unfair returns received during the last three years by farmers have made it impossible for them to supply their families with comforts and luxuries now enjoyed by the worker in other lines of industry. These returns also render it impossible for them to compete in bidding for labor against road contractors, sawmill operators and city manufacturers. Without labor farm production will necessarily decrease. This, in turn, will result after a time in higher prices for farm products, so the man who sticks to the farm will gain in the long run, but he is sorely tempted to quit under present condition. The only way in which the farmer can improve his condition is through co-operative effort in both production and marketing."

Negroes Still Push North

At least one editor of a Negro publication has recently pointed out the dangers to his people of rushing unprepared into competition with Northern workers and laboring under unfamiliar conditions.

In the meantime the stream of Negro emigrants still pushes North.

ANDERSON S. C. MAIL
JUNE 24 1923

Letters To The Editor

NEGRO MIGRATION

Among many things of twitching unrest these days in reading of newspapers is the mention of negroes. Readings previously of history pertaining to negro biology and their place upon the map of continnents, showed that the negro entered South Carolina with the white man. Given a nature to rise, he would from bonds even such as were his, escape his inferior misfortune and find his place rightly among strugglers who, still deficient, are in line with the superior white race.

Russia, Poland, other serf lands of the past, were as heavily held backward, but they are rising and will entirely escape. Their crimes are not degenerate or qualmish, only turbulently destructive.

A recent article in the Tribune republished from a church paper, on first settlers of the Piedmont section, told of one who, coming in with his horse and wagons, brought also with him a negro from, I think it was Pennsylvania, and this first settler declared in a letter—which portion was quoted—that this negro was the first seen in South Carolina. He may have meant or said Piedmont section, but my mind returned to what I had read, that at the time specified by the new Piedmontese, giving the year which I recall as somewhere between 1750 and 1800, or not much earlier, there were in South Carolina many thousands of negroes, and the first negro came in company with the first white man who in his letter to England to Lord Ashley Cooper a lord proprietor, said:

"My Lord, I have heatherto bine as greate an incourager as any one ordinary man upon the designe (of colonizing Carolina) . . . I am having put on 6 head of cattle that my people have milk enough twice a day . . . also 7 hogs, 3 sheep, 6 geese, 8 turkies, 12 foules, with provisions enough for my people which is one lusty negro man, 3 Christian servants, an overseer" etc. This captain, Henry Bragne, English sea captain, in his voyage to Virginia, thence to the islands south, had brought his negro from the Barbadoes, where the wealthiest, the most extravagant British owners had shown politest of social customs even to servants, so that the negro had a good beginning in starting the new life of negro character-making, which was his opportunity in the South. This beginning of the Carolina negro was in 1670. Only four years later than South Carolina was known.

The white people increased greatly through their coming in from overseas and from the adjoining islands, so with them their property increased, and their need for laboring class began the purchase of negro laborers. Direct disinctions were marked, and law and order established after the high class ritualism of British sovereignty. Governor Sothell twenty years later, in 1690, made a law for the negroes which was the first South Carolina slave code. With that which regulated slave ownership in the Barbadoes and practiced in Carolina, the Governor couled a slave rights law: This provided for punishment of any who killed a slave and bound the owner to properly clothe and provide for his slaves.

The slave trade was growing. It was custom of the times wherever black and white mingled. The numbers were dangerous unless a higher than slavery actuated the life of the negro, so the white people introduced Christianity among them, hoping that the ideals of dwelling after this life in mansions above the sky, and the tenderness of the One who loved and awaited them there, would raise their minds into higher aspirations and light up within them a spark of nobleness. Churchmen of the day through strong religious influence compelled freeing many slaves; by so doing this would modify differences and preserve safety in society.

But it was found that the admixture of free negroes in those day availed not for satisfaction toward higher order of safety. A revised code which specified continuation in bondage and making kindness the rule where the negro character would allow. This code was made in 1712. Constant agitation still provoking church and assembly into newer designs for the negro betterment and peace of the province. England becoming aware of the transitory state between master and slave, the Established church sent in 1722 to her English planters in America a pastoral letter:

"The freedom which Christianity gives is Freedom from the bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward condition whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized and becoming Christians makes no manner of change at all."

Slave trade was increasing, and about 1738-39 as many from native and foreign lands as 2,600 or 2,800 were gaining yearly entrance to Carolina. The undesirables and unmanageables of native sections were rushed in and sold to the cotton planters. Carolinians bought and did not want them soon after. Work was deficient and food and safety problems became rasping. They tried the remedy of taxation, 10 pounds or about $50 per head on Africans from Africa, who could in their innocent wildness be chained, while domesticated 50 pounds—$250—on negroes from anywhere in America, whose passion could not be chained, and whose kind were already bitterly dangerous to the settlements. The taxing duty failed to prohibit. Unprincipled merchandise by commercial taskmasters overran the land. Then came the insurrection of 1739.

The Spaniards in neighboring islands were jealous of the numbers of cheap negroes in Carolina. St. Augustine Spaniards wanted them as a trained military organization to serve against their Carolina masters in the ever threatening Invasion, so the bribes incited the negroes against their owners. Much bloodshed and final quieting of the duped blacks ensued, but the better element of charity in the white men originated better state of laws in the new code of 1740. No slave, not even by his master, under penalty equal to $50, should be compelled to work other than a necessity on the Lord's Day. Strong liquor was prohibited. He was decently cared for and should not work more than fifteen hours in twenty-four. Punishment awaited the white man whose cruelty unjustly injured the black in life or limb. The oath of the slave was taken against those who abused him unless the oats of two white witnesses testified to the contrary and many other humane provisions which remained the slave code up to the days of Secession.

The uppermost thought in mind at this writing is where were the first settlers of the Piedmont section while all this negro history was in progress in South Carolina? All of this had taken place before they brought their "first negro" to the foothills. There were many good mammies, aunties and uncles tender hearted as the little nurse girl who held the crippled body of white child in the clasped arms of her own burned body in the Camden school fire. This great historical pageant had gone by but they thought their negro was the first in the South's experience. Newspapers, lack of newspapers and readers could alone explain the mystery.

Rebecca R. Lee.

N Y C WORLD
JULY 1, 1923

EDITORS IN SOUTH ASK SQUARE DEAL FOR THE NEGROES

Exodus From Many States Below Mason and Dixon Line Stirs Heart Searching Talk.

By LESTER A. WALTON

The frank analytical discussions on the causes of Negro migration, engaged in by editors of Southern dailies who are courageously demanding a square deal for the Negro in the South, should not escape the attention of the North. Many of the leading editors of that section do not hesitate to say that conditions will have to be materially changed if the migration wave is to materially subside.

"Let no Southern white man dodge the issue by contending that the Negro always gets a square deal here. He doesn't, and he knows it; and his white neighbors know it," says the Albany (Ga.) Herald.

"No people want to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror that people like to run away from," declares the Macon Tel-

egraph. "Unfortunately some night-riding has had no better than that the Negro drove an automobile or engaged in some new business that conventional prejudice was not accustomed to. Happily the whipping of Negroes for owning and driving cars has disappeared from most places, but the state of mind that caused things of this character and tolerated them is unfavorable to justice and opportunity to the Negro, and one of the shames of the worst moods of certain classes of the South."

The Enquirer-Sun of Columbus, Ga., thus comments on the exodus: "From time to time, for more than two years, the Enquirer-Sun has attempted to draw attention to the fact that the Negro was—and he still is—leaving the South in large numbers. Furthermore, we have asserted that the principal reason for the exodus is that he is not fairly treated in the South—that he does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and that he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs. Those who rent him houses think that any sort of shack is good enough for the Negro.

We have been asked to make it clear that the South is the best place for the Negro, particularly its climate; but climatic conditions mean nothing if a human being, black or white, feels that he is unjustly treated, feels that his life and property are not safe from night riders and cowardly masked organizations; if he feels that he has no voice in making the laws under which he must live. In the past certain newspapers have looked upon our warnings as the result of an alarmist attitude. We have no feeling of pride in the fact that we are right. Our sentiment is one of chagrin and regret that we are not strong enough to prevent what is happening and what will continue to happen unless we decide to make it known that we intend to assert our Anglo-Saxon love of fair play."

"Why not tell the truth about the exodus?" inquires the Jackson, Miss., Daily News. "Nothing can be gained by fooling ourselves. We are facing a condition, not a theory. The Negroes are moving northward because they are offered better wages. The plain gospel truth is that we have not been giving the Negro a square deal on the wage question. This applies to the agricultural districts as well as the industrial centres. The wage scale for Negro labor has been too low. Worse than this, our employers of Negro labor have not shown their employees the kindly consideration they deserve. Housing conditions are almost invariably bad.

"Take in the matter of house servants. The average cook here in Jackson is paid $5 per week—and what she can carry off. She pays $2.50 per week rental for the hovel in which she lives—usually a two-room cabin—and usually she has a family to support. How in the name of common sense can your cook clothe herself, buy food for herself and family and meet other living expenses on $2.50 per week? She carries food in good-ly quantities out of your kitchen because she is forced to do it in order to keep body and soul together.

"If we are going to keep our Negroes in the South we must quit trying to kid ourselves into believing that we are dealing fairly with them. * * * It is useless to try to ease our conscience with the idea that thousands of Negroes who are migrating northward are going to be bitterly disappointed. That is dodging the issue. Even if they all starve to death, if they are persecuted by labor unions, it cannot alter the fact that they are leaving us, and that is the trouble we are seeking to remedy. We can stifle the restless, migratory spirit of the Negro in the South only by seeing to it that life is made more pleasant for him; by giving him wages sufficient to support his family decently, by protecting him in all his rights, social, legal and moral; by giving him an honest deal in all business transactions, and not imposing on his ignorance or credulity. This may not be pleasant reading for a lot of folks, but it is cold and indisputable truth, and we may as well face it."

I. W. W. WORKER
JUNE 17, 1923

NEGROES MIGRATE BY THE THOUSAND TO FLIVVER CITY

High Wages Bring Numbers So Great That Housing Has Now Become a Problem in Detroit.

OPPOSITION FORCES WORK FOR RACE BETTERMENT.

Virginia Governor Bespeaks Fairness and Justice to Colored Men of United States.

By LESTER A. WALTON

In 1910 some 5,000 and odd Negroes [illegible] Detroit, Mich. This number had increased to 42,000 in 1920, according to the United States Census. On June 1, 1928, the Negro population was 52,000. These figures succinctly tell the story of what an alluring objective the Nation's fourth largest city has been in recent years to the Negro migrant from the Southern States.

Fully 6,000 Negroes have settled in Detroit since Jan. 1. During April alone approximately 3,000 abandoned the South to take up residence in this thriving and rapidly growing Middle Western city.

This year's influx has been greater than ever, more Negroes having wended their way to Detroit in the past six months than any similar period, the migration during the World War not excepted, and there is no sign of abatement. Georgia, Alabama and Florida furnish the largest per cent. of migrants.

Big Money Attracts Migrants to Home of the Popular Flivver.

Better wages is the chief reason given for leaving the Southland and making Detroit the home of adoption. The impression is current down in Dixie that big money may be made at the home of the flivver, and for this reason many migrants hit the common trail for Detroit with no assurance of work or shelter.

Former field hands find employment in industrial plants as common laborers, reciving from 43 to 55 cents per hour. Added to this is the bonus offered the steady employee who "produces." Half of the concerns work their men on a piece basis, which is quite an incentive to the industrious and ambitious.

The prevailing wage for the unskilled laborer for a nine-hour day is from $5 to $6. Compare this remuneration with 60 cents for a day's work often earned by field hands in the boll-weevil-ridden cotton fields of Georgia last year and the reason should be quite clear why thousands of Negroes are evincing a preference for a change of scenery—perhaps less picturesque, but certainly more appealing to the pocket.

Approximately 17,000 Negroes are at present employed in the 79 large industrial plants of Detroit. About 5,000 work in the Ford plant.

John C. Dancy, director of the Detroit Urban League, and son of a former Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia under Roosevelt and Taft, says that owing to the rapid increase in the Negro population, and because of the limited area in which the Negro has to live, a serious housing situation exists. There are no more places in the Negro quarters for rent and no space is available anywhere in the city. "Doubling up" is necessary, and few houses can be secured for less than $45 monthly. Some houses are in need of repairs.

In an effort to adjust newcomers to their new surroundings, representatives of the Detroit Urban League usually meet them at the trains, find places for them, carry on recreational activities and give "noonday shop talks."

Hamtramck, Mich., a surburb of Detroit, has a total population of 60,000, and of this, 3,000 are Negroes. Although forming but one-twentieth of Hamtramck's population, Negroes elect one of their number to the City Council and are represented in other responsible local office. The present Councilman is Dr. J. M. Henderson, a graduate of the University of Michigan.

Hamtramck's population is made up largely of foreign-born workingmen who have not become citizens of the United States. Having no vote they figure but little in Hamtramck's political equation. On the other hand, the 3,000 native Negroes do.

Virginia Governor Bespeaks Fairness and Justice to the Negro.

Gov. E. Lee Trinkle of Virginia, speaking to a mixed audience in Brunswick County at the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School, said: "I am, I hope, the Governor of all the people; I am interested in everything that pertains to the uplift of this Commonwealth. I am, of course, interested in the advancement of the colored people of Virginia. Education should be the chief concern of the people of the United States and especially of the people of Virginia. To-day 40 per cent. of our Virginia appropriations are used for education.

"There are in Virginia to-day 650,000 children of school age. The annual average daily attendance in Virginia is 400,000, for which an army of over 16,000 teachers must be employed and 6,700 buildings must be used. Virginia is spending through State and municipal authority $25,000,000 annually for education."

In directing his remarks to the white people Gov. Trinkle said: "Virginians are in a position to deal with colored people in the spirit of fairness and justice. Colored people, on the other hand, owe unusual service to Virginia. * * * To-day there can be found work and reward, peace and plenty for every man and woman. It is the part of white people of Virginia to see that we give a square deal to every member of the commonwealth."

Charles M. Thomas, professor of economics of the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., thinks industrial and economic readjustment are prime causes of Negro migration. "Having made more than 500 trips into the South within the past five years," he says, "and having observed conditions and interviewed hundreds of white and colored people from different sections, I feel that it is time to say that both races are confronted by obligations that must be recognized and assumed to save the Nation.

"That the white people of the South have complete and undisputed control of the Government, the courts and the commercial world, places upon them directly all responsibility for injustice, discrimination, class legislation, inadequate schools and cruel and unjust punishment. Rather than apply remedial measures to the undesirable reaction of Negroes they have met every weakness and undeveloped reaction by greater tyranny. In the single instance of the railroads of the South I have yet to find any concerted effort to advance the state and condition of the Negro laborer whose toil and demands of life contribute so largely to the prosperity of the industry. Migration from the South, therefore, is now and has been urged by those conditions.

"The entire economic organization of the United States has been altered by the reaction from the war. People with capital have become investors as never before. Practically every white American has advanced toward the financial or capitalistic stage of economic development. On the contrary, the colored people, lacking industrial training and discipline necessary for urbanization, largely because of mistaken opposition to the Booker Washington plan of education, remain hands, receive low wages and have been locked out of skilled industry by the prejudice and opposition of organized labor.

"Just as the South made the mistake of protecting chattel slavery as a vested interest despite its blighting effects upon social development, so the entire American people have neglected the fair and wise development of the colored people as their best industrial asset," Prof Thomas concludes.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

COLUMBIA, S. C. State

MAY 5 - 1923

MORGAN COMMENTS ON EFFECTS NEGRO MIGRATION

To the Editor of The State:

I saw something in your paper today that I appreciate and I am taking advantage of a few moments' leisure time to let you know that I do. The editorial I have reference to is the one in regards to the negro emigration to the North and the supposed change of opinion of some of our representatives about the foreign immigration to this country.

Now I am right with you on both questions. First, I don't believe the best element of the negroes will leave the South. And if they should why we can get along better without them. The salvation for the farmer is machinery and not a bunch of sorry laborers that eat up more than they ever make. Second, as you say, if growing cotton becomes more and more profitable we will see a lot of good white farmers come South. And the labor question can be taken care of by paying the laborers more money. And if this comes about you will see the South in the most prosperous condition she has ever been in. There is, or rather there seems to be, a negro in every wood pile. And I believe if you probe deep enough you find that there is something more behind this supposed change of our representatives than just interest in providing the farmer with sufficient help. As you are very well aware, there has been and is yet an effort by the big corporations to open the gates of this country to the foreign element that they might feed off this people's necessity in the way of securing cheap labor and fighting the American workmen down. You will always see, whenever the laborer and the farmer secure something like a recompense for their efforts, the country always gets in a prosperous condition. Due to the fact that the laborers and the farmers spend their money right where they make it and as it gets into circulation it helps everyone. And it becomes an endless cycle helping and re-helping until every one is enjoying prosperity. Now for instance, let the foreign element get into this country, what follows? Cheap labor, cheap prices, men out of work, that is, American men, because they can't compete with this element on account of the different standards of living. What happens—more trouble with laborers; that anarchistic influence that this scum of Europe brings with them. That is 90 per cent. of all the labor troubles of this country.

Another thing, there is a trend of textile industries to the South for several reasons; first, to get the raw material nearer to the manufactory; second, to get a climate that you can work all the year around in. And I for one, believe to get away from that foreign element that you will find working for this industry in the North.

Two American men speaking the English language (and there is no better) can always agree. Whether one is a capitalist and the other a laborer makes no difference. If it were possible to secure immigrants from the English isles to settle in this country we would be in a far better shape with all the negroes gone and these people with us. That is what the stock in this country came from and they can be assimilated. But this class of people don't emigrate very much. Those who leave are going to Australia and to Canada where two practically unopened empires await them.

There may be some people who object to the negroes leaving for the very foolish reasons that they will have no one to do the dirty work for them, such as washing clothes, etc. Well, there are a lot of good American citizens that do their own washing and they are not thought any the less for it. And besides machinery will soon relieve us of that. Through the perfection of the various machines for the betterment and for the assistance of mankind, we will finally be relieved of all heavy work. Gasoline, electricity, steam, all await our further development and as we progress along this line we will soon see that we don't need any one hanging around to do our little socalled dirty jobs.

I am from the state of Alabama and a friend of mine there was talking to me about his farms. He owns something like 6,000 acres of land and he said his negroes were leaving him for the North. But he said, "Let them go; I will get mahinery and go to farming right." And he further stated to me that he was glad they were leaving and he hoped they would all go; that they had never in the last five or six years paid him anything like what he might reasonably expect. If I stay in this state I mean to subscribe to your paper and I hope the very best success will await your efforts along this line.

J. H. Morgan
Agent Seaboard Railway.

Pride, S. C., May 3.

LIFTING OF IMMIGRATION BAN MAY AFFECT CHANCES FOR THE NEGRO MIGRATORS

Restrictions On Europeans Will Be Taken Off First Of July. Streams Of Migrators Continue To Flow North.

ST. LOUIS IS GETTING 800 TO 1000 A MONTH

Housing Conditions Acute In All Northern Industrial Centers, But Plenty Of Jobs Are Open For The Newcomers.

By Gordon H. Simpson
Secretary of St. Louis Urban League

The migration continues to flow north in a steady stream. Thousands are leaving the south every week and setting their faces toward the northern industrial centers. St. Louis has received them at the rate of between 800 and 1000 per month for the past two months, and prospects are that the number will increase during June, July and August. About 75 per cent of those are staying in this district. It is needless to discuss the reasons why Negroes are leaving the South; everybody knows of the conditions of peonage, lynching, segregation, jim-crowism, injustices to our women and children, etc. It is timely, however, to turn our attention to the conditions which they are facing, or are likely to face, in the northern industrial centers. A recent visit to the more important industrial areas of Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, New York and Brooklyn discloses the fact that in every one of them conditions of industry, housing, and health are about similar. Every day brings increasing numbers to each of these cities.

Housing Conditions Acute

The housing problem in every one of these centers is very acute. Overcrowding of the already congested districts continues. Relatively few houses available for Negroes are being built. Almost every conceivable structure is being converted into living quarters While to date none of these cities has reported any decided increase in sickness and disease because of this general overcrowding, unless great precaution is taken it is not unlikely that increase in sickness will accompany the very warm weather.

Plenty of Jobs

From the industrial point of view, there are jobs to be had everywhere. In the Pittsburgh Industrial District, Mr. John T. Clark, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, reports that they could use 1500 Negroes in the Steel Industries there immediately One company alone had work for 700. The wages offered compared favorably with any other section and the work was in practically every one of the departments of the plant. Pittsburgh, however, has a very critical housing problem, nevertheless newcomers are pouring into the Pittsburgh district by the hundreds each week.

In the Chicago Industrial District, as well as in the outlying towns of Gary and Indiana Harbor, there is an increasing demand for workers,—unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. In the outlying towns the housing problem is acute. However, it is much easier to obtain houses in Chicago perhaps than in any of the larger cities just now. In Detroit, the automobile and the allied industries are absorbing hundreds of Negro workers each week. Here too, however, housing is a big problem.

Working on New Lines

The New York Urban League has turned over all of its placements for unskilled laborers to two reliable commercial employment agencies and is devoting its efforts to opening up new and better opportunities in commercial and mercantile lines. Stenographers, bookkeepers, clerks, and more specialized grades of work are being sought there. In New York, as well as in every other city throughout the country there are hundreds of young men and women who have had training far beyond the positions which they have been able to secure in the past. As a consequence a great deal of latent ability has been going to waste and the League is making a strong effort to find a place for as many qualified workers in new lines as possible. They are finding employment in department stores, mail order houses, wholesale houses, and business establishments of many kinds.

The number of men and women in St. Louis as placed by the Employment Department of the Urban League, and as indicated in the Urban League Notes of this week, shows that most of the placements are in the unskilled or semi-skilled lines of work. With the exception of the pullman shops, the Commonwealth Steel Co., and a few other places, skilled work is not available to Negroes in large numbers. However, it is probable that this situation will not continue very much longer. The increasing demand of industry for more labor together with the available supply of Negro labor should undoubtedly open up the new places in the very near future. It will be, however, necessary to break down the traditional prejudices against employing Colored labor in types of work where they have not been employed heretofore in this district. There are hundreds of migrants coming into St. Louis who are qualified in practically every line of work in this district and it is only necessary for openings to be made for them.

The Urban League of St. Louis, through its Industrial Department, is already at work in an effort to solve these problems.

Lift Immigration Ban

There are two important considerations to be borne in mind in connection with the present migration. In the first place the Government ban on immigration from Europe will be lifted on July 1st. This will mean that the 1923-24 quota of a few hundred thousand more European workers will come into the United States within the next few months. They will be in competition for jobs with hundreds of Negroes who have come up in the recent migration and are now employed in the northern industries. This is an important fact which must be kept in mind in considering the present migration movement as it is related to industry. What the effect will be remains to be seen. This much, however, may be said: to the extent that Negro laborers have made good in the new openings and in the new industries in which they have been employed dur-

ing the past few years will their future employment be assured.

Negro Labor Makes Good

The second consideration to be kept in mind is the fact that undoubtedly Negro labor is on trial throughout the entire northern industria areas. In many places it is acknowledged they have made good beyond a shadow of a doubt. In other places complaints about labor are made, many without foundation, but some few based upon facts. Even in St. Louis this is true. It is not a question of being able to do the work. That has been proven beyond a doubt most cases. The difficulty lies, however, with the shiftless worker who will not go to his job on time, who stays away one or two days each week, and who quits his job just because he has made a few dollars. This type of person is doing a great deal of harm to his brother who wants to be punctual, steady, and regular to his work and make good on his job.

Some Irregular Workers

One large industry in St. Louis employing over 1,000 Colored workers is at the present time considering the advisability of discontinuing this employment in some of their departments. The main reason for this complaint is that the workers concerned will stay away regularly a day or two each week. This means that the employers must keep a much larger working force than is absolutely needed in order to be assured of enough workers each day to keep their departments up to working standard. One of the cures for this problem is for our ministers, social workers, and interested citizens to preach the gospel of punctuality, regularity, and thrift. We must make good while the opportunity is ours so that when a period of depression comes and workers are let out, it wil not be from our number that the ranks of the unemployed will be recruited.

STEADY STREAM OF BLACK MEN MOVING NORTH

New York City, May 31.—From all sections of the South a steady stream of black men is moving northward. 6-1-23

This is the statement issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, 10 E. 39th Street, which estimates that Negroes are leaving the South at the rate of 17,000 per month.

"Negroes from Georgia and the Carolinas are coming to the Atlantic Seaboard states and New England. Negroes of Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee to the middle Western States and Negroes from Arkansas and Louisiana are moving into the states further West."

Whites Praise Negro Labor

One large Northern firm says of its colored labor: "We have employed Negroes in our shops for a great many years. In looking back over their service record we find continuous service records of five years, ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, twenty-five years, and even thirty years. These Negroes have faithfully, loyally and honestly performed the service that was required of them. I have found that with proper supervision the colored man could not only do skilled work, but would also maintain a standard of quality and production as established in the shop."

Pittsburg Needs 8,000

The labor shortage in Pittsburg is reported as so acute that it is estimated that 8,000 laborers and several hundred semi-skilled workers are needed at once.

In New Jersey one construction company, unable to get colored workers, is hiring fifty-five Chinese.

Colored ministers in Mississippi in a lengthy statement declared that Negroes are leaving the State because for every dollar spent on Negro children for education, twenty dollars is spent on the white child. High schools, reformatories, hospitals, colleges, blind asylums and smooth streets are built out of State funds, ministers say, for whites only although Negroes are also taxed. Inability to vote and injustice in the courts were also cited.

FARM LABOR SCARCE IN LOWNDES COUNTY

Unusually Large Acreage Cotton; Pecan Crop Very Promising

FORT DEPOSIT, ALA., May 30.—Special to The Advertiser.—In view of the fact that the farmers in this immediate section have planted a record breaking acreage to cotton, and owing to the scarcity of labor, and with the heavy continued rainfall for the past ten days, it seems at present that the farmers have "bitten off more than they can chew."

The cotton plant, compared with past years, is exceptionally small for this time of the year, as yet, there has not been reported any large enough to produce squares; most of the fields have been recently planted, and barring and chopping has just commenced. Many of the fields are covered with grass.

Corn Acreage Small.

The acreage planted to corn will not exceed ten per cent of that planted to cotton, and it is predicted that there will not be enough corn raised in Lowndes county to feed the live stock until Christmas.

The small oat crop is at present in a ripe stage, and will be almost a total loss unless fair weather prevails within the next few days.

Pecan Crop Promising.

Unless the unforseen happens, the pecan crop, which is considered one of the best money crops in this section, promises to be above the average, and considering the many thousands of bearing trees in and around Fort Deposit, the crop should not fall short of two hundred thousand pounds.

Peach Crop Almost Failure.

Owing to the late spring freeze the peach crop is almost a total failure, in fact, there will not be enough harvested for home consumption. All minor crops are fairly good, but are suffering for want of dry weather.

A MISSISSIPPI WHITE PLANTER ON NEGRO EXODUS

Mr. W. H. Ewing, a member of the Board of Supervisors of Yazoo county, this state, contributed an article to the News Scimitar (Memphis, issue of the 13th) on the so-called "Negro Exodus". This article is well worth the reading on the part of our people especially. He deals with the subject as this paper sees it, in a common sense viewpoint. This paper believes that this so-called exodus of our people is being greatly exaggerated, and for the express purpose of appealing to that race characteristic of our people to, without apparent reason, follow a crowd. When it comes down to "brass tacks," really our people will eventually be the great losers if we, as a race surrender our priority rights to commander, as tennants, the alluvial lands of the Delta of Mississippi, and the prairie lands of the Black Belt of Alabama, and the rich lands of the Alabama-Tennessee River Valley; and our priority rights to commandeer the Southern white land owner's money, without any security, othe than the Southern white man's confidence in the hue of our skin, and the sweat of our jaw. We enjoy an elastic credit not enjoyed by any other group of people on the face of the earth. At the some time the white man must give to the banks the gilt edge security.

We grant in many instances we have been exploited by the Southern white planters, and by white interlopers, who took advantage of the white Southern sentiment to take every white man's word, be he Jew, Gentile or what not above that of the most substantial Negro of the community. At the same time in a multitude of instances we have exploited the white man. The chains of title to the lands tells the mournful tale of the native Southern white man's success in exploiting our people as free Negro labor. The white planters, in common with the Negroes, have been crucified in the cotton price-fixing markets of the world. The whole evil has been, and is at present in the low average price of cotton when in the hands of the producers. Trying to meet the improved standard of living, of our people, without any corresponding increase in our cotton producing, making more cotton to the cultivated acreage, and the conservation of mule power, and without any corresponding increase in the average price of cotton, when in the hands of the planters, has filled the financial grave yards with the corpses of many a slave-owner's scion, in Mississippi and Alabama.

If our people, especially the substantial ones, now well located and with good credit, heed the siren songs of the Negro agitators of the North, who live for the most part by the sweat of their jaws, sad will be the fate of the masses when walking the streets in search of work, following our displacement by white labor.

It will be noted by the observant person that their interest in the downtrodden southern Negroes only manifested itself since Mr. Schwab failed to get the bars let down to bring in European and Asiatic labor, in order to force the white American laborers to their knees. Bishop Haygood, in "Our Brother in Black," contended that the changing of black boards on our part would not solve the problem and neither would repression on the part of the Southern white man solve the so-called Negro problem. Bishop Haygood was a Southern white man to the manner born.

The city undertakers will reap a harvest for a short season, and then will come the Potter's field and then with the logical increased death rate, and the sterilty of the average city woman, we will soon be numbered among the dying races of the world.

Trying to Replace the Negro.

In several southern states, according to the federal department of labor, the continued drift of the colored population to the north is creating serious problems. A labor shortage is developing in the cotton industry and, while movements have been launched to attract immigrants from Europe, no palpable results are expected in the near future.

Southern chambers of commerce and agricultural associations have been giving earnest thought to ways and means of checking the present exodus and keeping at home the more industrious and desirable workers. One interesting consequence noted by intelligent observers is the growing hostility among southern business men toward the Ku-Klux klan, which is held responsible to a considerable extent for the northward migration of the colored population, although high wages and better educational opportunities are more important factors in the movement.

In certain influential southern newspapers and magazines the question is being discussed with candor and breadth of view. The planters and manufacturers are told that the way to keep the colored race in the south is to pay much more attention than has been paid to their housing conditions, to their schools and to their material and moral welfare generally. For years the inadequacy of many of the special schools provided for colored children has been deplored by educators. The lynching evil, too, has played a part and so has the Jim Crow car. Negroes settled in the north and enjoying legal protection and general recognition of certain fundamental rights of citizenship write of these advantages to relatives and friends in the south, and it is only natural that the more enterprising and discontented among them should decide to try their fortunes in northern cities.

Some students of the problem believe that after a time many colored people who have come north will return to the south because of its more genial climate and other considerations, but this optimistic view is not likely to produce an impression on the practical leaders of southern business opinion. The advice to study systematically the needs and legitimate aspirations of the colored race and endeavor to satisfy them is sound from every point of view.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

CHARLESTON S C NEWS-COU
APRIL 30, 1923

NEGROES LEAVING SOUTHERN FARMS

LAND VALUES DECREASE

Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, Sounds Warning to Black Race

(By N. L. WILLET).

It is an amazing fact and it carries tremendous reactions, this fact that thirteen per cent of our negroes in this State have migrated and that this migration is still continuing. This decreases our land values. It puts argriculture and even our civilization at stake. No one seems to be finding a remedy. Is the fault ours or where is it? We seem to find no one who is warning the negroes that conditions in the North are radically different from what they think them to be. As to these Northern conditions and the part that the negro is expected to play in the North is abundantly illustrated in a recent issue of the Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, one of our most clear thinking, ethical and humane dailies.

Northern Conditions.

As to this transferring farm hand negroes from the Southern fields to the industrial mills in the North this paper issues a warning. It tells the negro that his best habitat is here in the South; that mill conditions in the North are not humane; that he is not wanted in the North, and it reminds the negro of the terrible Chicago riots of two years ago, where there was the most terrible exhibition of racial hatred as ever shown in this country. It tells the Northern indutrials that they are not sincere, that they want the negro to exploit him. The negro, in fact, is exploited by Northern industry. It takes him on in the factory last of all, it puts him off first of all, in coldweather it makes the negro work out in the open and oftentimes in zero weather. It is not unfavorable to this Northern negro exodus because this vast assemblage of negroes in Northern cities affords them a means of using it as a club over union labor. The strike breaker of the North is most apt to be a negro and if the negro only knew it it is possibly the most dangerous of all occupations.

The Foreigner.

Our big Northern cities like New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Milwaukee are no longer American, they are foreign. The negro is going North and coming in contact with what is called labor, never comes in contact with a native. It is always this man with a foreign name. This man with a foreign name has no interest in the negro. He sees in the negro not only a cheap competitor but a possible strike breaker. Furthermore, the farm labor negro is not indicated for technical mill work. Indeed, he has never been satisfactory labor in any cotton mill that has tried him out in the South. The negro is more segregated in the North than he is in the South. There are far more negro dwellings mixed up with white dwellings right here in Augusta than you will find in any city in the North. The love by the North for the Southern negro is largely sentimental and goes only skin deep. The darkest spots in all of the North are these segregated negro districts and all of our Northern cities have them.

Wages and Weather.

There is no greater myth than these various tales of high wages for the cotton farm negro in the North. I have a highly skilled Russian friend who presided over an electric storage battery company of a million and a half dollars in Russia. He had patents himself in this line industry. He was driven by the Bolsheyists out of Russia and this skilled man is working today for a storage battery company in New York at seventy-two dollars a month and when he gets through paying rent and for coal there is practicaly nothing left for himself and his wife to live off of. I wrote to this storage battery company and told them about the splendid worth of this man and the fact that he was a genius and they took a month to answer my letter and then simply tossed my suggestions as to higher wages aside. Now compare the capacity of the average cotton farm negro with this skilled, technical man in New York and could any one imagine that this negro farm hand could get the wages as told in these various wage stories that we hear!

There is no doubt that the negro in the North is explointed both economically and politically; no doubt, too, that the North prefers white labor to black labor, even though that white labor be what usually goes under the term of foreign scum. There is no doubt, too, that the negroes' life is endangered by the cold of the North.

Our Fault, Too.

Necessarily if farmers quit farming and go into forestry their negroes are compelled to go off elsewhere and there is nowhere else for them to go except into the North. I could name a half dozen counties in which practically no negro labor is left. They are lumber counties, but in three years more this lumber will be exhausted. What will be the condition of these counties at that time is not hard to surmise. The farmers who have kept their labor are running humanized farms, that is, they are teaching their negroes to make a living on the farm, and, furthermore, they are creating for these negroes livable conditions. Quite a porton of our negro exodus has been from farms that were not humanized. The negro is amenable to reason but how few of our farmers have told him and warned him as to what awaits him in the North. How few of our farmers keep tab on these negroes after they go North. Some day they may wish to pay his way back to the old farm. Indeed, the fault of this negro exodus is not altogether the fault of Northern industry nor is it the error of the negro himself. A good portion of this negro exodus tragedy is chargeable up to Southern agriculture.

MAY 29, 1923

HOW TO CHECK NEGRO MIGRATION.

Most of the comments about the migration northward of the Southern negroes have dealt with its economic aspects. The lure of high wages, with better living conditions, has been held to be the principal cause of the movement. Now comes a voice from the South to protest that, although economics play their part, the principal reason for the exodus of negroes from the South is that they are not fairly treated there. This is the burden of an editorial in The Enquirer-Sun of Columbus, Ga., which quotes liberally from The Albany (Ga.) Herald. The Columbus editor says of the negro:

> He does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him homes think that any sort of shack is good enough for the negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the negro fails to receive the proper attention.

These points were touched upon by ROBERT R. MOTON, President of Tuskegee Institute, in an article printed in THE TIMES on May 6. It is significant that papers such as The Columbus Enquirer-Sun and The Albany (Ga.) Herald are willing to deal frankly with them, and openly to blame the Ku Klux Klan and those who masquerade as Klansmen for their share of the responsibility. As the editor of The Albany Herald puts it, no people like to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror which drives people to flee from it. In an effort to stem the exodus Southern papers in recent months have been printing stories about the evil effects of the Northern climate on the negroes, and have endeavored to show that the negro is not understood in the North, and is certain to suffer brutal hardships. Emotional appeals, such as that an extra output of coffins was necessary in the North to dispose of the negroes who died of disease, have also been tried. Not content with this, the Georgia Commissioner of Commerce and Labor has written to The Columbus Enquirer-Sun, and presumably to other Georgia papers, asking that advertisements for labor concerns outside of the State be refused. It is hoped thus to deprive negroes of the opportunity of learning where, outside of Georgia, there is a market for their labor.

The true policy, as the editor of The Enquirer-Sun points out, lies in a concerted move on the part of the business leaders of Georgia and other Southern States to see that the negro receives better treatment. Lawlessness of the kind that has been too common in the past must be stopped. Greater efforts must be given to protecting the negro in his rights and to helping him improve his material conditions. The South wants the negro and, given equality of treatment, the negro prefers the South. When the white men in the South begin to appreciate the part that they have played in furthering the exodus it is likely that they will be able partly to check it. To attempt to stop it by legislation, however, or by terrorization, or by depriving the negroes of the opportunities of learning where their labor is in demand, is to fail to strike at the fundamental causes.

Migration Hits Michigan

(By The Asso. Negro Press)

Lansing, Mich., July 5.—Reports received here at the capital of the State show that young colored men are flocking to the automobile and furniture centers for the States by the hundreds. Negro farm colonies be established and that authority be given to keep in touch with the welfare needs of the Negroes.

ST. LOUIS MO. POST DISPATCH
JUNE 5, 1923

NEGRO EXODUS AND LYNCHING.

From the Houston Post.

IN the widespread comment in the North on the heavy migration of negroes from the South to the industrial districts of the North and West, there is a distinct tendency to blame the lynching evil in the South as an important cause of the movement. Some of those who know the least about conditions in the South emphasize this alleged cause above all others. * * * Texas, with a lynching record that equals and sometimes exceeds that of Georgia and other Southern States, has lost comparatively few of her negroes. Instead of a decrease in negro population on the farm, an increase is shown. Negro farm owners in Texas have increased 12 per cent within the last decade, compared with an increase of a little more than 1 per cent among whites. Lynching is not to be condoned, in Texas or in any other State. The people of Texas ought to be ashamed of the State's lynching record, and they should use drastic measures to eradicate the evil. But it is apparent that Texas negroes are not so fearful of lynchers as to flee from them. As a matter of fact, the average negro in Texas, and probably in the other States, is not greatly concerned about the occasional lynchings that occur. The law-abiding negro has nothing to fear from mob violence in the South. * * * The migration of negroes is of economic, not political or social, origin. The negro laborer finds opportunities to make more money in the industrial centers and to live more comfortably than he does in some sections of the old South. In Texas, where agricultural conditions are more favorable, he does not yield to the attraction of the industrial cities and finds contentment in his native haunts.

PHILADELPHIA PA N AMER
JUL 23

CONFERENCE ON NEGRO MIGRATION PROBLEMS

City Officials Move to Prevent Overcrowding as Result of Influx From South

Steps to prevent overcrowding and insanitary conditions in negro quarters as a result of the negro migration to this city were discussed Friday at a conference held by Mayor Moore and other city officials. Those who conferred were Acting Health Director Taylor, Director Cortelyou, of public safety, and Director Warburton, of the welfare department.

The influx of negroes from the south in ever-increasing numbers has caused a problem, the mayor said, that calls for practical solution.

"Certain sections are tremendously overcrowded," said the mayor, "and it is our desire to arrive at a practical solution not only to guard against congestion but also against disease. Other conferences will follow and it is likely a survey will be made."

MONROE LA. STAR
JUNE 26, 1923

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NEW ENGLAND AROUSED OVER SOUTHERN NEGRO EXODUS

The southern negro who is giving any thought to the arguments of the labor agent to bring him into the overcrowded industrial centers of the north will be interested in the memorial of the New England chamber of commerce to the governors of New England urging the state executives to use every influence at their command to put a stop to the movement of negroes to New England.

The memorial, adopted June 2, declares that when the negro leaves the section where he was born and is understood and removes north, where the climate is rigorous and conditions foreign, he not only does himself an injustice, but at the same time works a hardship on members of his race, already established in New England.

Shades of the Boston abolitionists! New England has preached equality to the way-down-south negro for years, but given an opportunity to put its preachments into practice by the northern exodus of the negro, it is painful to learn that the negro is denied equality and even ordinary civility is practically withheld.

Labor bureaus of New England estimate that 40 per cent of the negroes migrating from the south are out of work and dependent upon charity. A serious problem has thereby been created, and the old-time southern negro, who always had plenty of white friends to see him through in the lean days, is extending his education on the difference between New England and southern treatment.

The southern negro, going to New England, finds himself in competition with foreign white labor and with personal economic rivalry aroused—a new experience to the negro of the south—there is relentless bitterness, and the negro is not strong enough to deal with it, as he learned in the riots of Chicago and East St. Louis.

The Louisiana negro has been less a victim of the wiles of the northern labor agent than most of his brothers. There is no reason why the existing splendid relations between the races should not continue, and the negro stay right on among the people who want him, understand him, and where he is given, at the self-imposed expense of the white taxpayer, every advantage that is really worth while. The fine negro churches and schools of Lake Charles bear testimony to what the industrial enterprises and his other white friends are willing to do for him.—Lake Charles American Press.

[illegible]
JULY 26, 1923

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[illegible]lature to-day, whic[illegible]
felony for any pers[illegible]
solicit labor in Ge[illegible]
states. Punishment w[illegible]
term of not less than three years nor more than seven.

"Passage of this bill," one of the authors declared, "will result in checking the exodus of negroes and other farm labor of Georgia to other states."

EL PASO TEX TIMES
MAY 3, 1923

The Negro Exodus Again.

There is no doubt that with the return of national prosperity has come a revival of the negro exodus from the south. From numerous sections of the "black belts" and "brown belts" come substantiated reports of a northward movement toward the labor-demanding mills, leaving in its train labor shortage sometimes amounting to actual depopulation.

The situation is inconvenient to many southern communities, of course. Unquestionably, it will prove so to more than one northern community before the new population increments are absorbed.

Still, there is no help for it, and in the long run the effects are likely to prove beneficial rather than otherwise.

There is no help for it, because the negro, even the lowliest field hand specimen of him, has come to the point in the race's economic education where he is ready to take aggressive measures to better his lot.

This does not mean that he is always going to succeeding in bettering it. On the contrary, he will often go to the wrong job and the wrong place when he would have better stayed at home. But all negroes will not do this, and some have already done far better than this. In the few decades of this work-seeking travel—the race's journeyman years, as it were—the negro will learn that he can gain an agreeable and even a friendly footing for himself in any decent community, north or south, by habits of frugality and hard work and by conduct that is based on self-respect. And he stands to learn this more quickly and thoroughly on the average by trying his luck in various parts of the country than by staying on the home plantation with his ancestral "white folks."

A real gain, too, should come eventually to the nation as a whole through a wider dispersal of its negro population. When Massachusetts and Oregon have a negro problem as definite as that of South Carolina there will be better agreement—and less officious dilletantism in the advice offered by the inexperienced sections to the experienced—as to how the negro problem should be solved.

APPLETON WIS POST
APRIL 27, 1923

NEGROES GO NORTH

Once again the great economic movement of Negroes from southern farm districts to northern factory towns has set in. Though crops for the present season are already started there seems to be no indication that this exodus—a repetition of the big wartime emigration—is going to wane.

Georgia reports that 32,000 Negro farmers, or 13 per cent of the state's total, have moved north within the past twelve months. Arkansas reports a total of 15,000, South Carolina 22,750,

PITTSBURG PA PRESS
JUNE 25, 1923

and so on through the list.

With the next swing downward of the prosperity finger hundreds of these colored workers will find themselves stranded in the north, as they did two years ago. There will be a natural crowding back to the warmer climate—a far better place for those idle, and the only place where the Negro race can increase. But many will stay. It is estimated that the reason the rate of increase of the whole colored race fell to 6.5 per cent between 1910 and 1920 is this tragic exodus northward. Vital statistics show that there are twelve Negro deaths to every ten Negro births in the north.

This climatic effect of extermination of Negroes is nearly equal to the fatal effect of city living. Similar statistics show that in northern cities 135, and in southern cities 127, Negroes die for every 100 born. Thus the Negro farmer and farm laborer, living in the south, is the hope of his race. Out in the southern rural districts three Negroes are born for every two that die. And it is from this very class that the present movement is drawing.

South Uneasy Over Black Migration

APROPOS of the migration of Negro labor from the southern states northward, upon which we not long ago commented on in these columns, Clemson college, a South Carolina agricultural institution, has made a survey of 41 counties in that state which emphasizes in startling fashion the magnitude of the movement.

Since November, 1922, Negroes to the number of 50,000 have migrated from these 41 South Carolina counties. On the average each county lost 1,217 workers and 423 farms have been abandoned. In other ways the district from which these people have moved is the poorer for their going.

It is agreed that one cause of the shift to northern cities is the 3 per cent immigration act which effectually closed the former sources of industrial labor to the north. The consequences of the movement for the south and for the north are of great importance in more than an industrial sense, however. The Negro in the north is free from certain discriminations that he suffers in the south. In the north he is permitted to vote. In the south, very largely, he is not. He rides in the same public conveyances in the north as white people. In the south he is forced to ride in "Jim Crow" cars. With the most ambitious blacks resenting this southern condition and coming north to higher wages and wider privileges is not the south going to feel an economic pressure that will compel political concessions?

MONROE LA. STAR
JUNE 26, 1923

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NEW ENGLAND AROUSED OVER SOUTHERN NEGRO EXODUS

The southern negro who is giving any thought to the arguments of the labor agents to bring him into the overcrowded industrial centers of the north will be interested in the memorial of the New England chamber of commerce to the governors of New England urging the state executives to use every influence at their command to put a stop to the movement of negroes to New England.

The memorial, adopted June 2, declares that when the negro leaves the section where he was born and is understood and removes north, where the climate is rigorous and conditions foreign, he not only does himself an injustice, but at the same time works a hardship on members of his race, already established in New England.

Shades of the Boston abolitionists! New England has preached equality to the way-down-south negro for years, but given an opportunity to put its preachments into practice by the northern exodus of the negro, it is painful to learn that the negro is denied equality and even ordinary civility is practically withheld.

Labor bureaus of New England estimate that 40 per cent of the negroes migrating from the south are out of work and dependent upon charity. A serious problem has thereby been created, and the old-time southern negro, who always had plenty of white friends to see him through in the lean days, is extending his education on the difference between New England and southern treatment.

The southern negro, going to New England, finds himself in competition with foreign white labor and with personal economic rivalry aroused—a new experience to the negro of the south—there is relentless bitterness, and the negro is not strong enough to deal with it, as he learned in the riots of Chicago and East St. Louis.

The Louisiana negro has been less a victim of the wiles of the northern labor agent than most of his brothers. There is no reason why the existing splendid relations between the races should not continue, and the negro stay right on among the people who want him, understand him, and where he is given, at the self-imposed expense of the white taxpayer, every advantage that is really worth while. The fine negro churches and schools of Lake Charles bear testimony to what the industrial enterprises and his other white friends are willing to do for him.—Lake Charles American Press.

JULY 20, 1923

...diction of a bill i... lature to-day, whic... felony for any pers... solicit labor in Ge... states. Punishment w... ...term of not less than three years nor ...more than seven. "Passage of this bill," one of the ...authors declared, "will result in check- ...ing the exodus of negroes and other ...farm labor of Georgia to ...states."

EL PASO TEX TIMES
MAY 3, 1923

The Negro Exodus Again.

There is no doubt that with the return of national prosperity has come a revival of the negro exodus from the south. From numerous sections of the "black belts" and "brown belts" come substantiated reports of a northward movement toward the labor-demanding mills, leaving in its train labor shortage sometimes amounting to actual depopulation.

The situation is inconvenient to many southern communities, of course. Unquestionably, it will prove so to more than one northern community before the new population increments are absorbed.

Still, there is no help for it, and in the long run the effects are likely to prove beneficial rather than otherwise.

There is no help for it, because the negro, even the lowliest field hand specimen of him, has come to the point in the race's economic education where he is ready to take aggressive measures to better his lot.

This does not mean that he is always going to succeeding in bettering it. On the contrary, he will often go to the wrong job and the wrong place when he would have better stayed at home. But all negroes will not do this, and some have already done far better than this. In the few decades of this work-seeking travel—the race's journeyman years, as it were—the negro will learn that he can gain an agreeable and even a friendly footing for himself in any decent community, north or south, by habits of frugality and hard work and by conduct that is based on self-respect. And he stands to learn this more quickly and thoroughly on the average by trying his luck in various parts of the country than by staying on the home plantation with his ancestral "white folks."

A real gain, too, should come eventually to the nation as a whole through a wider dispersal of its negro population. When Massachusetts and Oregon have a negro problem as definite as that of South Carolina there will be better agreement—and less officious dilletantism in the advice offered by the inexperienced sections to the experienced—as to how the negro problem should be solved.

APPLETON WIS POST
APRIL 27, 1923

NEGROES GO NORTH

Once again the great economic movement of Negroes from southern farm districts to northern factory towns has set in. Though crops for the present season are already started there seems to be no indication that this exodus—a repetition of the big wartime emigration—is going to wane.

Georgia reports that 32,000 Negro farmers, or 13 per cent of the state's total, have moved north within the past twelve months. Arkansas reports a total of 15,000, South Carolina 22,750,

PITTSBURGH PRESS
JUN...

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Labor— 1923.
Migration Movement

NEGRO INVESTIGATORS GIVE DELTA FARMS O. K.

Commercial Appeal

Came From Chicago Disguised as Farm Laborers.

Two educated Chicago negro investigators who went to Deeson, Miss., disguised as farm laborers when the Illinois Central Railroad acting in conjunction with the Delta Farms Company, brought back 32 families on Monday, returned to Memphis yesterday. They went to obtain first hand information of the treatment of the negroes on southern plantations.

12-13-23

In their report the investigators say:

"We presented ourselves as 'plantation workers' to an agent sent to Chicago by tte planters in quest of tenants and were accepted in company with other plantation workers for work in Mississippi.

"The train left Chicago at 6:15 p.m. Sunday. We simply went to get a line on conditions and see if any noticeable mistreatment was being accorded members of our group on the plantation which we visited.

"Special arrangements on the train had been provided for 'our return to the south.' Before leaving Chicago we were given food, candies, bananas, etc.

"The first thing that attracted our attention was the absence of a guard to see that no one deserted the train.

"We were given breakfast upon our arrival at Memphis, the single representative of the planters having wired ahead and made preparations for us.

"At Memphis the agent asked if anyone desired to discontinue the trip to Chicago and said if so he would be given a ticket back to Chicago. All said they wished to continue the trip.

"We arrived at Deeson at 1:30 Monday, were carried over to one of the large plantation houses and given lunch. Then we went to the general offices and were tendered contracts. After listening to remarks by Mr. G. W. Harden, plantation manager, and after having secured copies of the proposed contracts, we revealed our identity. Imagine our surprise when they told us the company was glad to have our presence and we were at liberty to remain on the plantation and make any investigation and inquiry we deemed fit. An automobile was placed at our disposal and we rode over the 8,000-acre plantation and talked to many of the white employes and all the negro tenants, many of whom had been on the plantation for years. Mr. Harden impressed us by his fairness, his general interest in the comfort of our people and his general all-round business ability. We noticed that none of the white employes were in possession of blackjacks, bull whips or any of the things we had been told were commonly used by them and always in their possession. They impressed us by their fairness and utter lack of hostility towards the members of our racial group.

"After signing the contracts, the 32 families were given bedding and household goods in general and were comfortably in their new homes.

"While at Deeson we were lodged at the home of Willie Baldwin, one of the colored supervisors of the plantation. He has been with the company for 13 years and besides being in comfortable financial circumstances is the owner of an automobile, horses, cows, chickens, etc.

"On Tuesday we talked with many of the tenants all of whom were loud in praise of the general treatment accorded them.

"With reference to the contract we noticed that the company agrees to furnish comfortable homes, provisions and clothing, etc., until the crop shall have been gathered, to mtaintain schools and churches and necessary equipment therefore and that in purchasing provisions an itemized statement will be given with each purchase and that complete settlements will be made twice annually and that the tenants and company are to share equally in such moneys as are received from the sale of cotton.

"Of course you can understand we have no interest in the whole affair other than to o btain an accurate view of the situation. We know there are man ynegro families in the north who are, by training, and experience adapted to farm work and for such we believe, after having made careful investigation that the Delta Farms Co. offers then fair and profitable inducements. It is no part of our duty to suggest or advise with reference to where one should locate, our duty is to ascertain facts, but we are frank to state after a most painstaking investigation we believe if one intends to locate lpon a plantation the Deltt Farms Co., Deeson, Miss., offers an ideal opportunity.

The negro investigators are J. W. Brown, 3214 Rhodes Avenue, Chicago, representing the Negro World, and F. J Smith, 108 West Forty-seventh Street, Chicago, representing Chicago interests.

WILMINGTON, N. C., Star
DEC 8 1923

Tobacco Wage Scale Stops Negro Exodus

(Special to The Star)

KINSTON, Dec. 7.—The movement northward of local negroes completely ceased recently, according to employers and officials. Hardly a black has left this town in weeks for the New Jersey and Pennsylvania industrial centers which drew numbers of them earlier in the year. Kinston lost scores of colored workers last spring, though the rest of the state seemed little affected by the exodus.

Overtime conditions in the tobacco plants here, together with full-time employment in other lines, checked the migration from this town. High wages are being paid in the stemmeries cooperages and other tobacco establishments, and truck drivers employed by the tobacco people are receiving a rate of pay as good as the average wage in the north, it is said.

Negro croppers and farm tenants generally cleared a profit on their year's work in the fields. In some instances small farmers of the race have banked thousands of dollars since harvesting tobacco.

SALISBURY, N. C., Tr
DEC 12 1923

STATE NOT HURT BY NEGRO EXODUS

At No Time Did Migration Reach An Acute Stage, Labor Commissioner Says.

Raleigh, Dec. 12.—"The migration of colored labor never did reach an acute stage in this state although a number of the larger cotton growers did feel the effect for a time," M. L. Shipman, commissioner of Labor and Printing for North Carolina today asserted in a letter addressed to the editor of the New York Evening Journal answering an inquiry as to the situation with regard to negro migration from North Carolina "We know no special effort to induce the return of colored laborers who went North during the year."

In making the letter public Mr. Shipman expressed the opinion that the migration from North Carolina of negroes attracted a higher wages and reputed better conditions in other sections had been more than offset by the influx of the same class of labor from other states.

"We have made no recent survey to ascertain the extent to which colored labor migrated to the North early in the year and for various reasons returned to the state," Mr. Shipman stated in his letter. "Reports from the various employment offices throughout the state indicate the return of a considerable number of colored laborers, who went away several months ago under the impression that they would receive higher wages and be favored with better living conditions. We take it that the return of these laborers is due largely to the approach of winter. You are doubtless aware that the severe winters of the North are not at all conductive to the colored laborer of the South. The negro, as a rule, perfers the climate of his native section.

"The migration of colored labor never did reach an acute stage in this state, although a number of the larger cotton growers did feel the effect for a while. However, it so happened that the cotton crop of this state for the year 1923 is the largest that has been harvested in a number of years, reaching a total of 1,010,000 bales. This would indicate that the farmers of North Carolina are by no means dependent upon negro labor, and we know of no special effect to induce the return of colored laborers who went North during the year.

"There is an apparent shortage of farm labor in the state, but manufacturing plants appear to experience little trouble in this respect. There has been an apparent movement from the farm to the factory for a number of years, and this will doubtless continue so long as the number of textile mills increase.

"Comparatively little unemployment is noticeable at this time. In fact most every willing worker need experience little difficulty in finding something to do."

Enterprise N.C.

"OUT-OF-A-JOB" NEGRO FIRST.

A few days ago some one sent The Observer a copy of a New York paper with an editorial marked to "attract attention." It was advocating a change of policy on part of the Southern representation in Congress, toward modification of the immigration laws, so that the North could get all the immigration it needed," to release of the negroes for return to the South. Simultaneously, the papers were printing accounts of much developed idleness among the negroes in Chicago and other large industrial centers into which they had drifted last Summer. If the North is in need of more laborers, why should there be demand for modification of the immigration laws? It would seem that the proper thing to do would be to give jobs to the hundreds of idle negroes wanting work. Maybe they would rather have cheap labor from Southern Europe than the higher priced negro labor from the South. But the North has no call to be talking of a labor shortage, while the newspapers are filled with reports of hundreds of negroes loading the streets in idleness—and Winter coming on. All the hypocrisy of the North in connection with the colored man and brother has not yet come to thee surface.—Charlotte Observer.

NORFOLK VA VIRGINIAN PILOT
NOVEMBER 18, 1923

NEGRO MIGRANTS DRIFT NORTHWARD WITH SHORT STOPS

Norfolk First Important Point in East to Replenish "Travel Money"

In their northward drift the negro migrants from the South follow certain accessible lines of transportation. They move by stages, stopping here and there for a look about or means of recuperating their traveling expenses.

Memphis has been the principal clearing house for Alabama, Georgia Mississippi and Arkansas negroes. Knoxville is also a distributing point for them. In the eastern South Atlantic States Norfolk has been the first important stop, and from there the migrants have gone to Baltimore and Philadelphia and on North, says a Memphis dispatch to the New York Sun.

Norfolk Va.,

From Memphis thousands of them went to Cincinnati to be distributed to industrial centers north and west of there. The Illinois Central Railroad has hauled more than any other carrier.

Southern States have enacted anti-labor agent laws to protect their farmers from the outsider who gathers workers on a commission basis. A license system is used. An agent pays $1,000 county fee and $500 city fee for the privilege of operating. That is prohibitive in most counties but in centers like Atlanta, Memphis Birmingham and Knoxville it works well and many pay it. There is no way to stop the individual from going, and negroes follow the lead of some kinsman or friend.

11-18-23

Gets Only Healthy Negroes

Many schemes have been tried to land Georgia negroes in Memphis and other distributing points. One well known automobile manufacturer in the Middlewest has been very careful in his campaign for laborers. His instructions to agents have been that he would accept none but strong, healthy men. This action was taken because of the fact that many sick negroes, some of them sufferers from tuberculosis or other diseases, were found among the first shipments to that section of the country. To get the sort of persons desired agents would have negro preachers send the applicants to doctors "for insurance." This proved to be sufficient protection. In some instances employers deported diseased negroes to their old homes.

Southern farmers have lost their laborers during a single night without ever having suspected any plan was afoot to take them away. This sort of movement was caused by well known negroes returning from the North and West to induce others to follow their example.

Negro churches suffered in these quiet movements. One church at Lone Oak, near Grantville, Ga., was minety-eight members short one Sunday morning, following a Saturday night drive.

Farmers Disappear in Night

Mrs. Lula Powell, who owns 1,000 acres of cotton land in the Newnan Ga., district, had tenants and stock last spring for a large production. Every family disappeared between sundown and sunrise one night just before the crop was planted. B. F. Redwine, of the same community, lost forty hands in a similar movement. F. B. Sanders, a neighbor of Redwine, had ten plows running one day preparing for cotton, and the next one.

A school teacher who conducted a farm with tenants, was well supplied with negroes for the year. One Saturday night in May he visited the farm, and found things moving on nicely, his four tenants busy. The following Monday morning he went to give some instructions and discovered that his houses were vacant, and his mules had not been fed for two days. A little investigation convinced this farmer and his friends that a labor agent had taken his tenants away in the night in "transportation." From 50 to 75 per cent of the negroes in scores of counties in Georgia disappeared this

DEC 31 1923

Negroes Returning from North

Crowd Trains to South Daily

Index-Journal Bureau,
Abbeville, S. C.

Abbeville, S. C., Dec. 29.—The negroes are returning in a steady stream from the North and the exodus is now a thing of the past. Five solid cars filled with returning negroes left Washington, D. C. Christmas day. They were dropped along the way until only two cars remained attached to the rear of the through Seaboard Airline train when it reached Abbeville.

One negro returning from Cincinnati declares he bought his ticket there before six o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 22nd and that every train coming through that city was so packed with negroes returning South a special train was finally made up that night to bring the crowd out. He came from Cincinnati to Chattanooga over the C. & O. & N. P. and in describing the trip said "Man alive, that train sho' could run down hill."

Upon the arrival of most of the Northern and Western trains now requires two trucks to handle the baggage of the returning negroes. The baggage is very light. When leaving a year ago all baggage was in excess the negroes loading their trunks with glass jars filled with fruit and preserves and some even killed their winter hogs packed them in trunks and took them along with them to what they supposed was the promised land of love and liberty.

This love and liberty bubble has gone glimmering. One returned says a negro with a large family cannot rent a nice house in Chicago for fear the children will smudge the wall paper or break out the window panes and those with large families have to go to the out-skirts of the city to live. This handicap will be appreciated by Southerners who know the number of children in each family of the ordinary gentleman of color.

Then the liberty bubble went up in smoke when the negroes were not allowed to whip their own children in the Northern cities. Such a country where any negro boy's father couldn't frail the living life out of him when he got "light handed" or lazy was beyond the understanding of these simple people.

Zero Weather Hurts

But building in the north slackened when winter came on, work got scarce and zero became the mean low level of the weather. And the Southern negro began to pine for the lightwood knot fires of the old home and to see visions of the cotton patch and watermelon time later on.

But admit it? Never. All of them are just coming back on a visit they say. If you think you could get a story out of a returning negro just try it once. The negro race is a closed corporation when it comes to talking to white folks. Not one will unbutton his lips, and what information is gained usually comes unwittingly. When asked if they expect to return North they reply, "We might and we might not."

Clark Allen, a very intlligent negro man employed at the Seaboard Airline station here was appealed to, in an effort to find out some of the secrets of the return, closed the questioning by remarking "They won't unfold no riddles." Clark is something of a cosmopolitan character himself having traveled as far as Frisco once with "Sell's Floto." He claims he "went further accidentally than these negroes ever got on purpose."

But many of the experiences of the less cosmopolitan characters travelling around now are pathetic. A mother with three small children, all so near the same size they appeared to be triplets, returning from the north landed here a day or two ago with only 25 cents in money. They were bound for Abbeville, Georgia. Upon arrival here the mother with her three children wandered over the city for hours looking for familiar scenes and faces, finally returning to the station in despair. She was taken charge of by the railroad company and sent to her home. This is only one of the many cases the larger roads have had to handle when the Southern negroes get lost and stranded in strange places.

The return of the negro proves the cause of the general exodus last year was economic, and that with cotton a good price and the boll weevil scare dissipated the negro naturaly prefers to live in the South. Those who remained at home have made fine crops and some have cleared as much as $1000 over and above all expenses for living and the making of a crop.

There is plenty of money among the negro farmers now and the new exodus is to the farm and into the cotton row. Every one able to handle a hoe who can get an acre of land is now making plans to plant a big cotton crop this coming year. Many of the negro families who moved to town when their crop was destroyed by the boll weevil a year ago will move back to the country and go to farming in earnest. Their places will be taken in town by those returning from their adventures in Northern cities, and conditions will drift back to normal very likely before spring opens up.

The negro race is superstitious and many of them believed the boll weevil a curse sent by Providence to scatter them over the face of the earth. Some of these are afraid the returning negroes may bring the boll weevil back with them.

Many acres of fine farm land had to lie idle last year because the farm lands had gone North and the return of these laborers will be welcomed by everyone interested in the welfare of workers and the country at large. The life of the ordinary farm hand in the South is so different from anything in a northern industrial center he naturally would not be happy or satisfied there and the exodus of this class was foredoomed to failure. The living conditions of this class is about the same in all sections of the south. In South arolina most of the land is owned by rich men and rented out to negro laborers called sharecroppers, the landlord furnishing the land, fertilizer, stock, farming implements and in most cases "rations' to the negro who works the crop. These "rations" or supplies are bought from a local store, often owned by the landlord, on a credit and for this the cropper gives a "lein" on his share of the crop. Usually he eats up most of his share before the crop is made. Some though are more thrifty and come out with some money at the end of the year when the crop is divided between the owner of the land and th laborer. The negro laborer is often quite sharp and unless closely watched by the landlord will slip a bale of cotton to any neighboring town and sel it, keeping the money for his own use. It is up to the landowner to see that he does not get away with it. Good share croppers are scarce and if a landlord gets one on his place he usualy tries to treat him square and keep him.

Hog Killing Time

Hogs are also raised on shares. At this time of the year when the hogs are killed one-half of each hog is brought in to the "boss man" as the land owner is called. Almost every business ma nin a Southern town owns a farm from which he draws supplies. Sweet potatoes and peanuts and various other things are grown on shares.

If a negro farm hand works for a white man worth anything at all he gets a equare del fro mevery other white mn. If you want real trouble let one man try to cheat another man's farm hand. And if a negro gets into trouble his "white folks" are always expected to bail him out of jail and stand for anything he does.

The working negro usually eats two meals a day. Breakfast consists of hoecake and syrup, sometimes bacon and coffee. Many eat hominy cooked soft with Georgia cane syrup poured over it. This mixture is often carried in a tin bucket for lunch when woring out. The second meal is after the days work is done. For this they "boil a pot." A pot of peas, turnip greens, colards or cabbage is boiled on the open fire with a large slice of "fat back" or bacon, and when the pot is ready a hoe cake made of corn meal, salt and shortening i scooked in a "spider" over the coals. This is cooked quickly and turned over like a pattercake and has lost none of its sweet flavor when done. Neighbors are invariably asked in to help eat when a pot is boiled. After eating a circle is made about the fireplace and talk is kept up until late at night. This is the social hour and stories are told. The best loved are those of "old slavery times." They also dearly love a ghost story.

When the story telling begins the cabin door is closed tight to keep strange ears from hearing the tales, and for fear some of the terrible monsters of their vivid imaginations will appear in the door way and cause instant scatteration of all present.

SPARTANBURG, S. C.
DEC 14 1923

CHANGES OF NEGRO POPULATION

(From The Savannah Morning News)

Is the negro to furnish the "seasonal worker" f the country in future? Is he to come South or the cotton seasons and go North for jobs t other times? If he does the chances are he vill never own his home, never have a place hat he will reg as home—and that is something the leaders of his race should think about.

Five hundred families of negroes were said to have gathered at the railroad station in Chicago intending to come South, but 90 per cent of them were frightened away by stories told in the evident effort to make them stay in the North. It s plain that many negroes who go North want to "come back home." It is evident, also that, many who go away are not coming back. The truth is that the section which offers them what they like best is going to get them—and the South has the definite advantage of the climate they prefer.

The point is that climate alone will not control their movements and other factors must be considered; employment, living conditions, opportunity to send their children to good primary public schools, treatment by the white race—these things are bound to have their effect. Wild stories told them by labor agents from the North can not continually be effective; too many negroes will be in the North and will be in communication with too many others in the South for them generally to believe year after year the strange and foolish stories told them. After a while they will begin to make their own comparisons; they will weigh the rival advantages of the old home section and the North. There will be for many years a considerable shifting back and forth—and maybe then there will be a settling down, with such a wide diversion of the negro population that the so called race problem will not be continually stirred up by politicians who have no other issue than sectional antagonism.

So, while many negroes may be shifters "seasonal workmen," the chances are that after a few more years the drift of negro population will have ceased. It is up to the South to hold on to its great common labor supply; it can do it if it will.

NEGROES FLOCK BACK TO SOUTH BY SCORES

12-30-23

BRISTOL, Va., Dec. 29.—Southern negroes, who last spring and summer left their homes in this section for jobs in the north and east, are returning by hundreds. The "back to the south" movement became perceptible early in December, but assumed greater proportions here during the Christmas season.

Literally hundreds of southern negroes flocking back in the two weeks prior to Christmas. The movement became so pronounced in many sections that organizations took steps to provide work for the arrivals. Industrial heads predict that more than 65 per cent of the negroes who went north last summer will be back in Dixie by spring.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
MAY 7, 1923

Northern Migration of Negroes Presents a Serious Problem.

The increasing negro migration from the south is accepted as being due almost entirely to the shortage of common labor in northern industries which have resulted in wage advances which attract the worker from the farms. But there is a very decided difference of opinion among the editors of the nation whether the newcomers will be permanent residents, and whether, also, their leaving will seriously injure the south.

It is the high wages and better conditions that are attracting the negroes northward, the Boston Globe says, arguing that "if scarcity value begins to operate in the distribution of better conditions for the unskilled, the so-called labor shortage will not be without its benefits. When there are enough jobs to go round, those who work at them are not likely to be treated as hunkies." Other things directly responsible are "lynching" and "terrorizing," the Brooklyn Eagle thinks, but "if planters would compel fair play for the negroes, recognizing their rights under the Constitution, no temptation would draw the negro away from the cotton states. Climate, home ties, race inertia, all are powerful forces against wage offers. But the planters have preferred a different policy, and have only themselves to blame if labor is leaving them." In some respects this view has the indorsement of the Chattanooga News, which feels "the time is surely coming when living in the south will have to be made more attractive for the negro or else we are going to lose the advantage we have had because of his amiability as a day laborer." The exodus from the farm is in no way sectional, but the "south has no means of replenishing its depleted supply," the Philadelphia Bulletin points out, while "the limited acreage and reduced crops, which are likely to result, may be to the financial advantage of the favored ones who can carry on and possibly realize higher prices, but no section can prosper when a large part of its potential wealth-producing resources must remain unutilized." On the ground, the Columbia State says the majority of negroes are leaving the cities and towns rather than the country and "less than half of those leaving have been farmers."

In the view of the New York Post, "as a whole the migration is a benefit to both sections and races. There is room for a wider distribution. Southerners still need to learn that the negro is an asset which must be not merely well treated, but competed for; and they should make good their old boasts that they know best how to care for him." Whether that statement is so or not, the Raleigh News and Observer holds "the negro's best chance is in the south. But a more general distribution is not to be feared by the south, as it would lead to a better understanding of the race problem in other sections of the country." There also is little doubt in the mind of the Mobile Register that "the negro migration is unquestionably due to the economic pressure more than to any other cause, but critics of the south will not overlook the opportunity to point out that Georgia, which is notorious for its lynching record, has a much higher percentage of migration than any other southern state." The movement also is "probably temporary," as the Dallas Journal sees it, because "that type of laborer is at home in the cotton patch and not in the sugar-beet field. When the wage schedules slump in the north, as wage schedules have a habit of doing, there will be some tall backtracking to Georgy and Alabam."

The Petersburg Progress and Index Appeal insists "northern men do not understand negroes and negroes who go north from the south never come to understand northern people. Southern people are inclined to feel that the negroes who are leaving will come back, just as they have done in years past. But meanwhile the emigrants are leaving this section without an adequate labor supply, to say nothing of the evils they are bringing upon themselves."

"South Carolina seems to find it rather comforting to know that the negro population is being reduced," cheerfully opines the Savannah Press in a careful analysis of the situation there. "The south apparently has a great number of negroes that could be spared to other sections if they were really needed, and when the negro is gone there will probably be other labor to take their place. It may require some adjustment and rearrangement, but the south is not going to starve to death or go backward because 'ouffee' gets out of Dixie." Suggestions which are made that in certain sections the local authorities have prevented negroes leaving brings the Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph the declaration that "If this right is denied him, as so many others have been, it is time the federal authorities were looking into this matter. Under normal conditions the negro is happier and more contented in the south, especially the typical southern negro. If he is given a square deal he is not inclined to leave his old home." While this, of course, admittedly is true, the Pittsburgh Press holds "higher wages in northern industries are doubtless the chief magnet, although Jim Crow cars and the numerous other anti-negro discriminations in the south may also be a factor. If Judge Gary cannot secure looser immigration laws to aid the steel mills in getting labor from Europe the immigration of the southern blacks into northern cities will likely be encouraged." The result must prove serious to the negroes themselves, the Grand Rapids Press points out, because "vital statistics show there are twelve negro deaths to every ten negro births in the north, while in the southern districts, three negroes are born to every two that die."

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
APRIL 22, 1923

The Negro and the North.

"United Business Service," a publication issued at Boston, Mass., discussing the negro migration from the south to the North and west, makes this observation:

The problem of negro migration from the South concerns not only the South, but the whole country. The negro is indispensable to southern corn and cotton production, for even though white labor can be employed for these purposes, colored labor is preferable and in large sections, the only labor available. It has been conservatively estimated that over 50,000 negroes have left the southern states for the North, the Middle West and the West, the last ninety days, and that they are leaving on every train. According to the O-K Weekly of Harahan, Louisiana, fully 15,000 have gone from the Mississippi Delta and Louisiana, while 12,000 more have left Georgia, with imposing quotas from South Carolina, Texas and Alabama.

Far-reaching social and economic consequences are involved in this movement. While the labor situation in the South will be more complicated and discouraging, the labor situation in the North will likewise be affected by the introduction of a type, alien to many sections, as a competitive element, particularly in wage disputes. Negroes in labor unions hold a precarious position, when they are admitted at all, while as strike breakers, they arouse racial animosities to a frenzy. The negro's place by nature and circumstances is in the South.

By the disturbance of social and economic conditions through sinister propaganda, encouraging the negro to leave the southern countryside, an already acute labor and social situation is further accentuated. Every effort should be made to stem the tide, while no encouragement should be given nor inducements made to solve the northern labor shortage by drawing upon available supplies from the South. The North will even more seriously regret a large negro population than the Southern states, which have paid dearly for the social and economic blunders of slavery. In any event, the problem is one that demands dispassionate but sympathetic consideration.

The Boston publication seems to somewhat unde and this matter. When it says that "the Nort ill seriously regret a large negro population," peaks boldly.

But, after all, the interest most harmed is the gro himself. He will suffer in the North. He ill not find the Arcadia there which the immigra- on agent represented to him. Many of them go to untimely graves in the rigors of the weather there. The negro is not used to below zero wether, and quickly falls a victim to the cold and the ice. The South is, properly, his home.

COLUMBIA S C RECORD
APRIL 27, 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

The migration of negroes from the South to the North and East is recognized as one of the principle economic problems of this section of the country Their labor is needed in the South, and we sincerely believe that their welfare will best be promoted if they stay in this section of the country. Leaders of the negro race who have investigated conditions in the industrial centers to which they have been flocking have warned them that all is not milk and honey in the land which seems to them to be their Canaan.

However. the negroes have a right to go as they please, and for those who are dissatisfied with their conditions and believe they can roll in wealth by migrating, perhaps the best thing for them is to make the experiment. But, they should be protected against the blandishments of employment agents, who paint glowing but false pictures of what the North has to offer them. Let those go who are bent upon making the experiment, as we say, but let them go on their own initiative.

An Associated Press dispatch from Raleigh tells us that the North Carolina highway department has been forced to shut down work on fifty road development project within a week because of a sudden wholesale exodus of unskilled negro labor. Approximately 5,000 workmen of that class have left the Tar Heel State and gone to Richmond and Virginia upon the solicitation of employment agents, according to reliable information gathered by the State authorities.

In South Carolina there is a law against labor solicials on their guard, lest something of the same as we know, it is not being violated, but situations such as that reported from Raleigh should set our officials on their guard, lest something of the same nature happen in this State. South Carolina negroes are continuing their movement to the North as a part of the general exodus, it appears, and this movement should not be increased by artificial means.

In the long run, we believe it will be to the benefit of the negroes themselves, if they are shielded from persuasive inducements that probably will turn out to be hollow delusions.

N. Y. C. COMMERCIAL
MAY 15, 1923

MIGRATION OF NEGRO LABOR

Shortage of labor and consequent high wages is causing an exodus of negroes from the South to the manufacturing centres of the North. So pronounced has this movement become that it is causing great anxiety in the South and efforts are being made to counteract it. In various sections of the South conferences are being held with a view to improving living conditions of the negroes as well as offering them higher wages. The Memphis Commercial Appeal prints a special editorial directed to the negroes, and gives numerous arguments as to why it is better for them to stay in the South than go to the North. "The negroes are being induced to go to the North now under the promise of high wages and fine living conditions," it says; "they are being shown houses wherein they will live. They are being told what they will get. If they will look at these houses carefully and compare them with Memphis houses they will find that they will have to get twice as much as promised in order to pay the rent. Rents are higher in Chicago, Detroit and other Northern cities than in Memphis. Even if the negroes get the wages they are promised it will take all for them to live. If work becomes slack, and it will, they will be the first to lose their jobs. Landlords don't wait on you in the North. You either pay or get out. Neither do doctors, undertakers, nor anybody else."

We appreciate the South's predicament, and we would like very much to have some good negro servants in our homes, but if they do come we can assure them that they will not go unburied when they die.

NEW YORK CITY RECORD
MAY 19, 1923

Exodus of Negroes From South Menaces Cotton Trade, Dial Says

WASHINGTON BUREAU
DAILY NEWS RECORD

Washington, May 18. — The migration of negro labor from the Cotton Belt to the industrial centers of the North holds a menace not only for cotton growers, but for cotton mills as well, according to Senator N. B. Dial, of South Carolina.

Senator Dial said today that there is a particularly heavy exodus of negroes from South Carolina. A constituent calling on the senator today told him that on the train on which he left the State there were 144 negroes going North.

"At present prices of cotton, it is impossible for the growers to increase the wages of their laborers much," Dial said. "If the wages are not increased, it is going to be difficult to hold the workers. Between the weevil, lack of labor and the general effects of low prices, the time is approaching rapidly when no one can afford to grow cotton, and I think that some mills next year will be hard put to find a sufficient supply. This is more than a sectional matter; it is of national concern."

Senator Dial today came to the defense of the cotton standards act, which will go into effect next August, under the terms of which no sales can be made in other than United States grades. The effects of this act have been assailed by several other senators from the South, and at the public hearings conducted by agents of the Department of Agriculture. Senator Dial declared that he believed the law will work to the advantage of the producers. "The United States grows the greater part of the world's spinnable cotton," said the senator. "So it appears only just that it should sell that cotton in grades of its own."

DETERMINED EFFORT STARTED BY WHITES TO CHECK MOVEMENT

The Pittsburgh Courier
5-19-23

Promises and Yet More Promises Are Order of the Day As South Executes Greatest "Right About Face" in History.

PREJUDICIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS MUST CHANGE

ATLANTA, Ga., May 17.—Confronted with an alarming shortage in labor, and facing an era of depression such as the South has never before known, leading citizens throughout all of that vast territory of the country below the Mason-Dixon line, frantic over the steady and ever-increasing exodus of Negroes to northern cities, have executed one of the greatest "right-about faces" in the country's history, and are now literally pleading with the determined migrants to remain in the sunny land of their birth.

Promises and yet more promises are the order of the day as the seriousness of the migratory movement is being brought home with startling intensity and force by the sight of devastated farm lands.

Abolishment of poor living conditions, small wages, mob violence, the hated and feared peonage practices, lack of proper school and educational facilities, curtailment of the activities of the "midnight terror" the Ku Klux Klan, denial of the right to vote and injustice in the courts are some of the promises which are falling out of the mouths of the "crackers" as the southerners, long subjected to every kind of indignity, have finally "crossed the Rubieon" in their efforts to obtain, to some degree that "Democracy" for which they have fought, from the Revolutionary War to the late World War.

Factory Heads Lead

The effort to check dark human tide which has been moving north for the past two years, was brought to an abrupt head here last week, when the Georgia Manufacturers' association last week passed and adopted a resolution, calling upon the South in general and the people of Georgia in particular to use their combined efforts in checking the migratory movement.

A survey of conditions existing among Negroes in the South was taken, and an effort made to show the Negro that he "belongs" to the south, that in the north he is "a stranger in a foreign land." The survey went further to show that the southern native is not adopted to the rigors of the northern climate, especially the winters.

Reasons For Migrating.

But is this the truth? Deep down in their hearts, the south, always hypocritical and supercilious in so far as their "Negro question" is concerned, knows that they are evading the real issue. They know that the Negro is leaving the south because of economic and prejudicial causes.

Unemployment, because of the raveges of the boll weevil and lack of capital to carry labor through crop periods and intervals between planting and harvesting, unsatisfactory living conditions in rural districts and in the vastly populated segregated districts of the south, mob violence and lynching parties, lack of proper school facilities, poor pay for colored teachers and short school terms are some of the economic difficulties which the south will have to eradicate if they hope to stop the movement.

Jim-Crow cars, injustice in the courts and denial of the right to vote are some of the prejudicial causes which must be stopped. And until these "eye sores", both economical and prejudicial, have been stamped out, there can be no hope of a change.

NEGROES, TIRED OF SLAVERY AND DISFRANCHISEMENT, LEAVING SOLID SOUTH

Negro World
New York

("Negro World Washington Bureau")

WASHINGTON, May 16.—The exodus of Negro farm labor from Southern States is attracting national attention. According to a survey just completed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the movement of Negroes from the South to the North in the last year has been of such proportion as to create a shortage of farm labor in some sections of the South. According to the report, approximately 13 per cent. of the total amount of Negro farm labor in Georgia has left the State for the North during the past 12 months. In Alabama, South Carolina and Arkansas from three to four per cent. of the Negro farm workers have left the States since the last crop season. As a result, there is large abandonment of acreage in these States and corresponding decrease in prospective production as well as increase in cost of production.

Although the survey of the U. S. Department of Agriculture enters but very briefly into the alleged causes of this migration, other sources of information justify the assertion that the principal cause is the treatment of the Negro by Southern States and Southern people. The peonage system, convict labor camps, which characterize practically all the Southern States and which amounts to nothing less than a continuation of human slavery, are two of the principal factors in driving Negroes from the South. The refusal of Southern States to obey the Federal Constitution and give the Negro citizen a right to vote is also accountable for much of the emigration, especially among Negroes who served their country during the World War and who feel that that service entitles them to at least the rights of citizenship. The charge of the South that the high wages of the North is the reason for the migration is not to be taken seriously. The discrepancy between Northern and Southern wage levels has always been notorious, but never before has the difference attracted Negroes from their native sections.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.
Future

ANDERSON S. C. EAH
JUNE

Negro Prodigals Appeal For Transportation Home; Red Cross Has Requests

All the negroes who have gone North are not satisfied with the surroundings in their "promised land." During the last few weeks the Anderson Chapter of the American Red Cross has received many requests for financial aid in helding stranged negroes return to the South. One mail has brought as many as five of these requests, cooming from branches of Associated Charities in the North and East and seeking help for home-sick negroes who want too come back to Dixie.

Conditions in the North are not measuring up to the expectations of the negroes, it is reported. For one thing, wage conditions have taken a slump, due to the increasing number if laborers available ficident to the influx. Living costs are much higher in the North than negroes were led to believe, and this, with unemployment in many quarters has thrown many negroes on the mercy of charity, and in some cases charity in the North has turned a deaf ear to the call of the negro laborers.

Since Anderson has no Associated Charities, requests for assistance that come to the attention of this organization are forwarded to the Red Cross here. It has been impossible for the local chapter of the Red cross to take any steps to relieve stranded negroes, although some farmers in this county have signified their willingness to send transportation to the negroes who want come home provided they are willing to enter wage agreements for this year. To date however, no transportation for the home-sick negroes appears available most farmers contending that the experience will be valuable lesson for the negroes who have becomne dicontended with conditions in the South.

The number of requests forwarded to the Red Cross here has attained considerable proportions, Miss Bessie Carlsle, secretary, states. These records are on file in the Red Cross office in the the Bleckley building and should any farmer in this county be interested in bringing the prodigal sons home, they can call at this office in the Bleckley building. From the trend of the pitiful requests sent, it will hardly be necessary for the fatted calf to be killed as an inducement for the negroes to come back .

ANDERSON, S. C.
OCT 26 1923

NEGROES ON WAY BACK TO SOUTH

Manufacturers' Record Finds Homeward Trek Under Way.

The following from the Manufacturers Record is indicative of a check in the trend of negro migration toward northern industrial centers:

"As predicted some months ago by the Manufacturers' Record, there are many signs pointing to a gradual drifting back into the south of southern negroes who migrated north and east during the past few months. Reports from some industrial centers show that the negroes have not been welcomed by the older citizens of those communities. At one point in Pennsylvania city officials have ordered all negroes who have not been residents for seven years to move along. Their presence has caused much ill feeling and outbreaks between whites and blacks. Then, too, cold weather is approaching and much of this class of negro labor, carefree and improvident, is turning longing eyes toward the sunny south. Many in the northern cities are now wishing they were back home, but they are compelled to stay because in spite of good wages they have spent all they made and have no money to pay for railroad fare. They have felt the first attack of old winter and when these attacks become more frequent and with greater severity, the Manufacturers' Record predicts thousands of southern negroes, if they have been industrious enough and have had the foresight to lay by a little money, will be moving south.

"When they begin to return to the south in large numbers this winter, many sections will face another problem. These negro workers left the south at a time when their services were in most demand on the farms. They will come back at a time when the press of work is over. They know from experience that if they remain north during the winter they will have no one to look to for food and shelter should they be laid off. Industrial and other employers in the north and east are not in the habit of feeding and caring for discharged help. But these returning negroes in many instances will be a burden to the south this winter. They will come back to their old haunts and most of them will be entirely dependent upon their relatives, and the white people, and if they are from the country districts, dependent upon southern farmers. As they left the southern farmer in the lurch when they were needed most, their reception may possibly not be so cordial as in years gone by.

"Let us hope that the negroes who migrated north last spring and who are returning to the south will have learned such a lesson that they will come back determined to show their worthiness to their employers and be better able by reason of their experience to appreciate their opportunities in the south."

Negro Migration and Its Implication North and South

Excerpts from an address on "Negro Migration and its Implications North and South," by George E. Haynes, Ph. D., Secretary Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, at the 77th Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association, Springfield, Massachusetts, October 23, 1923.

By GEORGE E. HAYNES, Ph. D.

"A study of Negro population of ten Northern cities for a period of forty years, shows that the Negro population of these cities had increased from 32 per cent to more than 150 per cent every decade from 1870 to 1920. For thirty years preceding 1910, an average of over 35,000 per year settled in the North and West. During the past two years this rate had doubtless been greatly exceeded as indicated by some of the straws of evidence at hand. For instance, the State Bankers Association of Georgia estimated, after a survey, that 77,500 Negroes had left that State in 12 months. The South Carolina Agricultural College estimated that 50,000 Negroes left that State for the North in six months following November 1, 1922 The Department of Agriculture last April estimated from their field reports that 13 per cent of the Negro farm laborers of Georgia had gone North, that 3 per cent of them had gone from Alabama and South Carolina; 2 per cent from Flordia, and 3½ per cent from Arkansas. Conservative estimates have placed the total number who have moved North and West between 200,000 and 300,000 during the past twevle months. 11-3-23

"Again, we need to note that movement of Negro population has been toward Southern, as well as Northern cities. There were 56 cities in the United States in 1920 with ten thousand or more Negro inhabitants; 38 of those cities were in the South and 18 in the North. These, furthermore, do not include the larger part of the Negro urban population. The cities with less than ten thousand Nergo inhabitants and many towns of 2500 or more inhabitants have quotas of Negroes ranging from 10 per cent to nearly 50 per cent of their total population. We should face the fact that today one out of every three Negroes in the U. S. lives in a town or a city of 2500 inhabitants or more, with the closer contacts with white inhabitants which town residence brings.

"Another important point may engage our attention here. The movements of Negro population to Northern cities has ebbed and flowed with the opportunity that Negroes have had for gaining an economic foothold in the cities upon which to build a solid and permanent life in home and community.

"Let us not be unmindful of the fact, too, that the Negro has made an impression on many Northern employers so favorable that there is no longer a question of doubt as to his being retained in Northern industry in large numbers.

"During the past year, Ihave interviewed some of the leaders in the steel mills of the Pittsburgh District of the Chicago territory in Meat Packing and Automobile Industries, in Cleveland and Detroit. In every case they have said that the larger corporations have been so pleased with the results of the employment of Negro workers that now they intend to make them a permanent part of their force.

"Perhaps the most outstanding and far-reaching change that has come in the South is the support and endorsement which Southern humanitarian and religious leaders and agencies have finally obtained in their efforts for justice and opportunity for Negroes. The economic and self-interest motives and interests are now beginning to run parallel with the humanitarian motives and interests, whereas, in past decades, those who sought to help through the institutions of the Church and Social School too often found indifference meeting them on every hand.

"The most striking feature of all these changes in the South has been remarkable reception given the advanced and liberal attitude, purpose and plans of work of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, with its headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., and with its branch commissions now in nearly every Southern state. County interracial committees were established in nearly seven hundred counties where there was any considerable Negro population. These headed up into the State Commission nearly all of which have paid executive secretaries. This movement has grown from an informal gathering of a few Southern white Christian leaders who met in a little upper room in Atlanta in 1919 shortly after the Armistice.

"Today nearly all the Southern churches and leading women have lined up to work for a better day of goodwill and understanding between the races. The Federal Council of Churches, two years ago threw influence into the cause of interracial co-operation and has been developing with increasing influence its Commission on the Church and Race Relations. In fifteen Northern cities already interracial movements are under way.

"Is it not quite natural to ask, after migration what? May we not consider the implications and some responsibilities which come to us out of these tremendous changes in racial relations?

"In the first place the North now is certain to have a large permanent Negro population ,and this will be concentrated in the larger cities. All the problems of health, education, government, vice, crime, interracial contacts and many others will press for attention and solution North as well as South. In the second place, no one can longer question the national character of the problems involved in the relations of white and Negro people in America. It is a matter that calls for the best thought, the broadest feeling, the most effective action of the white North, and white South and the Negro, North and South.

"In the third place, there is need for some large vissioned philanthropy in the North which was undertaken to draw some of these people to some of the arable farm lands in New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio and Illionis away from the congested city centers. Ready-made farming villages with small farms surrounding where they could buy on easy terms would attract many and become an outlet in the days of industrial depression sure to come.

"Aroused as they are, the Negro is less content than to accept a status of half a citizen, or as someone has called it, "half-a-man". If he lives in the community, he wants to have the good houses, clean streets, police protection and fire protection, and other facilities, considered necessary now for wholesome living in a modern community. He wants the opportunity as a citizen; to share in ...ems and recieve the blessings benefits.

NEW YORK CITY HERALD
NOVEMBER 12, 1923

NEGROES GO NORTH IN WHOLE COLONIES

Southern Farms Stripped Bare of Workers During Night.

LABOR AGENTS BEING CURBED

Many Cotton Planters Unable to Take Care of Crops.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD

MEMPHIS, Nov. 11.—In their northward drift the negro migrants from the South follow certain accessible lines of transportation. They move by stages, stopping here and there for a look about or means of recuperating their traveling expenses.

Memphis has been the principal clearing house for Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas negroes. Knoxville is also a distributing point for them. In the eastern South Atlantic States Norfolk, Va., has been the first important stop, and from there the migrants have gone to Baltimore and Philadelphia and on north.

From Memphis thousands of them went to Cincinnati to be distributed to industrial centers north and west of there. The Illinois Central Railroad has hauled more than any other carrier.

Southern States have enacted anti-labor agent laws to protect their farmers from the outsider who gathers workers on a commission basis. A license system is used. An agent pays $1,000 county fee and $500 city fee for the privilege of operating. That is prohibitive in most counties, but in centers like Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham and Knoxville it works well and many pay it. There is no way to stop the individual from going, and negroes follow the lead of some kinsman or friend.

Gets Only Healthy Negroes.

Many schemes have been tried to land Georgia negroes in Memphis and other distributing points. One well known automobile manufacturer in the middle West has been very careful in his campaign for laborers. His instructions to agents have been that he would accept none but strong, healthy men. This action was taken because of the fact that many sick negroes, some of them sufferers from tuberculosis or other diseases, were found among the first shipments to that section of the country. To get the sort of persons desired agents would have negro preachers send the applicants to doctors "for insurance." This proved to be sufficient protection. In some instances employers deported diseased negroes to their old homes.

Southern farmers have lost their laborers during a single night without ever having suspected any plan was on foot to take them away. This sort of movement was caused by well known negroes returning from the North and West to induce others to follow their example.

Negro churches suffered in these quiet movements. One church at Lone Oak, near Grantville, Ga., was ninety-eight members short one Sunday morning, following a Saturday night drive.

Farmers Disappear in Night.

Mrs. Lula Powell, who owns 1,000 acres of cotton land in the Newman, Ga., district, had tenants and stock last spring for a large production. Every family disappeared between sundown and sunrise one night just before the crop was planted. B. F. Redwine of the same community lost forty hands in a similar movement. T. B. Sanders, a neighbor of Redwine, had ten plows running one day, preparing for cotton, and the next, one.

A school teacher who conducted a farm with tenants, was well supplied with negroes for the year. One Saturday night in May he visited the farm, and found things moving on nicely, his four tenants busy. The following Monday morning he went by to give some instructions, and discovered that his houses were vacant, and his mules had not been fed for two days. A little investigation convinced this farmer and his friends that a labor agent had taken his tenants away in the night on "transportation." From 50 to 75 per cent. of the negroes in scores of counties in Georgia disappeared this way.

Judge W. A. Post, of the city court of Grantville, owns a large plantation in Merriwether County. It came down to him from his parents and he has farmed it after the fashion of a country gentleman. His negroes were treated well, and they liked him and his way of dealing with them. None of them left without notifying him of the purpose before hand. He employed from ten to fifteen families. The heads of two of these joined the "movement." One of them had been "mixed up in a little chicken" affair, Judge Post explained and departed.

Had to Dismiss His Negroes.

"Now," said Judge Post to THE NEW YORK HERALD correspondent, "my negroes remained with me until I saw I could not afford to keep them, the boll weevil having made cotton farming precarious; when you plant you have no idea what you will harvest. I did not feel like backing my negroes at a supply store for provisions to make a crop. It was too risky. Therefore, with sincere regrets, I told them to look out for themselves. My best wishes went with them.

"Many of the negroes that left here went to Dayton, Ohio. Some of them have returned for visits or to stay. They get more for their labor there and report that they pay $7 for a room by the month and $30 or more for board.

"I expect to hear of much suffering among the negroes in the North this winter. They are not frugal and never learned to save anything for a rainy day. If they can keep at work they will make enough to live on. I have been told that large numbers of them do what they did here, work a few days, get a few dollars and then loaf. That will not go well in the North."

Charles S. Culpepper, who owns a farm adjoining that of Judge Post, let all of his negroes go. Last year he worked a dozen families and lost money. This year he had none, reduced his cotton acreage and made home supplies and ten bales of cotton. Mr. Culpepper considers that he has done well.

Boll Weevil Started Migration.

The activities of the boll weevil and the migration of cotton belt negroes are different phases of one big movement. The boll weevil struck the cotton producing section of Louisiana long before it began to appear in more Northern States. Groups of negroes moved ahead of him.

Terrell and Sumter are leading cotton counties of Georgia. The boll weevil and the negro exodus have decreased production greatly there. From 22,000 bales Terrell has dropped to 10,000. The Sumter yield has been cut in half.

The first shift of negro cotton farmers in the South was from county to county to get away from the boll weevil. Then it extended from State to State. The last stand of these loyal producers of King Cotton is being made in North Carolina and Missouri, States yet comparatively free from the destructive pest. Many well to do negro farmers recently have moved from the rich lands of the Mississippi valley to the new cotton territory of Missouri.

It was pointed out here to-day by Southern landowners that the negro tenant prefers cotton to any other crop. That is the money crop, and, if he is a good farmer, with a large family of workers, he can make a small fortune if left alone by the boll weevil and if the price is right. This year many of those who remained and were favored with dry weather have done remarkably well with cotton.

Mississippi's Plight the Same.

What happened in Georgia followed in Mississippi on a larger scale. The farms of the Mississippi River section are large as a rule. One landlord employs from a half dozen to 10,000 negroes.

Residents of Memphis own large plantations just across the river from here. L. K. Salisbury, who came here from Michigan twenty-odd years ago, conducts a 65,000 acre cotton farm at Scott, Miss. He has more than 10,000 negroes on his lands. His businesslike methods have brought to him a large measure of success. Less than twenty of his tenants joined the migration movement, and most of them have come back. He is successfully combating the boll weevil.

Recently he has provided transportation for one or more families that left him to go to Chicago to return to Scott. One old negro joined a son, who urged him to do so, taking with him $800 he had accumulated. The savings soon fell into other hands and now he is back on the old plantation to make a new start.

Fontaine Martin, another Memphis citizen who owns large farming interests in the Mississippi River valley, lost thirty out of forty of the families on one plantation last spring. He was forced to reduce his cotton acreage to one-fourth of that originally planned for the year, but he turned to corn and hay and made money because of the high prices for those products. A few of his old tenants are drifting back. One negro that received $4,000 as his share of the crop two years ago now is stranded in a Northern city, begging for money to "get home on."

These are isolated cases, but they show what is going on in negro-bereft communities.

NEW YORK CITY HERALD
NOVEMBER 21, 1923

MOTON ASSERTS SOUTH WANTS NEGRO TO RETURN

Tuskegee Head Sees Much Good in Racial Migration.

No man has to hide his face behind a hood to protect the American flag, said Major Robert R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., in a speech last night before the Quill Club, made up of men prominent in various walks of life.

Dr. Moton, who succeeded Booker T. Washington as principal of the negro institution, said that in the last year more than 500,000 negroes migrated North because of economic conditions, the need of better housing, desire for security, "Jim Crowism" and the Ku Klux Klan.

He said the South at last is awake to the seriousness of the migration and that business men, including bankers in every Southern State, are more alive than ever before to the importance of economic justice, better educational opportunities and justice in courts to the negro. Dr. Moton said the negro question will be settled below the Mason and Dixon line not only for America but for Africa and the world as well.

Dr. Moton reported that the Ku Klux Klan has had some effect on the migration but added that more white persons have been hanged, murdered or tarred and feathered in the South than negroes. He considers the hooded organization as a mob in disguise and a menace to all classes.

Restriction of immigration had created a great labor demand in the North, and the only available supply was in the South, according to Dr. Moton. He said members of his race earn from two to four times as much in the North as back on the plantations. However, he thinks the movement to better the status of the negro in the South is actuated not wholly by the economic advantage of the negro's presence but by the dictates of human justice.

"The South, as represented by the best sentiment expressed in the southern press, is determined to wipe out mob rule and the disgraceful practice in certain sections and among certain groups of lynching," said Dr. Morton, "and to see to it that the negro shall be given his rights and privileges as an American citizen in proportion to the measure of his merit.

"This migration has had certain benefits for the negroes who have left the South as well as the negroes who remain. It will mean greater diversification of crops, more intensive agriculture, the breaking up of large plantations as well as increasing respect for labor of the hands on the part of whites as well as blacks, with greater increase in the use of improved farm machinery.

"A process of social revolution is going on in the South. White women are going into the kitchen to cook and doing other jobs formerly the work of the negro. There is an organization made up of the finest and most cultured women in the South, the main object of which is to stop the lynching of the negro and the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. I understand the K. K. K. is strongest in a Northern State—Indiana."

Dr. George Haynes of this city, a graduate of Yale University, said that 25 per cent. of the negroes of Harlem own their homes. According to Dr. Haynes, the negro population of this city was 91,000 in 1910 and 152,000 in 1920; Philadelphia had increased from 84,000 to 134,000 for the same period, Chicago from 44,000 to 109,000 and Detroit from 5,700 to 40,800.

Negros Planning To Return South Stayed by Threat

Atlanta

Chicago, December 10.—Reports of intimidation of 200 negro families who were prepared to return to the south on a special Illinois Central train, were disclaimed today by railroad company officials, after the number actually returning had dwindled to a mere handful.

Consolidation

12-11-23

Illinois Central officials had a special train ready to transport a large group of negro families but when train time came, so few showed up the special train was canceled and a special car added to a regular train. Rumors of threats of violence said to have been made against the negroes contemplating emigration from this section have come to their knowledge only by hearsay, the Illinois officials said. They expressed the opinion that the large influx of negro workers to the north has resulted in a permanent change with little likelihood of a general return.

The company made arrangements for handling a large number of emigrating negroes from Chicago. The passenger agent at Memphis, Tenn., was in charge of arrangements for special transportation facilities to handle the group.

Just why the negroes whom they expected to fill the cars failed to show up at train time, they were at a loss to explain.

A labor agent from Clarksdale, Miss., said to represent cotton interests, was reported to have made arrangements with the railroad for carrying the negroes back south. He was credited with the statement that most of the negroes were willing to return and that he was at a loss to understand what frightened them to keep them from going.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

Passing of the Feudal South

Boll Weevil, With Consequent Migration of Negroes, Threatens Break-up of Old Plantations

N Y C POST
JUNE 21, 1923 By Herschel Brickell

NOT the least interesting of the many changes the South is witnessing as a result of the migration northward of its negro labor is the threatened effect of the exodus upon the entire system of cotton growing and upon the social organization of the great cotton-producing territories. The cotton "planter"—*sui generis* among agriculturalists, for he never thinks of himself as a farmer in the sense of the man who follows a plough, but as a manager of labor and the executive head of a producing organization—has in many instances seen the handwriting on the wall. In the fertile Mississippi delta, as well as in other sections, the plantations are already being cut up into small farms and offered for sale to actual tillers of the soil.

In the delta country, enriched for centuries by the silt deposits of the muddy Mississippi and its tributaries, cotton has been grown since slavery days upon huge tracts of land—2,000 acres is a fair average for a cotton plantation. An English syndicate owns 35,000 acres in a single tract; there are three brothers whose plantations join, and 22,000 acres are in their hands. Upon these vast places the negroes who are now leaving to work in the mills and factories of the North and West have toiled as "share croppers," as renters, and as day laborers.

There has always been something about the entire system of cotton production that is highly speculative. This gambling element has bred in both planter and laborer a reckless spirit, so that when a turn of fortune's wheel has poured into their lap a golden flood they have both spent money like the proverbial drunken sailor. While the share cropper during these seasons of prosperity whizzed about in his fine new automobile, even if he still lived in a two-room cabin, his employer built homes palatial in size and cost, took trips to Europe, sent his daughters to New York, and his sons to Eastern colleges, and lived in general as if he had suddenly acquired the Midas touch.

What a Bad Year Meant

In good years, all that; in bad ones, another picture—a picture of negroes living the year through on $60 worth of store-bought groceries and supplies, knowing a poverty that in a less genial clime would have made life impossible and winding up a season of hard work deeply in debt, with little chance of getting out until another fat year came along. Their master, as often as not up to his neck in debt, his cotton unsold, and the banks clamoring for settlement, moved into the garage of his unfinished palace, recalled his family from their travels, and buckled down to a life as near privation as a Southern cotton planter ever knows—which, it may be added, isn't very near. The state of privation is relative only.

Until the boll weevil injected itself into the situation the good and the bad years in the cotton country balanced to a satisfactory degree to both planters and labor. Their lives were those of gamblers, but they won often enough to blot out the gloomy memories of the years when they lost, and the winnings were big ones. When the little brown beetle came along, however, making his way somehow across the wide Mississippi in a manner yet unexplained, for many thought the stream would protect the eastern part of the cotton territory from his unwelcome presence, it upset the law of averages, as well as those of agriculture, society, and economics. Here was a new speculative element, equally hard on master and man.

Few realized when the weevil first arrived that in time it would be one of the principal factors in a labor upheaval. They knew that the pestiferous little chocolate colored insect kept planters and their bankers sitting up late at night wondering how they were going to get by; they knew all about the struggle that science was making against the weevil, but it was the weevil that caused lean years to come in rapid succession over much of the cotton territory, and it was the weevil that smote many a buddingly prosperous year in the midst of its budding, turning its promised gold to ashes.

So, when the siren call of industry reached the negroes in the South, struggling with hard and often almost impossible conditions, they hearkened. There were other reasons, but the fight against the weevil and low-priced cotton had sapped their morale; they would never have left the South in great numbers if they had known the prosperity there they once had.

Doom of the Great Plantations

Their departure, which is continuing, is another story. It is the effect that is under consideration. With the negroes gone or going and little likelihood of their being replaced with any other labor so cheap and tractable, the day of the great cotton plantation appears to be doomed. It may be years in disappearing, but there are signs a plenty that it is not long for this world.

The breaking up of the big plantations marks the end of a period in the life of the South that was closely like that of ante-bellum days—a feudal state, with the virtues and vices of that system. The large, white-pillared mansion, many-galleried, with its broad acres stretching their green rows away to the horizon; the rambling row of negro houses in "the quarters," the negroes young and old that had been born in sight of the "big house," the saddle horses in the barn, and perhaps a few pacers and trotters, a life of much pleasant social intercourse, open-handed hospitality, the beauty of women, the bouquet of the exquisitely blended mint julep—it is all these things that are threatened.

For the other side of this attractive picture there has always been the condition of the negroes, whose economic status has ranged from a frank peonage to honest employment where they were fairly treated and where they had opportunities to become independent if they so chose. Their conditions varied with the kind of employer whose lands they worked and with the conscience of the community.

Not that the negroes as a whole have been unhappy or mistreated on these plantations. Enlightened planters have built schools for them and churches, and paid their preachers and teachers, kept a plantation doctor to look after them, seen to it that they were comfortably housed, and in general have manifested the same interest that other wise employers generally show in the welfare of their workers. And the negro is blessed with a happy nature, which seemed to thrive under the warm Southern sun, and the pastoral simplicity of life on the great farms away from even small towns.

If the existing system of cotton growing is changed by pressure from labor shortage and the boll weevil, what is likely to happen is the division of the fertile lands that grow the finest long staple cotton and of other cotton-growing territories into small tracts to be farmed intensively and scientifically by "dirt farmers," rather than planters. It is [illegible] that diversification will be practiced; that is, that cotton will be made a "money crop," while food and feedstuffs will receive their due share of attention and live stock will also play a prominent part, as it must in any well-balanced system of agriculture.

It is a change to a far more democratic and far less speculative method of production, but it spells the doom of one of the most interesting phases of life in rural America. The adjustment to new conditions is likely to be too much for the planters, many of whom have grown up in the business and are descended in direct line from slave-holding land owners. If, however, they are able—this statement applies particularly to the Mississippi delta and other equally fertile territory—to dispose of their holding at good prices, they will have enough left to retire to towns or cities and dream about past glories.

Clipped
SEP 4 1923

JUDGE WINSTON'S PLAN

Judge Robert W. Winston, writing in the September number of the Current History magazine, says that the solution of the race problem in the south is the migration of negroes to the north, east and west. In other words, remove the possibility of friction by removing one of the causes. He would have the other sections of the country offer encouragement to negroes to go there, and would have the people of the south remove all restrictions against migration and let the negro go just as rapidly as possible. The judge says:

"Can actual race warfare be avoided in the South? I think that it can. There is nothing strange or alarming about the situation. The negro desires to be free and he is right. The white man claims that the south is his to rule and control, and he, too, is right. But a head-on collision need not come from every paradox. While man has busied himself in the wrong way, the God of nations seems to have taken a hand, pointing the way of escape, even as He pointed it out to Abraham and Lot in the land of Bethel: "And Abraham said unto Lot, let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee. Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me." Even so today is God moving the black man to separate himself from the Southern white man, and, the thousand, are negroes leaving the south.

"Let the census tables again speak. The white population of the United States in the last four decades has increased 100 per cent., while the negro population in the same period has increased but 40 per cent. In the far south during the decade 1910-1920 the negro population either stood still or diminished, Alabama and Mississippi having 8,000 and 75,000 fewer negroes respectively in 1920 than in 1910. The way out, therefore, is to change our mental attitude on this subject and vitalize every legitimate movement for negro migration north, east and west. Let those States welcoming the negroes to equal rights make known the fact, opening wide their doors, and negroes will continue to leave the south, as they are now doing, in great numbers, thus relieving race friction. Undoubtedly the southern states should co-operate in the movement, instantly repealing such laws as impose fine and imprisonment on emigration agents and giving up negro labor for the general welfare. (The only good of the Ku Klux is to frighten negroes from southern states to other sections—and this is unintentional.)"

Judge Winston's idea is a novel one. Whether

it is the proper plan for solving the south's race problem is open to argument. There is no getting around the fact that if the negro leaves, the south will have no negro problem. But, will the south and the negro be benefited by such a solution? That is a social and economic question which rises up to confront the judge's plan. It is the easiest way out of the situation, but would it be justified by obligations of duty?

But, the Judge's idea has one prominent factor in its favor, and that is that the movement he suggests is already underway, and is in a fair way of providing its own solution without special effort on the part of the south to get rid of the negro. The migration is proceeding rapidly, and if continued will substantially carry out the Judge's idea.

In the same number of Current History that Judge Winston's article appeared, there was another article showing that during the past ten years the negro population of northern cities increased from 12 to 786 per cent. In eight northern cities the negro population grew in a decade more than 100 per cent., and in 11 other cities the increase was from 50 to 100 per cent. That article says:

"Normally negro migration from the south to the north proceeds at the rate of about 10,000 a year. In 1916 and 1917, however, war clouds precipitated an exodus from whose sensational effects—it took more than 400,000 negroes from every region of the south—the solid south has not yet entirely recovered. In many respects this exodus bore a striking resemblance to the migration to Kansas in 1879 and that to Arkansas and Texas in 1888 and 1889. Now comes a third significant move in the history of negro migration, and pregnant with it are the revolutionary social and industrial effects it must necessarily have on conditions in the south."

Marcus Garvey, who got into trouble with the government for some of his financial dealings in the negro ship line known as the Black Star line, for which he is now serving a prison sentence, says that the oly real solution for the involving of the negro and white races is for the negro to have a nation of his own where he can work out his own destinies in his own way, unhampered by other races and without hampering other races. He says:

"We feel that there is absolutely no reason why there should be any differences between the black and white races, if each stop to adjust and steady itself. We believe in the purity of both races. We do not believe the black man should be encouraged in the idea that his highest purpose in life is to marry a white woman, but we do believe that the white man should be taught to respect the black woman in the same way as he wants the black man to respect the white woman. It is a vicious and dangerous doctrine of social equality to urge, as certain colored leaders do, that black and white should get together, for that would destroy the racial purity of both.

"We believe that the black people should have a country of their own where they should be given the fullest opportunity to develop politically, socially and industrially. The black people should not be encouraged to remain in white people's countries and expect to be presidents, governors, mayors, senators, congressmen, judges and social and industrial leaders. We believe that with the rising ambition of the negro, if a country is not provided for him in another 50 or 100 years, there will be a terrible clash that will end disastrously to him and disgrace our civilization. We desire to prevent such a clash by pointing the negro to a home of his own. We feel that all well-disposed and broad-minded white men will aid in this direction."

Greenville, S. C., News JUL 22 1923

HIS ONLY SOUTHERN ENEMY.

The negro press of the North has sought to capitalize the negro migration into making vivid its argument that the negro is treated less decently in the South than in other sections of the country. The movement from the cotton fields to the domestic and industrial drudgery of the East has been accentuated largely by the desire of the negro to get more consideration from the whites, they contend. It so happens that the negroes have been quicker to refute this obvious misconstruction than the Southern people. Without exception almost they have denied that they are treated better in the North than in the South, and every week or so an account bobs up in some newspaper where a returned negro says he has come back South "to be among friends." The major motive in negro migration is economic—the opportunity to make more money. One who gives even cursory study to the movement comes readily to the conclusion. On the whole the Southern white man is the negro's friend and feels a responsibility for him that the whites of other sections do not feel. But that is not saying the negro hasn't enemies among the whites of the South. There is a class of white men who live by cheating him. It is a relatively small class, to be sure, but it systematically makes a business of preying on the ignorance of the colored people. The components cannot be classified as to their line of business. They are the culprits of various lines. The public usually knows was they are and the public does not respect them. Its feeling toward them is very much as is that of The Manufacturers Record and George Bailey of The Houston Post. Of them the aforesaid paper says:

> The white man who swindles a negro, or robs him of his pay, or cheats him in a trade, is meaner in soul than is the mangy, fleabitten cur that slinks into the back alleys of Constantinople and lives upon the garbage of that unclean city.

And Bailey adds:

> Comparisons are odious. This one is peculiarly unjust to the mangy, fleabitten curs of Constantinople.

The comparison is, at any rate, not ill placed. There is no lower grade human than the one who gets ahead by fleecing ignorant and helpless people. The man who swindles ignorant negroes is not less despicable than the scoundrel who steps in and robs a widow with a house full of children of the little shack her husband left her.

These are the negroes' enemies and they are in the South only because the negroes have been here. Had the negroes centered in any other section the white buzzards would have been there too.

The South is not to be criticized for their presence any more than a community would be blamed for having in it a widow-robber. But the decent white man should contribute his mite toward putting them out of business by giving the negroes counsel and assistance when they get in the clutches of these unscrupulous white crooks.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

SOUTH IS ALARMED BY NEGRO EXODUS; TRIES TO STOP IT

N Y EVENING WORLD
JULY 27 1923

228,938 Have Left Georgia for the North in Three and a Half Years.

By Robert T. Small.

Special Correspondent of The Evening World.

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(This is the first of a series of four despatches by Mr. Small dealing with the migration of the Negro from the South to the North and West.)

WASHINGTON, July 27.—Negro migration from the South to the North and West is gaining rather than slackening in pace. Georgia continues to be the centre of the movement. A Government bulletin issued three months ago announced that 32,000 Negro farm laborers had left Georgia for the North within twelve months. This report did not tell half the story. A survey just completed by the Georgia Bankers' Association shows that during the first six months of this year 77,500 Negroes left Georgia and that a total of 228,938 have migrated from the State within the past three and a half years.

A despatch from Chicago to-day states that figures gathered by T. Arnold Hill, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, show that from 500 to 600 Southern Negroes daily are pouring into Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit and one or two other industrial centres.

In most of the Southern States there still is a disposition to place most of the blame for the exodus of the Negroes on the paid labor agents from the North.

It has been charged that many of the Negroes who left Georgia did so because notices to quit the State within thirty days had been nailed to their cabin doors and signed by the "K. K. K." An investigation in Georgia has shown that within three or four days after these warning signs were posted labor agents from the North arrived on the scene with a plentiful supply of money and have "assisted" the Negroes in "fleeing the wrath of the Ku Klux Klan."

Georgia legislators openly claim that the warning notices have been the work of the labor agents and not the Klan. And this is one of the explanations of the remarkable bill pending to-day in the Georgia Legislature dealing with the labor agents. It is said by its proponents that the bill is certain to become a law. It provides:

"That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons, acting for themselves, or as the agent of any persons, firm or corporation, to enter this State for the purpose of enticing, soliciting, hiring or in any manner offering any enticement or inducement to any person or persons within the limits of this State, or in any way or manner induce or assist any citizen of this State to remove, leave or migrate to any other State or territory.

"That any person carrying on the business of soliciting or inducing, assisting, aiding or abetting any citizen of this State to leave the said State, shall be declared and defined an immigration or labor agent."

Violations of the law would be deemed a felony, with punishment fixed by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than three nor more than seven years.

Negroes in the North and West are doing all they can to draw their brothers from the South. They say the Negro has taken his place in Northern industry for all time and that talk of thousands of dissatisfied workers turning again to the South is nothing but "Southern propaganda."

Government reports tend to bear out the statement that thus far there has been no indication of a backward flow. In some States the "repatriation" has not amounted to more than one per cent. of the emigrants.

Representative H. P. De La Perriere of Jackson County, Georgia, one of the authors of the bills against the labor agents, said in an interview telegraphed from Atlanta to-day, that there was no question but that the Negro situation was becoming serious.

"From last December to March of this year," he said, "on my farm alone over forty families of Negroes have left, and others are leaving daily."

ALBANY GA HERALD
JUNE 2 1923

SOUTHERN NEGROES WHO GO NORTH SURE TO SEE TROUBLE.

There is no panacea for the peculiar problem which the negro exodus is imposing on Southern industries and on the existing Northern social order. For let those negroes who are going North not lose sight of the fact that their going creates an acute problem in every Northern community where they congregate in considerable numbers.

Consider any one city or large town in the North to which Southern negroes are moving. Where there are thousands of them, their presence necessitates the encroachment of negro quarters on white residential sections, or else the occupancy of many dwellings in white neighborhoods by negro families. And in either case, friction results. That has been proved times without number, for the average Northern white man does not understand the Southern negro any better than the Southern negro understands the Northern white man. They have had no opportunity to get acquainted, and the sudden addition of thousands of colored citizens to the population of a Northern community rarely if ever fails to lead to friction. It has done it in the past and it will do it again.

Matters may move along smoothly enough for a time for the very good reason that a combination of circumstances makes the negro, for the present, at least, industrially welcome in the Northern communities to which he has been attracted. Industry is humming. Mills and factories are running at top speed. The railroads have all the business they can handle. Building is booming, and there is a job at good wages for every man who is willing to work.

But this condition will not last, for our national prosperity is a thing of ebbs and flows. It rises then falls, but never remains at any level very long at a time. The great prosperity which followed the World War was closely followed by a serious depression which stopped building, crippled industry and swamped the bankruptcy courts. Now the tide is running high again, but as surely as night follows day a reaction will set in before long. Suddenly money will be hard to get, mills and factories will be laying off employes, the railroads will be taking off trains and building operations will slump.

And Southern negroes who have gone by thousands to the North will be the first to lose their jobs—either that or they will find themselves the victims of an intense prejudice on the part of white men out of work, if perchance negroes are retained in their positions. Practically every serious riot in the North of which negroes have been the victims has been precipitated by white men who demanded the jobs held by black men. For when white men are out of work in Northern industrial centers and colored men still have jobs, trouble is inevitable. The same thing does not happen in the South, however unfairly the negro may be discriminated against in other things. He is permitted to work without molestation as long as he will, and is protected in his right to work even as is the white man.

Even now the rumblings of discontent are heard in the North as negro colonies in the cities increase and more and more negroes take the jobs which white men hitherto have held. As long as there are plenty of jobs for both whites and blacks, matters will not reach a crisis, but the moment the unemployment problem returns—the moment white men and colored men meet in keen competition for the only jobs that are open—then the thing will happen that always happens when a live spark falls on dry powder.

What The Herald has said before it says again—those negroes who remain in the South have everything to gain and nothing to lose. They will find their services in greater demand than ever, for the reason that so many members of their race who formerly competed with them have gone North. They will find wages higher, and they will find also that they are more considerately treated in all things.

Racial trouble north of the Mason and Dixon line is inevitable. It is coming as surely as effect follows cause.

SPARTANBURG S.C. Herald
Movement
JUL 25 1923

THE MIGRATION OF THE NEGROES.

Two dispatches were printed in the newspapers last Friday—one from Atlanta, Georgia, the other from Montgomery, Alabama, both loaded, we are inclined to think, with trouble of high explosive quality, we are inclined to fear. The dispatch from Atlanta read as follows:

"An effort to check the migration of negroes and other farm laborers was given by the authors as the reason for the introduction of a bill in the Georgia Legislature today which would make it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States. Punishment would be a prison term of not less than three years nor more than seven.

"'Passage of this bill,' one of the authors declared, 'will result in checking the exodus of negroes and other farm laborers of Georgia to other States. It does not allow even licensed labor agents to operate in the State. The present labor situation in Georgia demands drastic legislation and this measure is one which we think best to provide relief.'"

The dispatch from Montgomery said:

"A bill to tax labor agents recruiting labor in Alabama $5,000 for every county in which they operate was introduced in the Alabama House of Representatives today."

It is doubtful that either of these measures would stand the test of serious injuiry by any Court of competent jurisdiction. Evidently, the purpose of both these bills is to check the exodus of negroes from Georgia and Alabama—the words "and other farm laborers" mean nothing; there are practically no

other farm laborers in the South but negroes. An effort should be made to have the Courts pass upon this proposed legislation—otherwise, it will become the source of much trouble in the future.

Besides, it is not true that many, not to say most, of us have been been hoping for the last twenty-five or thirty or more years for the migration of the negroes? Books have been written, statesmen have argued, promoters have protested that it would not be possible for the South to reach its largest possible growth and prosperity so long as it was under the cloud of Negro inefficiency and Negro domination. And now it is proposed in the Legislature of Georgia that it shall be a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States, punishable by imprisonment for not less than three years nor more than seven years. It might be that persons or concerns soliciting negro or other farm laborers who had made contracts to labor in Georgia could be punished for such solicitation. In that event, however, would it not be possible for Negro or other farm laborers to refuse to make contracts in Georgia and by such refusal open the way for negotiations with labor solicitors from other States?

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

JUL 8 1923

Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, C[illegible] Head, Discusses Problem of Negro Emigration

Editor Constitution: The emigration of negroes from southern farms in large numbers, has caused much concern among our employers of labor, and considerable interest has been shown in devising means to restrain their exodus from the south. One would judge from the many expressions to be read on the subject in our newspapers that this northward movement of colored people is approaching the size of a sectional catastrophe.

Yet, in the opinion of the writer, quite the opposite is the case. The more one considers the matter from all points of view, the more are we led to believe that it is one of the most helpful and promising movements and, in general, one of the best things that has ever happened to the south, the negro, and the nation.

To begin with, we all recognize the fact that the determination on the part of northern labor and the northern people in general to relieve our American Nordic civilization from competition with the lower elements of southern Europe by passing a stringent immigration law is at the bottom of the whole matter. Instead of employing European labor, the northern manufacturing concern is employing the southern darky. The results are perfectly plain and the advantages to all parties concerned are apparent.

It is certainly a fine thing for the negro laborer. Anyone who reads the letters that they write home from the north, or who talks with them as they leave in multitudes from any of our southern railway stations, will learn very quickly just why they are deserting the farms, the villages and the cities for the east. In many cases housing conditions in which they find themselves are far superior to those which they left. So are their school facilities and, in general, everything else that makes for their happiness. So far as the negro emigrant is concerned, the matter would seem hardly open to debate. Indeed, it is neither right nor just to attempt to prevent their going by any form of compulsion.

And the negro laborer left behind is also immensely advantaged. He finds that in proportion as the colored labor leaves his community his own wages rise. He finds also that the white employer and the white property owner have something to say to him about his rents and his tumbledown shanty and his living conditions that he has wanted to hear for a good many years. While he may prefer to stay at home in Georgia, he is only too glad to see many of his friends go north, realizing that every one of them who departs is conferring a benefit upon those that they leave behind.

And, in consequence, it follows logically that the white laborer of the south is also advantaged by this exodus. He, likewise, finds his wages rising and the dilapidated house that he has been renting begins to be repaired. Whether he lives on a farm or in a more thickly settled community, he becomes a far more valued personage with a larger income and is being rapidly placed in a position to help himself more effectively. Especially is this the case with the white farm laborer. If he is bitter in his heart, he does not deplore the sinking in value of the farm lands, but recognizes in that fact the possibility that the "poor white trash" of the south may, after a while, be able to own their own homes. He finds himself relieved of the competition of his negro neighbor to a large extent. He is dimly conscious of the fact that his "poor white trash" civilization has been largely made so and kept so by its close proximity to an African civilization. He knows that the very words that his children use incorrectly and pronounce so faultily have been learned from their nurses and negro playmates, and he is not sorry to see h[illegible] from the competition [illegible] neighbor that sinks [illegible] peonage. He feels th[illegible] money drives out go[illegible] civilization drives out [illegible] tion, and it looks to [illegible] about to have anothe[illegible]

And as it is wit[illegible] with the southern fa[illegible] frank and loyal Geor[illegible] what farming is as co[illegible] middle west or in an[illegible] Europe realizes that a Ge[illegible] looks like desolation compa[illegible] to. The negro never was [illegible] is not now and never will [illegible] is admirably suited to the [illegible] which, in this farm-to-indust[illegible] ment, he is going at the [illegible] time in such large numbers, [illegible] he goes he is giving the so[illegible] opportunity, to just that ext[illegible] have a white farming class, w[illegible] which neither Georgia nor any [illegible] state can ever expect to be [illegible] As long as the white people of [illegible] state look upon farm work [illegible] work for the negro hired hand to do, so long will our farming be, compared with the best agriculture of the best states in the world, nothing but a joke. But when the time comes that the southern white man on his farm is proud of the labor of his hands thereon, then the foundation will have been laid for a truly great commonwealth.

Nor is this all. The very finest effect of this exodus of negro laborers is its political effect. If this thing continues long enough the boundaries of the south will be extended [illegible] include Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, [illegible] Virginia and Pennsylvania and similar border states, and the one great curse that has vitiated the statesmanship of our country will have been eliminated from our policies. As long as there is a negro problem in America the south is in political slavery, unable to vote her mind about matters of national and international importance to her citizens. When the time comes that the negro problem is no longer a sectional problem—but in so far as it is a problem at all, a national problem—then, indeed, will our south country be free.

And it should be added that from the political standpoint of the negro, also, the change will be most highly advantageous. It is difficult for a white man to realize how it feels to be "a problem" and the negro will never be satisfied, nor will the tension between the races be over until he ceases to be a problem. This can only happen when he leaves the southern cotton farm, where his natural increase is overwhelmingly greater than that of the white man, and becomes in large numbers a city dweller, where his natural increase is no greater and, indeed, is less than that of the white man. This is exactly the situation that is being brought about. As soon as the natural increase of the negro is no greater than or less than that of the white man in the south the whole attitude of the races to one another will change to one of helpfulness, and the negro will be able to attain a hold and place in American life as a citizen that is denied him under present conditions.

As it is with our immigrants, so it is with our negro. It is highly advantageous to all parties concerned that they should be more evenly distributed over America than at present. In proportion as this is accomplished will they develop into the full measure of their possibilities as men. If, for example, this emigration should continue until the negro is fairly evenly distributed over the United States, he would then constitute slightly less than 10 per cent. of the population in any given community. He would, instantly, cease to be a problem and become an American citizen with rights and privileges unabridged. And that important work being done by our inter-racial committees, religious and civic, which suffers now from the tension of racial prejudices and labor rivalry would, for the first time in the south, have a chance to apply the gospel of Jesus Christ to the relationship between white and black men, a happy consummation, which will never be accomplished while the great under-masses of southern white men with the increasing number of mulattoes staring them in the face, see themselves overwhelmingly outnumbered by an unassimilable race whose every social, financial and civic advancement only darkens the threat arising from racial differences and preponderating numbers.

Any way you look at it, therefore—whether from the point of view of the negro emigrant or his relative left behind or of the white laborer or of the farms, themselves, or of the commonwealth, or of the nation — this movement of the negroes to the north is not without its compensating benefit.

The thoughtful Georgian will not overlook the fact that as the negro surplus goes north the son of the southern white farmer will find living room on his own farm and slowly, without immigration from anywhere, the complexion of our agriculture, likewise, will be changed. It would be still better if we could bring in a reasonable number of immigrants from northern Europe and our own middle west. Only when we come to the large employer of labor do we find difficulty, and that is only temporary. For it is obviously true that if the other benefits described in this statement really accrue to the south, then the larger the interests controlled by our large employers of labor the more will they be advantaged. The negro was brought to this country on the curious belief that he was necessary to farming in the south. Disunion and death resulted in millions. As his coming was mercenary, so is every attempt made to retain him. For over a century our white civilization has suffered this handicap. Should we refuse to have our burden lightened even to so small an extent?

Incidentally, those of our southern leaders who for years have been endeavoring to persuade white immigrants from the north and west to settle in the southern states and who have learned the difficulty of inducing them to immigrate to a country where they must compete with the negroes will not fail to notice that this migration is helping them to solve their problem in a double manner. The northern white laborer is being made accustomed to the negroes, not only in his own home country, but is, thereby, prepared to emigrate to a land where the conditions are not widely different.

In any case, there is nothing to get excited about. On the economic side of the question it is perfectly certain that the larger the numbers in which he arrives in the north the lower will be the wages that he will receive there and the higher the wages that the southern laborer will receive. As the one decreases the other will increase until the differential is so small that the emigration will automatically cease.

In the meantime, the south will receive her blessing and the negro emigrant also.

THORNWELL JACOBS.

Atlanta, Ga., July 4, 1923.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement

Another Problem

AS LONG as Negroes are few in number and influence in any community, there is little discussion as to their presence and there is seldom, if ever, any problem touching their life and activity. But as soon as they exhibit numbers and activity, there arises that ever-present problem known as the race question. We suppose we shall have the race problem until there is but one race on all the earth.

We are receiving reports that the great exodus from the South has brought to rural sections of the North a labor problem not hitherto encountered. The average migrant who leaves the South goes direct to some industrial community, and there he or she finds employment. But during the late months several have gone to farming and rural districts for employment and homes. There has arisen the problem of race difference and race selfishness. It is reported that some Negroes in northern sections refuse to work with the new brother who has just arrived. The chief reason is because the new arrival is new at the work, inexperienced, crude and awkward. Few southern people know how differently farming is done in the North from the customs and modes of farming in the South. The difference in mode, in crop, and in the implements used make an awkward situation for the farmer who does not know how to teach a green hand northern methods. And the green hand does not learn any too readily. The situation presents a problem, but one which can not endure longer than one or two seasons.

With all the new customs, the new modes and methods, the new tools and the new people which the migrant must meet and learn to know, it must be admitted that the migrants from the South are becoming adapted as rapidly and readily as could be expected. In a few years we shall know nothing of migration and the migrant. American customs everywhere will have been absorbed and reduced to daily routine, and the laborer will be heard singing at his task. It takes just a little time, and just as much patience. We shall succeed, if we faint not.

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian
JUL 29 1923

REPORTS LABOR EXODUS SMALL

Overcrowded Conditions in the North and Mining Boom Keep Negroes Home.

CARTERSVILLE, Ga., July 28.—Despite the loud clamor of labor shortage in some sections of the South, an investigation in this section shows that comparatively few workers have left here for other fields of endeavor.

While it is true that some white workers have gone to the industrial centers of the North, a number of these have returned, bringing reports of overcrowded conditions and such a surplus of labor they could not get a job.

Negroes have left to some extent, but the exodus from this section has not been large, since the mines in the Cartersville district are giving them steady employment at good wages and under good working conditions.

Practically all of the employing miners have recently taken out group insurance, thus providing policies on the lives of their employes free of charge.

In this district there are fully 25 mining operations running steadily, giving employment to probably 500 to 750 laborers and about 100 skilled workers.

Three of the largest mining companies have recently installed modern mechinery, thus making it better for laborers to remain here. Another large plant, which was recently destroyed by fire after lightning struck it, is being rebuilt on a large scale, and when completed, about the first of September, will give employment to 60 to 75 men.

Crops are in good shape, and farmers anticipate no trouble in securing ample labor to harvest the year's yield. The boll weevils are at work in this section.

CHICAGO AND THE NEGRO.

Montgomery Advertiser 9-23-23

In a thoughtful and informative article, one of a series which he is writing in the Chicago Tribune on the migration of the negro from Southern plantations to the cities of the North, Arthur Evans says:

Chicago now has more negroes than Baltimore or New Orleans. Migration from the South has more than trebled the colored population in the city within the last twelve or thirteen years. In 1910 negroes in Chicago numbered 44,000. In 1920 they had grown to 109,458. In 1923 they number, at a conservative estimate, between 135,000 and 150,000. Some put the figure at 200,000, but this seems to be an exaggeration, much like the wartime guesses of negro increase, which were considerably deflated when the census returns came in.

A heavy migrations of negroes from the South to Chicago has continued all the summer long. Chicago is the great distributing point for industrial centers as far east as Cleveland and the rubber towns of Ohio.

Of late weeks the migration has fallen off during the difficulty of landing jobs. When unemployment starts the negro, being the last man taken on the job, is the first man laid off. Social agents in Chicago say that it will very probably be a hard winter for many of the migrants, who are not snuggled up to permanent jobs. Many students of the situation in the North say that it is very doubtful if the negro can ever be industrialized. They raise the question of whether over an extended period of years, the negro can stand the gaff of hard work in cold weather.

It is no new distinction for Chicago to be awarded the distinction of being the chief negro city of the country. The Southern negro for his own reasons and from his own information, has looked upon Chicago as an earthly heaven for the black man. Vast sections in the city are now being taken over by the negroes and some of them live in room and comfort, but Mr. Evans says: "Surroundings are better but on many streets of the South Side the negroes are crowded in as tightly as they are in Montgomery, or Atlanta, or Mobile."

SPARTANBURG S C JOURNAL
JUNE 30, 1923

SOUND SENSE FROM A NEGRO

The Journal has received a very remarkable and suggestive letter from a thoughtful colored citizen of Spartanburg, from which we quote as follows:

"I want to interrupt you by saying a few words to the white people and colored people of South Carolina.

"This is a grand old State of ours. I am proud of it. I am proud to have so many white people in it, for they are all good when we colored people understand them. They are a sympathetic people and will help those of us who will try to help ourselves.

"There is no reason why the Negro in the South should cry out hard times so long as he can get sunshine and rain with flowers and pure Southern fresh air.

"Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it. Slavery was not so bad after all, since God was in the plan. The colored race as a whole was very industrious where there was a little pepper strewn around. I was not in the bunch at that time; had I been it would not have been bad. We were taught to rise early, work late and do it well. Since that time we have lost sight of these important things in life. Rise early, work late and do it well. If we practice this in the South we will be treated white in our places in the South, as well as in the North.

"A young negro is a hard thing to raise big enough to work. That is the reason the North is a little short of them. Yes, they are going North every day, the colored people both old and young. It is useless to ask them for their photos when they will be back so soon.

"The white people are not prejudiced against the colored people in the city of Spartanburg. They want us to have something, so let us comb our heads, wash our faces, rise early, work late and do it well, and there will be sunshine all around and good will toward all mankind.

"C. L. BROWN.
"304 Union St., Spartanburg, S. C."

Nothing better than that has been written about the relations that should obtain between the representative white people and representative colored people in the South, and the present exodus of the Negroes to the North and Middle West. In the opinion of the writer of the letter to The Journal it would be a waste of money for the departing pilgrims to have their photographs taken that they might be remembered by "The Old Folks at Home," as they will be coming back before they could possibly be forgotten. The industrial formula which made

the Negroes worth while when they were in a state of slavery would make them all the better freemen now that they belong to themselves: "Rise early, work late and do it well." And, as our correspondent says, in that case, "there will be sunshine all around and good will toward all mankind."

Ben Davis, editor of an Atlanta newspaper for Negroes, and secretary of a Negro fraternal insurance organization, made a personal investigation of the living and occupational conditions for the Negro in "the great Christian North," and on his return to his happy home in Atlanta, made this statement, which might very well be commended to the serious consideration of the Negroes in the South:

"Even worse than the Northern climate in its effect on negroes who have always lived in the South, are the living conditions in the big industrial cities to which the negroes are going. One house I visited in Philadelphia had six families living in it when it was intended for only two. Many others are crowded into tenements so thickly that proper sanitation and ventilation are impossible, and diseases spread rapidly from one to another. The negro is very susceptible to consumption and especially when he makes a sudden change to crowded city life after living on a Southern plantation or in a small Southern town all his life. Some of the negroes are coming back from the North, but they are coming back in coffins.

"The ignorant negro doesn't look ahead and he doesn't realize that the industrial boom which is attracting him to the North is only temporary. Maybe the common laborer can make higher wages in the North just now, but the cost of living is so much higher he eats up what he makes, and when the temporary boom is over he is going to be out of a job and stranded in a country where he hasn't any friends. It is the duty of the educated negro to help the white people in telling the ignorant negroes the dangers that are ahead of them when they pick up and leave the South."

GREENWOOD S. C. JOURNAL
JUNE 4 1923

VERY AMUSING, IN PART.

There is one phase of the immigration of Negroes from the South to the North and East that is very amusing to The Index-Journal, and that is the agitated state of mind of New England over the movement. The Negro is not wanted in New England. High officials, chambers of commerce, and leading citizens do not hesitate to say so. It is enough to make Garrison and other Abolitionists turn over in their graves. Who would ever have thought it possible?

But they do not hesitate to say that the movement is serious and that "something must be done to check it." Think of that will you?

At first they tried to work on our blind side and get us stirred up because we were about to lose all our farm labor and that as a Nation-wide economic problem something ought to be done to stop the movement. If the movement of Negroes had been to Mexico, to South America or to the Far West we would not have heard a word from New England. She would have had other problems to worry over and if told about the situation in the South might have been polite enough to raise the eyebrows but that would have been all.

The real "nigger in the wood pile" is found at last, as many of us suspected or just about knew all the time and it is this: "The Negro is not wanted in New England."

The truth came out boldly yesterday in a special dispatch from Boston to all the leading Sunday papers in the South in which it was stated that the Governors of New England have been asked by the New England Chamber of Commerce "to take some action to see if the steady stream of undesirable colored people from the South cannot be stopped." Pause a moment and listen to those groans from the shades of William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown and others.

The special dispatch from Boston, we noticed it first in yesterday's Atlanta Constitution, is a futile effort. The Negroes who are going North and East do not read daily newspapersh, most of them at any rate, and even if the cold words of unwelcome were read to those about to leave by white people in the South they would be suspicious. They would probably suspect that it was only a scheme to to keep them in the South.

But we are none the less interested and amused at the New England state of mind.

Read the first paragraph of this special dispatch and see for yourself how worked up New England is:

Boston, Mass., June 2.—Setting forth that the negro of the South is not bettering himself in any way by migrating to the New England states and that he is not improving his condition by removal to this section, but is, in fact, creating considerable hardship not only for himself but for the northern members of his own race. who really resent his arrival, officials of the New England Chamber of Commerce today brought the matter to the attention of the New England governors in an effort to put an end to the steady stream of southern negroes arriving in the greater industrial centers.

The dispatch flatters Governor McLeod, of South Carolina, for his statesmanlike utterances on the question and notes with characteristic New England patronage that "municipal authorities of New England ,industrial chiefs and the press concur with Governor McLeod."

We feel sorry for you brethren, but we cannot do a thing for you. We are perfectly willing for the colored man to remain in the South and do not fail to tell him so but he keeps going. All we can say is: Joy go with you and may you find the Land of Promise all you dream it to be.

Listen now to this doleful picture from this same Boston dispatch:

According to the labor departments of the several commonwealths, fully forty per cent. of the many thousands of negroes who have arrived here from the South this year are now unemployed, and dependent upon charitable organizations.

As pointed out by the South Carolina executive, race prejudice prevails in New England. A Northerner will readily deny this but the treatment accorded the Southern negro, not only as an individual, but en masse, furnishes the proof. The Southern migrant, out of employment, without subsistence has found it useless to appeal to the Northern negro. Under the existing circumstances, the attitude of the latter is neither surprising, nor unexpected.

And there you are. The New Englander is plainly greatly excited. He does not want the Negro and says so about as plainly as he can in the last paragraph which reads as follows:

"In the majority of cases the Northern negro refuses to aid him, in fact many of our negro associations are attempting to solve the problem of their 'undesired brothers.'

"Conditions throughout our industrial centers are alarming and the matter has now arrived to the point where we are face to face with a serious problem."

Anderson S. C.
Intelligencer

AUG 22 1923

MANY NEGROES ARE GOING NORTHWARD

Steady Flow of Negroes of This Section Toward North Remains Unchecked.— Railroad Agents Report Sale of Many Tickets. —Labor Scarce.

The movement of negroes toward the North has continued steadily. Reports from railroad ticket agents in this section indicate that the number of negroes leaving Anderson and adjoining counties will be as large during the month of August as in any of the preceeding months this year. The migration of negroes, beginning last fall, has continued unabated during the first half of 1923 and promises to run on at its full speed, if not at increased momentum, throughout this year.

The movement of negroes has been general throughout the South. Georgia farmers have suffered perhaps, even more than South Carolinians. The labor question, arising from the steady flow of negroes toward the North (although a few have drifted back and Southerners are confident that others will return when winter sets in) is of much importance. Desling with this, a business review says:

It is evidently true that the farmers can ill afford to compete for labor on the basis of prevailing rates in other industries ,and we know of no answer to the complaint other than that labor should go to the industries that will take it and pay the best rates. That is the natural way by which the balance between the industries is maintained, and there is no other effective way. If farm production needs to be curtailed, it is better than some of the farm workers should enter other industries than that they should be idle on the land. The idea that something should be done to stop the movement to the cities certainl yis illogical at a time when employment is to be had there at high wages and the prices of farm products will not justify employment on the same terms. Here again the best method is to let natural tendencies have their play: let those go to the cities who can shift with least inconvenience or sacrifice. There is no basis for forebodings of social decay in the fact that fewer people on the farms are able with modern implements to provide foood for more people in the other industries. That in itself is a sign of social advancement. If by improvements in machinery, woolen or cotton cloth could be made with one-half the labor now required it would be a blesing to mankind. There was a time when man's labors were almost exclusively devoted to providing the common necessaries life, and it is no cause for regret that the tendency has been and is yet away from this situation. There is no danger that the cities will learn to do without the farms, or that there will not always be labor enough on the farms when the prices of farm products are high enough to yield compensation fairly comparable to that obtainable in other lines of work.

It is true that there are some artificial conditions in the present situation. One of them is the restriction of immigration which cuts off the supply of labor for the industries. Reports to the Georgia Bankers Association from 92 out of 154 counties of that state show that 41,383 negroes have left those counties this year and that 15,760 white people have left the farms. Upon that basis the calculation is made that 77,500 negroes have left the State and that 29,513 white people have left the farms. It is further shown that including the year 1920 and to the date of this inqury, 228,938 negroes have left the State of Georgia. Several other Southern states have had a similar exodus. This movement is in response to the call for crop year, intense competition for whatever business was available has held flour prices down to a point where the miller has counted himself lucky if the could see a margin sufficient to cover actual costs. When a dozen salesmen gather about a single prospective customer and, having exhausted all their arguments about the quality of their flour and the service offered by their respective milling companies, begin to whisper suggestion of price concessions, it is obvious that the mill which gets the order is most unlikely to make any profit out of it.

Mr. John R. Mauff, vice-president of the Chicago Board of Trade, addressing the American Feed Manufacturers' Association a few days ago said:

When the housewife pays $1 for bread, the grain dealer and flour miller together receive only 3.4 c. Ninety-six and six tenths cents is shared by the wheat grower, the railroads, the baker and the bread retailer. These figures are the conclusions, not only of the grain statisticians, but also of the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inqury, which so reported to Congress.

This 3.4 cents is not profit, but the total average share of the miller and grain dealer in the dollar paid for bread by consumers.

Labor - 1923

Migration Movement.

NEW YORK CITY COMMERCIAL
OCTOBER 31, 1923

THE TURNING WORM

During the past year some 120,000 negroes quit the State of Georgia, presumably to seek work in northern states. Alabama lost 90,000; Mississippi lost 82,600 and Florida some 85,000. The figures given for thirteen southern states indicate that 478,700 people of color migrated from the Southland in twelve months in an effort to better themselves in states further north and west.

The South needs the black man. He is the one who toils there and produces the crops which southern agriculture must produce if it is to prosper.

During all the years that immigration has been coming to the United States from abroad comparatively little of it has settled in the southern states. The competition of cheap negro labor made that section of the country less attractive, and furthermore, the opportunities in the great northern and western industrial states were so much better that incoming Europeans found all that they desired there, without seeking to discover what the agricultural South might offer them. With no tendency on the part of unrestricted immigration to fill up the South, and no possibilities that restricted immigration can do anything for that part of the country when it comes to supplying the labor, this matter of the exodus of negroes from southern states looms up as something of the utmost importance to the industrialists of all kinds in that portion of our country. As we stated at the beginning, the South needs the negro. Without him it cannot prosper. It must treat him decently, fairly, even generously, or he will not stay.

It appears that we are about to witness the righting of a great wrong—the indiscriminate lynching of negroes—not by preventive laws or social uprisings, but by the stern necessity for reform, dictated by economic pressure. However it comes about it will be a change for the better. The negro has already endured too much wrong at the white man's hands, and he cannot be blamed for accepting any escape from the persecutions of the so-called superior race that may present themselves to him. It is rather embarrassing, considering his "superiority" that a sense of his own economic needs, rather than one of justice, should move the white man to thinking about doing right by the colored man and brother, but then the history of the human race is full of just such philosophical absurdities.

OCT 9 - 1923

"Up To" The Man

Greenville News

A Greenwood negro, who recently went north but returned home after deciding tha conditions in his new home were not as good for him as thy were in the land he had left, in telling the Greenwood Index-Journal about how the negroes found things around Philadelphia, concluded his story with these words: "The ones that loafed down here are loafing up there." It is the age-old truth. A man who does no good in one place will do no better in another, and a man who succeeds in one place will succeed anywhere else. Of course there are a few exceptions and under some circumstances a "change of scenery" will work wonders, but as a genral thing the rule holds good.

There is an old story, full of homely philosophy, which illustrates the point in a most interesting way. As the story goes, in the old days when people traveled about the coustry in wagons, an old lady placed her chair in front of her home by the side of the road and every ime a wagon passed she would ask where it was going and what was the news of the day. Naturally, she became quite a source of information, and all who passed that way took pleasure in stopping and exchanging news.

On one particular day a party drove up and the old lady asked where they were going. The answer was: "We are going West. We are going to try to do better and get a better farm than we had in this section. And we hope to find better neighbors out there."

The old woman's reply was: "You'll find the same kind of folks out there."

Another day came, and another pary stopped to talk. To the usual query, "Where are you going?" the reply was: "We are going West. We had a good farm here and we hated to leave it, but another thought possibly we could do better elsewhere. The thing we most regret about leaving is that we had such good neighbors and friends here."

The old lady, philosopher that she was, quietly replied: "You'll find the same kind of folks out there."

Very, very true. Sidney Lanier expressed the same thought in one of his fine poems and evry community has a living illustration of the fact that there is more in the man than there is in the land.

There is no beter opportunity anywhere in the world than right here in the Piedmont section of the South for a person who is willing to work for success. But there is no opportunity anywhere for one who will not work. And if you won't work here, why, you won't work there.

Smallpox Propaganda Being Circulated By Southerners

St. Louis Argus.

Associated Negro Press.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Aug. 15.—The White South in an effort to retain its underpaid, lynched, mobbed and oppresesd workers, who have fled by thousands into northern industrial centers during the last year, has begun a campaign of malicious slander against the North, according to the tone of several reports emanating in the South and referring to the Nroth.

One report from Selma, Alabama, calls attention to the Pittsburgh district where many Southern Negroes have come. The Selma people declare that smallpox is ravaging the city and that Negroes had better not come here. A letter was sent to the mayor suggesting that he aid the Alabamians in persuading the return of the laborers. He was asked how much Pittsburghers were willing to put up in order to guarantee the return of the plantation hands on special trains.

8-17-23

According to the local health officer there is not a case of smallpox in the city. He explains that in some cases unhealthy Negroes have come here from the South, and that they have been thrown into unfavorable surroundings, but that in every case steps have been taken to improve conditions all around, so that at present there is no need for alarm, that rather, the situation is highly favorable.

No

Such diseases as these Negroes suffer from, according to health officers in several northern cities, are brought by them from the South. It was this that prompted the vaccination of migrants who passed thro St. Louis, Missouri. The migrati laborers objected on the ground discrimination, so that now the health department of that city had ordered that all persons, of whatever race, leaving the South, must be inspected at Union Station to determine whether they need vaccination as a means of preventing contagious diseases.

TREAT THE NEGRO RIGHT!

The following, very timely and most commendable excerpt is from an editorial in The Greenville (S. C.) Piedmont, under the caption "For the Negro who stays a home."

Independent

"While thousands of Negroes in South Carolina have joined the exodus to the north and west, the bulk of our Negro population is still with us and may remain with us. So far as our observation extends, the leaders of the race in the state are staying here and are advising the rest of the colored population to do likewise. Probably many of us have not thought of this phase of the matter, but there are a large number of Negroes in South Carolina who are and always have been law-abiding, thrifty, industrious and home-loving, who have been here all their lives and who will probably stay here. Love of the Palmetto State is by no means confined to the whites.

"In recognition of the loyalty and character of these people, as well as to encourage them to remain here, the whites, who control all the machinery of government ought to see to it now that better schools and better housing, sanitation and streets are provided for the colored population."

As it is in South Carolina so it is in Georgia. Thousands have gone—many of them to their regret—but a great majority not only remained at home but in refusing to be lured by the flattering promises of the labor agents used their influences to prevent the mistakes that were made.

That the Negro exodus was a most serious mistake is being daily demonstrated, if the news reports from the congested industrial centers of the north and west are to be believed, and if any reliance can be placed in the hundreds of letters that are coming into the South daily from Southern Negroes in the North.

The majority of the Negroes are law-abiding, industrious, home loving, and contribute their part to the material welfare of the South.

The outstanding leaders among the race, almost to a man, have urged the Negroes to remain in the South. At the same time they have urged—and correctly so—a more equitable distribution of the services of government in the interest of the Negroes. They are entitled to better schools than they have, as a rule, in Georgia—and no doubt in other Southern States. They are entitled to more governmental attention to their housing, sanitation hygiene, open-air, playground and other services due them as human beings, and as a part of the industrial life of the South.

Says The Piedmont further—

"The average Negro school in South Carolina is a disgrace to the state. The buildings are old and miserable, unsanitary, ill-lighted, ill-heated, if heated at all, dirty. Very little is spent on the education of the Negro child for teachers and school equipment. The total expenditure in this state for Negro schools is almost infinitesimal compared with what is spent for the white schools. The eagerness

of the better class of Negroes for better schools and their willingness to go into their own slim purses to help them is as pathetic as it is creditable. No man of good conscience and a right sense of justice can contemplate the facts about our Negro schools without reaching the conclusion that it is the unavoidable duty of the whites to see to it that the Negroes have far better schools."

Perhaps the situation is not as bad in Georgia as alleged in South Carolina, but it is far from being just and equitable. In Atlanta the Negro schools are maintained under the same rules of health, air, protection, etc., as are the white schools. The buildings are not ample, nor are they ample for the whites, but the teachers are chosen for giving efficient training.

On the whole in Georgia, however, proper attention is not being paid to public Negro education; and in many sections conditions very similar to those referred to by The Piedmont exist.

Says The Piedmont further—

"Equally a reproach to every community and the state are the living conditions of the average Negro. Most of the colored population live in hovels, poorly lighted, insanitary, uncomfortable, unfit for habitation. Conditions of sanitation among them are bad. Better housing would mean better health for them, as well as an incentive to thrift and industry, and more contentment and good order. They have no paved streets. They are entitled to betterment of their lot in all these respects.

"It is high time that the white citizenship take thought of all these wrong conditions and right them. The Negroes who have stayed here, who are peaceful, law-abiding, hard-working and home loving, are entitled to more consideration than they have had in the past. Our policy toward them must be broader and more just."

These lines strike deep at the consciences of the people of Georgia as of other states in the South. The housing conditions are not what they should be—the incentives to thrift are not what they should be.

The white people of this state could do no greater service to themselves than to begin a general campaign for improvements in these matters. The healthfulness of Negro colonies contributes to the wealth of the white people. The thrift, industry, contentment, amenableness of the Negro population contribute most strikingly to the advantages of the whites. And the converse of these things is equally true.

There is much food for thought in The Piedmont's very timely editorial—Atlanta Constitution.

AUG 10 1923

AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM A NEGRO WOMAN

Emma L. Stovall, Negress, "Compares the North With the South," And Describes the Conditions That Face Negroes in North.

Below is a letter copied from the Monroe Advertiser, which is self-explanatory. We are publishing same so that any of our negro readers may see the situation as it exists, as given by one of their own race.

If they could only grasp the opportunities that are at hand in the southland they could save more money in the 365 days here than they could in any northern city.

The letter follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., July 29, 1923.—Editor Advertiser: Enclosed I send 50 cents for The Monroe Advertiser. I won't take it a year, as I will not be here long, as I am coming home.

Please publish this letter in your paper:

Compare the North With the South.

I read in the papers here of the influx of colored people to the north. I want to say most of them come blindfold, looking for what they fail to get. Many who get here would be glad to go back the next week if they could. Everything is higher here than in the south. They get better wages but expenses take it, so what good has it done?

Compare the north with the south. The colored people can only get the bogus jobs, as the Jews, Italians, Poles and Irishmen and other nations have such jobs as the colored people hold in the south. All the trucks and other teams are driven by white people. Taxis are driven by white people. You hardly ever see a colored chauffeur. Compare the north with the south.

The white people of the south have far more sympathy for the colored people than these white people here, who will work you to death and don't believe a colored person ever gets tired.

If you get sick you are taken to the hospital; if you are able to pay, you are taken care of; if not, you are taken to the free hospital, and your body will soon be in the morgue. No sick person is allowed to stay at home with their loved ones. Should a colored person die here and not be able to pay for a space in the deep holes that are dug and will hold about 50 coffins, one on top of the other, the body is sent to the furnace and cremated. Compare the north with the south. In the south it is otherwise. The city or county will bury one who has no funds for the burial.

You can buy a home here, but you cannot buy the land, so after you have paid for the house, should the city see fit to put up some structure of its own you must take what they offer you or take your home on your back. Compare the north with the south.

At home (in Dixie) you can buy both house and land and live undisturbed and happy as long as we are law-abiding. In the north we long for some wholesome food, as it cannot be obtained here. Everything is cold storaged. Some of the meats, fish and other food have been on cold storage from one to five years. Compare the north with the south. We get potatoes only after they have been bedded and vines drawn from them. Then they are taken up and put on the market at a high price. We get watermelons that have been on cold storage. Such ones as we would pay 10 cents for in the south cost us from 75 cents to $1.25.

You don't know how I miss the south and am working to the end of getting back, as I only came here for my health—not to forsake my home, which I can appreciate the more since I have learned for a fact the disadvantages the colored people have here compared with their advantages in the south.

Last winter there were many as well as myself who longed for the usual winter of the south and wished they were back in Dixie. Some died and some were buried and some were sent to the furnace and burned up.

The colored people of the south have no ill will towards the white people. Their greatest motive in leaving the south is the failure on the farm caused by the boll weevil. But after undergoing the change with its disadvantages they will be willing to combat the boll weevil with other crops.

There are already more people here than there are jobs. More people than there are houses, and some are living in crowded conditions, when there is room at home—in Dixie.

Compare the north with the south and the southern colored people are far more intelligent and better educated than the northern colored people. Everybody loves his native land, and hundreds are trying to get their railroad fare in their hand and they are bound for Dixie land.

EMMA L. STOVALL,
617 South 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

GOSHEN IND NEWS-TIMES
MAY 12, 1923

"RAIDING" NEGRO LABOR

According to Dow Service Daily Building reports, "ununderground" methods similar to those of the days before the Civil war are being resorted to by northern manufacturers to entice and transport negro labor from the south, but the raiders are meeting with difficulties, at times, southern employers successfully interfering through a combination of legal subterfuges with persuasion or intimidation.

"Whole consignments of (negro) laborers are arranged for shipment north," says the authority named above, "but somehow they do not arrive. It is the rule rather than the exception, according to the experience of building material manufacturers, who at this time are striving particularly hard to keep a steady flow of brick and similar basic materials coming to this market. Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude southern man power have been detained when about to entrain their gangs of laborers for the north by ostensible process of police power, and, while a hearing is in process of being arranged, the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another, and finally the would-be employer returned without help."

Whatever the legal view of this "raiding" or of the forcible opposition to it, the latter may be accepted as inevitable. "Underground" methods of securing and shipping negro labor are bound to be met by methods similarly questionable. An outstanding fact of interest in this connection is that after a century the negro is still an object of active contention between white men.

Negro Bureau Barbecue.

Cedartown, Ga., August 26.—(Special).—The Polk county negro farm bureau held its annual barbecue near here today. A number of prominent white persons of Cedartown were invited and attended, a table being prepared for them. The guests are said to have spent an enjoyable time and to have reported one of the finest 'cues they ever attended.

A number of speeches were made and the good purpose and effects of the organization were clearly outlined. Jeff Lee, president of the bureau, presided. The advantages of cooperative buying and selling were demonstrated, and the raising of diversified crops, progressive methods of farming and finer live stock were urged. Some of the negro farmers told how they had been following these methods with the result that they had not bought any flour or meat for several years. Negroes were urged to stay at home on the farm, where, with progressive work and good citizenship, prosperity awaited them.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

MEMPHIS, TENN. Com'l-Appeal

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Georgia Hit Hardest by Northern Hegira — Substantial White Farmers Will Replace Negro Laborers, Is General Prediction.

An idea of the extent of negro migration to northern industrial centers in the last year, and of the area of cultivated lands that are in idleness this year as a result of the shortage of man-power is given in data secured by the Southern Alluvial Land Association of Memphis. It is estimated that more than 10 per cent of the farm labor in the cotton growing states has joined in the exodus northward since this time last year. Roughly estimated the figure probably will run but little short of the half million mark, representing chiefly a class of young negro males.

The figures are viewed as perhaps as nearly representative and accurate, in the absence of positive figures such, for instance, as the census of departures might show, as it is possible to secure. They are based on returns from upwards of 500 counties in the cotton growing states, with numerous reports from each county. The source of the information is the cotton correspondents of The Commercial Appeal, who were asked by The Commercial Appeal to supply the data upon request of the local association.

The association has been urging for many months that concerted action be taken to solve present and impending labor difficulties and, after considerable study and investigation, has recommended vigorous action to direct a flow of desirable farmer immigrants into the southern states as the best means of meeting the situation. Lacking definite data as to the actual extent of the negro movement, The Commercial Appeal co-operated in obtaining estimates.

Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas lead all other cotton producing states in the order named in the loss of negro labor and likewise in the extent of cultivated lands in idleness as a result of the labor shortage.

Georgia Heavy Loser.

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The estimates of the percentages of labor lost and land in idleness this year for the leading eight cotton states, exclusive of Texas, which depends largely on Mexican labor, are as follows:

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Mississippi	11.8	9.7
North Carolina	4.6	4.0
South Carolina	15.6	11.3
Tennessee	9.1	6.6

Reports collected by the government some weeks ago indicated that the negro movement northward was but slightly under the 400,000 mark since last November, and that it was continuing.

The movement was well under way long prior to that time dating back to the war period when it was estimated that 400,000 negroes went north with probably not more than 200,000 returning south as estimated through some government sources. Between that time and the height of the movement this year, many thousands of farm laborers took up the trail. The movement at present is continuing, reports indicate.

One of the railroad companies reported that it gets from 50 to 100 negroes daily on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays from Atlanta to Chicago alone, with scattering travel between these points on other days averaging 25. The movement through Memphis has been estimated only recently at as much as 1,000 per week.

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When the migration of negroes got well under way early this summer people believed it only temporary, but it has proven otherwise, and it seems that all of the negro population of the South will have left before the movement is stopped, Mr. Howard said. The time when a greater number purchase tickets to leave this city, is during the week-ends, but the cause of that particular feature of the migration of the negroes has never been solved by the agent. He said the negroes who work in the city get paid off then and it may be due to the fact that it is the only time they hav ethe required amount to purchase their ticket. As for the country negroes, the agent had no s tion for the matter.

Each year since Mr. Howard has been in the service of the railway company he says there has been a certain number of negroes who leave for such places as Asheville, and other places near South Carolina, and later return to their homes here, but even this year the number going to thos eplaces has been much greater than before. However, there are three northern cities to which the negroes seem to want to go. They are Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia, while there are some that go to New York, Cleveland and other large industrial cities.

In speaking of the number returning to Anderson after they leave, Mr. Howard said there has been only one negro man to return after going north. And when asked why he came back, he told Mr. Howard that he only went for a visit. Mr. Howard said the returning negro told him about the conditions existing in Detroit among the negroes. The negro said that the ones who have lived in the city for a number of years, are always looking for some new-comer and are so friendly at first acquaintance, but after they had fleeced the fortune seeker out of what little money he had they leave them to fight the battle alone. He said he spent 10 days in that city, and never expected to return, as he thought it better "at home."

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However, the migration here has not been nearly so serious as from Georgia, according to the following carried in a recent issue of the New York Times:

'The exodus of negroes from the South is causing greater loss in terms of dollars than the historic march of General Sherman to the sea, according to computations compiled by bankers who have expressed grave cocern over the increasing numbers in which negroes are moving to the northern manufacturing states. The loss to Georgia alone, it is estimated, will for this year approximate if not exceed $27,000,000 and in the wake of the departing negroes 46,674 vacant farmhouses and 55,524 idle plows are left. So rapid has been the migration that Georgia now has a labor shortage of 70,843 persons.

"In an effort to check this movement, public men of the South and particularly the bankers who of all professionals probably keep a closer eye on general industrial conditions are conferring with one another. As a part of this general survey of the situation, James S. Peters of Manchester, Ga., president of the Georgia Bankers' Association, supervised an inquiry into the results and causes of the exodus from that particular State. The causes, it was indicated, lay primarily in the fact that the Northern States offer negroes better living conditions brought about by higher wages, greater educational facilities and less race prejudice.

"The destruction caused by this quiet migration is described as no less striking than the destruction caused by Serman's army. The "destroyed" area is in this case, as well as in the Civil War, Georgia's agricultural lands. Weeds instead of crops are growing on farms adjoining either the public highways or the railroads and a tourist can see "thousands and thousands of acres of land and farm dwellings lying vacant," to quote Mr. Peters. In terms of the dollar sign, the depreciation in value is shown through comparison with prices in 1919. In that year these same idle acres brought from $40 to $75 an acre; today there is no demand for them at all.

Whites Also Leaving.

"Not only are the negroes reported as leaving the farms, but also white people are departing. Since January 1 of this year, in which period the negro exodus has amounted to nearly 80,000, the departure of white labor has exceeded 29,500, or little more than one-third the number of departing negroes. But the bankers are not concerned as much over the exodus of white people, as they are tackling first the major problem of negro emigration.

"According to the survey conducted by Mr. Peters and results of which are described in the current monthly Journal of the American Bankers Association, the negro exodus in three months of this year amounted to a third of the total emigration during the years 1920-21-22. In those three years, the survey indicates, 151,500 negroes left Georgia. This figure, added to the total of migration for the first half of 1923, brings the total to approximately 230,000, a number larger than the population of Atlanta. Should the present rate continue during the remainder of the year,' says Mr. Peters, 'the number of negroes leaving Georgia this year will equal the population of one of our Congressional Districts or ten of our average middle Georgia counties. Our reports indicate that the railroads in at present time that this will continue as long as conditions here remain as they are and East since January 1 of this year. This number, of course, was included in the totals of our survey.

"When we take into consideration that the negro population of Georgia has been since 1890. It seems apparent that the industrial North offer higher wages and better living conditions."

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SAVANNAH GA PRESS

JUL 24 1928

FINING IMMIGRANT AGENTS.

THE New York Times calls attention to the fact that there are various efforts to make it a felony for any person or company to solicit labor in Georgia for any other State. Fines have been imposed upon labor agents getting negroes away. The Times says the real solution lies in removing the incentive to emigrate.

There has been a great deal of misinformation published on this line. Negroes have been encouraged to leave Georgia by higher wages which have been offered in the North and West. This is in large part the meaning of the recent exodus. Labor is like gold and wheat and cotton—it seeks the highest level and goes where it is best paid.

Is it a fact that the negro will reach better social conditions in the North or better health and sanitary arrangements? Experience has shown that where the negroes in any number reach a Northern city they are segregated just as they are in the South. In real estate and religious circles this is true. And the rumors that negro families are crowded into small apartments raises the presumption that health facilities are not really as good as they are in the South. Reports of how the foreign white families are crowded together, where there is a congestion of immigrants, are not assuring.

As has been so often printed in The Press, the matter of injustice to the negro is not greater than the average injustice between man and man. A correspondent of the Athens Banner, addressing himself to this question, said:

> This is also true of other people in all sections, all over the world. When a person, white or black, goes into a court in any country poorly prepared or equipped he is more than apt to get the worst of it. Inefficiency reaps its own reward, no matter where it occurs, and any open-minded person who has had any experience knows that the negro fares better in the South than he does in any other country.

Among the reasons mentioned which encouraged migration of the negro, according to the President of Tuskegee Institute, is the "ever-present, haunting fear of mob violence." And, yet, an assault by a negro on a little white girl in New York the other day gave occasion to the same uprising and threatening of mob violence. The offender was rescued by the police, just as a recent offender in Savannah was defended by civil and military authorities.

The negro will be given better protection in the South when his own people realize that violation of the law is not a question of race. There will be better schools for white and colored as soon as the people are able to provide them and can impose higher taxes.

The Press agrees with the New York Times that the matter cannot be settled by fines on emigrant agents. The negro cannot be kept in the South by legislation, making it a felony to encourage labor to other States. The negro in the South, like the white man in the North, is leaving the farm and going into the cities. The South wants the negro and the negro prefers the South. In the present crisis of restricted foreign immigration and boll weevil ravage, we have the spectacle of the negro going North. It is unfortunate for us, at this time, but no good will come of making the world believe that he is leaving because of rank injustice and cruelty. The millennium has not dawned in the South any more than it has in other parts of the world.

Possibly the return of white brains and labor to the farms will result in diversified crops and intensive farming. As inconvenient as the present crisis is, there are people who believe the South will in time be benefited by the present situation, which is more an economic than a political one.

GRIFFIN, GA. News

AUG 1 1928

COLORED PREACHER URGES NEGROES TO REMAIN IN SOUTH

SAYS NORTH DID NOT NEED NEGRO IN IGNORANCE, AND IF NOW INTELLIGENT, IT IS OWED TO SOUTH.

At a recent rally of colored people at Bethel Grove church, Rev. A. C. Bell, a colored preacher of Jackson, warned and urged the negro to remain with the white man of the South while he is needed, reminding him that the white man has been his friend for three hundred and four years.

The address contains some of the most sound, logical reasoning we have ever heard. The speech in full follows:

I know not in the continent of America or in the country of the United States a better place to live than the State of Georgia. We have lived here since 1619 and have made a wonderful success here. We were sold by the Northern whites to the Southern whites for the purpose of making cotton. The Northerners did not have the patience and did not take the time to train the ignorant negro. We have been here with the Southern whites ever since, during the days of slavery and since.

The white people have been patient, kind and benevolent. They have never forsaken us, yet. We need them and they need us. Some of the reasons why we should stay here are: First, we have been here three hundred and four years. The North did not need us in ignorance and if we are intelligent or industrious, we owe it to the Southern whites.

If the Northerners sold us first, I am afraid that they want us back in that section to sell us again. So must be careful how we leave h The white South has done grea things to help relieve the conditions of our people. They have given us schools for our educational advantages; Tuskeegee, Hampton Institute, Paine College, Georgia State at Albany and Georgia State at Savannah.

Second, if there is a problem in the South, going North will not solve it. In most cases everywhere the majority of the negroes is a problem. We have so many who do not care for themselves and no one else and work hardships upon themselves. The white people have given us sites for churches and money to help build them. It doesn't change your color to go anywhere, and the proper thing for us to do is to stop migrating and reason with our white friends. Our fathers and mothers are buried here and you can't think of the church yard without thinking of them.

Something that would add to our success is home training, moral training and public department. We should stop standing around, using vulgar and profane language and we should stop indulging in the vulgar dances.

The danger of the law that prevents foreigners from coming to this country is that it may be repealed and it probably will be repealed in the next session of congress for Judge Gary and many other strong men are up in arms against the law. If this immigration law is repealed, the negroes in the north will find it hard to compete with skilled foreigner laborers, and will have to come back to the South, the land which they once seemed to hate, and begin all over again. And on coming back our hardships will be doubled.

There seems to be a tendency among the colored people to leave the farm. It should be remembered that the farmer feeds the world, and when the farming industries stop, the people in the cities will soon starve. Not only will the whites starve, but we will starve with them.

We, as a race should be more saving. Remember, during the war we had plenty of money but we threw it away foolishly and when the test came, we had nothing and the white man told us to run ourselves on the farms. But now the white people want to reason with us and help us, and we should not be so eager and anxious to leave our friends.

The Lord says, "The wages of sin is death" and "The way of the transgressor is hard."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

Why Migration Skipped Durham.

In the Durham *Morning Herald* of June 13 there was printed an interesting article written by C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. In it the writer pointed out the reasons why the wave of Negro migration which has hit Southern industry, skipped Durham, and as a reverse of this proposition, why Negroes migrate from other cities of the South. In printing this article, the *Morning Herald* editorially pronounced it a valuable contribution and commended its writer as a man of judgment and who makes a careful study of the problems in which the Negro race is involved.

The serious consequences following the migration of thousands of workers during the Spring months of 1923 are depicted by Mr. Spaulding as follows: "Strawberry crops worth millions of dollars have laid on the ground unplucked, cotton is fast ripening without sufficient hands to pick it, and the approaching fall harvests bid fair to meet the same doom." As a contrast to these general conditions is presented the exceptional case of Durham, long famed as a Democratic center in North Carolina, where "nearly eight thousand Negroes live in peaceful, friendly relationship with their white neighbors, enjoying splendid economic opportunities."

These opportunities are afforded by the tobacco factories, hosiery mills, building trades, as well as the farm industries which employ Negro labor in important positions. The working conditions in the tobacco factories are described as especially desirable including careful medical attention at work and at home. Steady work under pleasant environments, with sympathetic understanding between the workers and the superintendents, is one reason why the migration movement from Durham has been termed negligible. More than one thousand colored men and women are employed in these factories. The hosiery mills, owned and managed by the well-known Carr family of Durham, are operated under equally favorable conditions and employ some seven hundred colored hands. These hands perform every process in the knitting of certain grades of stockings from the topping to the final inspection. In the building trades Negroes are employed as bricklayers, plasterers and painters. The bricklayers are members of the union and work side by side with other union members. The farms give work to a large number of others and thus, according to Mr. Spaulding, a livelihood is assured to many of the race and the economic condition is exceptional.

Another factor in the situation at Durham is the employment furnished through the thrift of Negro enterprises, such as the insurance and banking concerns and the fraternal orders, all of which serve to create a spirit of cooperation and stimulate individual effort in home building. Mr. Spaulding briefly summed up the four principal reasons why the spirit of migration has not touched the Negro citizens of Durham as follows:

(1) Economic opportunities offered to a large enough percentage of the population to assure a decent livelihood.

(2) Healthful and pleasant working conditions.

(3) The spirit of cooperation created by Negro enterprises, which has aided thousands to secure comfortable houses.

(4) The general spirit of Durham is full of friendliness, as well as an earnest desire to make the Negro population a part of its citizenry. The vote is never denied because of color. Splendid educational and social opportunities are provided for Negroes. There has never been a lynching in our fair city and colored men are given an honest hearing in the courts.

We have given the fourth paragraph of Mr. Spalding's summary in extenso as it clearly shows the exceptional characteristics of Durham as a Southern community. It is well to have the reverse of the Southern situation revealed once in a while, so as to realize that there are communities where civilized customs prevail and friendly feeling and humane instincts are not blotted out by the lines of color. Under such conditions it is easy to understand why the migration movement from Durham is negligible. What the South needs is more cities like Durham and fewer hell-holes like Hooker's Bend.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
MAY 29, 1923

SOUTHERNERS SEE RUIN IN NEGROES' MIGRATION

Laborers Seeking North for Better Wages and Improved Living Conditions

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—A white physician, Dr. W. W. Terreld, living in McDuffie County, Georgia, recently wrote a very frank letter to a Georgia newspaper on the menace to the South of the present widespread migration of the Negro to the North.

This letter is perhaps the boldest statement that has come from a native Southerner since this latest movement began. The writer puts the whole question up to the South and makes a few unexpected indictments and admissions.

"One thing is sure," he writes; "our own people are not going to do the work that the Negro has been doing for them until they are forced by hunger to do it.

"Right here in this (McDuffie) county possibly half of the farms that were cultivated by Negro labor two years ago are now uncultivated. Many farmers here who had their crop all 'pitched,' guano bought and lands prepared, are without labor, the Negroes having left them within the last two weeks, and they continue to go.

"However, the worst of it is our people seem to be indifferent. Where their labor has left them they sell out their stock and prepare to sit down and do nothing.

"All in all, I see nothing but hard times for these people until many of them who are idle now, who will not go out to their farms and work, see a new light—or others come in here and put some new life into the old land."

These are the facts as a competent observer, genuinely interested in his own people, sees them. A few explanatory facts as to actual conditions back of these charges may be of interest to some people who happen not to live in the lower South.

Before I came to Philadelphia I lived in a Southern town of about 45,000 population. This town, like most other Southern cities, was the center of a fertile countryside that devoted its activities solely to cotton.

Out from the town, in all directions, were endless cotton plantations, with endless one and two room shanties for the tenants, and apparently an endless supply of Negroes to fill these shanties. A few white farm owners lived on these plantations—just a few. A great many lived at some railway junction or station village perhaps ten or fifteen miles distant. The more prosperous ones lived farther away still, in some such larger town as I have described.

Now the whole prosperity of this community—and I believe it is typical of the entire lower South—rested solely on this one crop—cotton—and the success of the cotton crop rested almost entirely upon the hardihood and enterprise of the Negro tenants.

And what was more, the landowners' enthusiasm for this one crop seemingly pushed out of their heads all consideration for even their most elementary needs along other crop lines. In a bad cotton year things were bad all around because nothing else had been planted.

Corn and oats were imported from other sections to feed the stock; salt pork or bacon was brought in by the carload to feed the hands on the farm; even the molasses that went with the "corn pones" came all the way from Louisiana—some 700 miles distant. The butter that graced the table of the farm owner came from Indiana or Tennessee; the milk that flavored his coffee came out of a can that was packed in Indianapolis.

Now these are the conditions—with occasional slight local variations—which are really responsible for the present unprecedented migration of Negroes.

The South has put too great a burden on one class—and virtually its only class—of workers, and it has put too much dependence upon a single crop—cotton. It has not learned how to be even partially self-supporting and independent.

Is it to be marveled at, then, that the black man is now glad to get away from these inhospitable conditions and get for himself a job that will pay him a decent fixed wage? The only reason why he has not left the South before this is that he has not had as enticing an opportunity.

It follows naturally that no class of "alien" white laborers would be willing to move to the South and work under such unfavorable living conditions. If some of the comparatively poor, idle and semi-idle whites who now infest the South will get down to the actualities of the situation and go to work, the whole section will be immeasurably better off.

WILSON JEFFERSON.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1923.

Afraid Southern Negroes Can't Stand Northern Heat. 6-23-23.

Thomas Jefferson Washington, Pullman porter, on one of his regular top-offs in Montgomery was telling yesterday to some of his white friends about the exodus—this one now on—of negroes to the north. He said it was the biggest one he had ever read about in the Bible about. He had seen more negroes in St. Louis and Detroit on his last trip than he ever believed before could crowd into those cities.

"And what especially interests me," said Thomas Jefferson, "is the possibility that the heat in St. Louis and Detroit, and other republican cities.

Honestly, the heat there is terrible. Our negroes are not acclimated to any such sunshine and atmosphere. Up there the heat is different from what we have in the South. It appears to be more dry and penetrating, blistering and suffocating. It's in the republican cities where folks drop off from prostration. Down here in the sunny South nobody dies of heat, or gets sick from it either. But up North it is different and the negroes are suffering."

COLUMBIA S C RECORD
MAY 4, 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

Explanations of the wide-spread migration of the negroes from Southern States to northern industrial centers, as advanced at a conference of Mississippi farming and business interests, do not reflect to the credit of the Southern whites. Whether or not the reasons suggested, by both white and negro observers, are the true ones, the fact that they are entertained indicates that the South is not above being suspected of treating the negroes unfairly.

A negro educator challenged the usually accepted theory that economic conditions are responsible for the northward movement of the members of his race. He attributed the exodus to the discontent felt by negroes because they believe they are deprived of their civic rights.

A white speaker, who said that he had enjoyed a life-long contact with negroes in a supervisory capacity, blamed the desire of the members of that race to leave the South on the tendency of many persons to take advantage of them in financial and business dealing. He suggested trying the application of the "Golden Rule" in race relations as a preventive measure against continued migration.

Although we do not accept the view quoted as the essential factor in prompting the movement of the negroes, we are forced to confess that it seems entirely logical that they are contributing elements in the situation. The economic and agricultural crisis in the South certainly has had an important influence in driving hundreds of negroes from farms made unproductive by the boll weevil to places where they think they can make money. And, we are inclined to rate the situation as the principal cause of the movement, notwithstanding the statement to the contrary by the negro professor, who, he said, has taught forty years in the South and loves it.

But, unfortunately, there is some truth in the theories mentioned by both of the speakers at the Mississippi conference. We all know that there are white men who regard all negroes as fair game in a business transaction. There are men who have gotten rich from dishonest dealings with the ignorant members of this race. And, it is not to our credit, at all. As to the question of civic rights, it is doubtful if more than a very small percentage of negroes care anything about what are called civic rights. They are interested in getting justice in the courts, and they ought to get it, but too often, they are made the victim of injustice. This may be the meat in the cocoanut of civic rights discontent.

CHIPLEY
MAY 4

NEGRO [illegible]GRATION

The federal government has recently completed a study of the emigration of the Southern negro to the cities of the North, and finds that they are leaving the South in much larger numbers than many observers had believed. The Washington dispatch dealing with the question has the following about it:

"A general movement [illegible] negro farmers to northern centers, where higher [illegible] unable, is indicated [illegible] survey of farming [illegible] south made by the [illegible] Agriculture. Unprofitable cotton growing, due to the boll weevil conditions, unrest among returned negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from farms during and after the War, the breakdown of the contract labor system, are cited in the report made public as contributory causes to the migration.

"Approximately 13 per cent or 32.000 of the total number of the negro farm hands in Georgia is estimated to have moved north during the last twelve months, and the movement continues, although crops for the present season already have been started. A large abandonment of acreage is reported and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season.

"The situation in Georgia in declared to be much worse than that prevailing generally.

"From South Carolina about 22,750 negro farmers, or about three per cent of the total negro farm population, have departed.

"The movement from Florida is estimated at about two per cent of the negroes living in or near farming communities.

"Alabama reports approximately 3½ per cent of its negro farm population has moved north since the last crop season.

"Arkansan shows a movement of about 15,000 negroes, or about 3½ per cent of the negro farm population

[illegible] been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no migration has been reported.

"Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent; Tennessee, about 4,500 negro farmers since April 7, 1922; while in Texas the farm labor situation aparently is not so serious as in the eastern cotton growing states."

N Y C JRNL OF COM
MAY 28, 1923

NEGRO EXODUS FROM SOUTH INCREASING

HIGH WAGES DRAW WORKERS TO INDUSTRIAL CENTERS.

Migration of 100,000 From the Southern States Within Past Six Months Reported by Conference Board.

An exodus of 100,000 fro mthe South to Northern industries within the past six months is reported by the National Industrial Conference Board, in a statement just issued.

"This movement has to a considerable extent been long almost vertical lines," the statement says, "negroes from Georgia and the Carolinas drifting North to the Atlantic seaboard States and New England; negroes from Alabama and Mississippi and Tennessee moving northward in the Middle Western States, and negroes from Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas finding new homes in the States further West.

"Two methods have been used in the main: First, employers have sent labor agents into the Southern States, who, in turn, have employed local agents for the purpose of encouraging negroes to move northward with the lure of free transportation, steady employment and high wages. The Southern States have restricted the activities of these labor agentsby placing large license fees upon their activities and in fining those who attempted to evade. In other cases, agents attempting to induce negroes to leave have been driven out and threatened.

"The second method has been indirect employe solicitation by word of mouth or letter. Negroes already employed who have come from the South write voluntarily or are asked to write to their friends and relatives in the South. They describe the conditions and urge their friends to follow them to the North."

"This method is bringing thousands of negroes almost daily into the industrial centers of the North. The consequences of this movement, particularly from the cotton-raising States, have already raised the fears of Southern employers and planters who depend on an ample supply of negro labor to get their work done."

N Y CITY WAL ST TOURN
JUNE 14, 1923

The Negro Moves North

Editorial from Boston News Bureau

The negro migration northward is real, but not so new as many suppose. The Civil War gave the black man liberty to travel and reside wherever he chose in the United States, yet a half-century after Lee's surrender nine-tenths of the colored population still lived in the south, although the total number of negroes had doubled.

The World War furnished the incentive for the colored man to migrate. Demand for unskilled labor caused a break in the southern concentration of black population and a remarkable shift of large numbers of negroes from farm to city. In the depression of 1921 and 1922 many drifted back to the south, but with the revival of industry there has been a renewal of the tendency northward.

So strong is the tide that the south has begun to notice it and object to it. On one day a month ago some 300 black men passed through Jackson, Miss., and more than 500 through Chattanooga, headed for industrial employment in the north. The planters of Tennessee have induced the state government to arrest colored men "loitering" near employment agencies. License laws have been revived in South Carolina and Virginia, and fines assessed for "enticing" negroes to go north.

Conditions in Mississippi have emboldened some of the leaders of the race to get out a remarkable statement to justify their tendency to migrate. They contrast what is done for white children with the little that is done for the black child. They declare that "the negro feels his life is not safe in Mississippi." They say that the Mississippi negroes supplied more soldiers for the armies of the nation than did the whites, yet the negro is "completely excluded from all share in jury service, the ballot, and from participation in government."

W. S. Rossiter in a census monograph illustrating the changes of the last decade finds that the negro increase was not great in regions already thickly peopled with the race but was marked where negroes have never been numerous. "Clearly," he says, "this was a readjustment not resulting from changing birth and death rates but due to migration." Moreover, between 1910 and 1920 the colored population of urban communities increased a third, while that of rural communities decreased. This census authority finds that certain northern states "having small negro populations in 1910 showed astonishing proportional increases." For example, Michigan, with an urban negro gain of 325.5%, although the actual numerical gain was but 42,000. Equally surprising is the case of Mississippi, which had a total decline of negro population of about 75,000, yet showed an urban increase of 3.4%.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Chairman Johnson, of the immigration committee of the house of representatives, has just announced a policy of further restrictions on immigration. His speech, as reported by the Associated Press, is to change the 3 per cent quota now allowed, to 2 per cent, and base it on the population statistics of 1890, instead of on the 1910 figures, as now provided.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, in annual convention in New York within the month, recommended that the 3 per cent restriction stand, but that there be added a 2 per cent selective quota.

The Constitution has persistently maintained that the percentage of quotas of those countries that did not fill them should be made available by selection, which is a modification of the recommendation of the United States chamber.

It is common knowledge that the flat quota, applying to all nations alike, despite the desirability or undesirability of their nation's immigrants, is both unfair and unsatisfactory. It is arbitrary in that it makes no provision for selecting the type of immigrants that will be acceptable to the United States, for preventing the arrival of immigrants in excess of the number admissible, hence occasioning great confusion and expense and hardships, or for distributing acceptable immigrants to the places they are most needed.

The Constitution has maintained that while restricted immigration is most desirable, the restriction should be intelligently applied, and that immigrants from those countries whose nationals are desirable, as for instance, competent artisans from England or Sweden, or other northern European nations, should be permitted in excess of their quota, by selection, to fill the unfilled quota of another nation. By this the gross total would not be greater, the scum of some of the southern European nations would be kept out, but desirables would be permitted to the gross limit to meet such acute labor conditions as exist today.

The drain upon the south for negro labor today is temporary, and occasioned by the acute shortage of immigrant labor following the restriction act of 1921. The south, almost free as it is from foreign labor, is thus embarrassed, and the negro himself, who, sooner or later, will be turned loose in a far land among strangers, will suffer in the long run most keenly.

Under the new Johnson proposal immigrants from Italy would be reduced to less than 4,000 as compared to 40,000 under the 1910 census. The same applies in a less degree as to Germany and England. It is a very important problem, and one that the south, in the present trend of negro migration, is vitally interested in. The immigration problem has been a green pasture for politicians, but it should be viewed from a safe and sound economic viewpoint, and not as a political football.

MEXICAN MOVE TO NORTH ALARMS TEXAS EMPLOYERS

Trainload Will Leave Houston For Michigan Beet Sugar Farms

A special trainload of Mexican laborers and their families will leave Houston Saturday for the beet sugar fields around Saginaw, Mich. Several hundred workers will be on board. The laborers will be under contract to work in the beet fields until December 15, when they will be furnished with return transportation. Fares and meals will be paid both ways, rent-free homes will be provided and $18 will be paid for each acre cultivated and harvested.

Labor is being recruited for the Michigan Sugar company by the Gulf Coast Employment service. Charles F. Heider, local manager, expects to recruit also for other companies in the sugar beet region.

While the movement will be heavy, Heider said, it will not be strong enough to reduce the labor supply in Texas to anywhere near the danger point. The employment service, he said, will be glad to aid land owners in filling their needs for labor in the cotton fields and for other farming operations. The Mexican consul at San Antonio has estimated 45,000 Mexicans are available for farms in this district, Heider pointed out.

Texas employers, however, are not reassured, pointing to conditions in South Carolina and Louisiana. Negroes have left these States in large numbers recently to go to Northern industrial centers. Employers fear the Texas supply of common labor will be jeopardized by any organized movement.

They point out also that the North may not be as alluring to the Mexicans as it seems now. Michigan temperatures during the beet harvest range from freezing to zero.

CHECK ON NEGRO MIGRATION URGED BY FACTORY HEADS

Resolution Passed Unanimously by Manufacturers to Better Conditions for Black Man in South.

A resolution, calling upon the people of Georgia and the south generally and the manufacturers of the state particularly, to use their efforts in checking the migration of negroes to the north, was adopted by the Georgia Manufacturers' association Thursday at the conclusion of its convention in the Piedmont hotel. The resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote.

A survey of conditions existing among the southern negroes who have migrated to the north, shows conclusively, it was pointed out, that the negro in the north "is a stranger in a foreign land," away from people who understand him best, and consequently is in worse condition than he is in the lowest negro shack of his native southland.

The survey also shows that the negro is not adapted to the rigors of the northern winter or to the congested negro districts of northern cities, where so many negroes have been lured by promoters seeking cheap labor. It was also pointed out that negro migration is rapidly depleting the labor supply of the south and thus causes a serious economic loss.

Must Better Conditions.

The resolution further recommends that steps be taken to better the living conditions of the negro and to eliminate whatever injustice is being done to him in any section of the south. The resolution was adopted by the association write Mr. Ford to that effect.

Tax System Discussed.

The other resolution declared that the association believed that the present taxation system of Georgia is antiquated and unsatisfactory, and recommended its co-operation with the members of the general assembly in the formulation of a fair and equitable plan of tax revision. The resolution did not favor any particular plan of taxation, but declared that it was the sense of the convention that "any scheme of taxation adopted should contemplate the raising of revenue sufficient to support the state and its institutions, with the burden so distributed as to be fair to all and oppressive to none."

Outstanding speeches of the convention were delivered by Mr. Baker, Senator Walter F. George, James A. Hollomon, associate editor of The Constitution, and George Betts, president of the Georgia association. Other speakers included W. P. Lemon, of the Georgia Forestry association; Mr. Land, Georgia vocational educational director, and Frank Weldon, secretary of the Taxpayer's league. Governor-elect Clifford Walker was scheduled to speak but was prevented because of illness.

Mr. Hollomon Speaks.

In his address, Mr. Hollomon expressed his opposition to any proposition of taxation that would exempt new industries from paying taxes. "No worth-while new industry," declared Mr. Hollomon, "is seeking exemption from taxation. All any worth-while industry asks is a fair, equitable and stable system of state taxation."

Mr. Hollomon outlined to the manufacturers his plan of taxation that created considerable Georgia-wide interest when it was first presented to the City club some weeks ago. He made a plea for a classified profit tax on the basis that a system that would distribute taxation equitably would increase the state revenue and lower tax rates.

"Taxation must be fair," said Mr. Hollomon, "and to be fair it must be equitably distributed. It should not exceed in the aggregate the legitimate demands of a progressive government, but it should be ample to provide for all government functionings, so that the benefits that revert back to the taxpayer in education, construction of highways, the administration of public services, the protection of society, and similar things, should not be abridged by reason of inadequacy of funds.

"Tax burdens in Georgia should be reduced, inequalities by which some are exempt from taxes, should be eliminated, and taxation should be made an investment instead of a burden. This can be done by a moderate income tax graduated in rates, with the provision that there shall be no double taxation. Properities for state taxes should be classified so that money and prima facie par valuations should be taxed not over one mill. The maximum real estate tax should not be over two mills. All injustice and inequality should be eliminated, and above all the taxation system should be fair and stable."

Mr. Weldon on Stand.

Mr. Weldon also emphasized the importance of a fair and stable system of taxation. Mr. Lemon told the manufacturers of the importance of forestry and forest preservation and rehabilitation of Georgia industry. He pointed out that the rapid cutting of Georgia forests and the lack of reforestation, together with the yearly fires, was a serious menace to the state and the south. He declared that by 1930 the pine forests of the south would exceed little, if any, the timber needs of the south, and that if steps were not taken for forest protection and reforestation, the entire nation would have to depend upon the last great stands of natural timber along the Pacific coast.

The morning session of the convention was devoted to a discussion of the relation of agriculture and industry, and the necessity for measures to rehabilitate Georgia agriculture in order "to promote and protect Georgia industry."

Senator George Speaks.

Senator George declared that the hope of agriculture rested on the increase of manufacturing and industrial centers that would consume the food raised on Georgia farms and convert the raw materials produced by agriculture into finished products. He pointed out that the Georgia farmer could not ship his products to the distant northern and eastern centers of consumption and compete successfully with the farmers closer to them, and that if the farmer is prosperous he must find his markets closer home.

In the course of his speech, the senator declared that he was "not afraid that a branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston will be established in Cuba. If this were effected and carried through, it would destroy the federal reserve banking system itself since it would place banks in the same competition with each other that existed before the federal reserve system was adopted."

Farm Prosperity.

In his address Mr. Betts pointed out that farm prosperity did not depend on cotton, but upon crop diversification, and upon "hogs, cows, and hens on every one of the 316,000 farms of Georgia. The state could be prosperous in agriculture," he said, "if it never raised another bale of cotton."

Mr. Betts urged the business men and manufacturers of Georgia to use their efforts to build up "a greater agricultural as well as a greater industrial Georgia." He urged that new and better methods of farming be encouraged and that the country banks extend productive credit to the farmers of their sections. He declared that agriculture is industry's biggest customer, and that profits on farms create capital which is essential to industrial development.

Mr. Baker highly praised the recommendations of Mr. Betts, that Georgia agriculture be rehabilitated and urged the manufacturers to aid

in that movement. He indorsed diversification of crops and declared "that the farmer who raises cotton exclusively can no longer make a profit."

Resolutions Made.

The resolution on the exodus of negroes to the north that was adopted, follows:

"Whereas, the members of this association have noticed with increasing concern the continued exodus from Georgia and other parts of the south of negroes in large numbers; and,

"Whereas, the consequent depletion of the labor supply of our section is regarded as a matter of serious moment.

"Therefore be it resolved, That the Georgia Manufacturers' association and the individual members thereof it was explained, to organize southerners in the movement to counteract the activity of labor contractors engaged in luring the negroes away from their homes by promises of higher wages and better living conditions, work in every desirable way to curtail and check this movement and to discourage the tendency to leave.

"Be it further resolved, That, in our opinion, the situation may be bettered if the best element of the white people work together to eliminate, so far as may be, any injustice done to the negroes, and to secure for all of them good living conditions and fair treatment, and to show to them the fact that careful surveys show that they are in reality far better of fin the south than in any other section of the nation."

STAR

APRIL 29, 1923

MIGRATION RAISES NEGRO MORTALITY

Concentration in Cities o North to Have Vital Effect on Race.

Officials of the census bureau believe the general movement of southern negro farmers to northern industria centers, shown by a recent survey of the Department of Agriculture, if continued, will have a very marked effec both upon the labor supply in the south and upon the negro race itself.

Analysis by the bureau of the negro population statistics of the 1920 census shows marked tendencies toward interstate migration and concentration in cities, the movement receiving its firs impetus in the demand for unskille labor during the world war. Durin the decade ended with 1920 nearly 235,000 negroes removed to cities in the south Atlantic states, and nearly the same number to cities in the east north central states. The increase in these cities, averaging nearly 50 per cent in the number of negroes, affords a vivid statistical picture of the call of the great commercial and industrial centers for more unskilled labor.

Might Return South.

"Were foreign immigration to be resumed in the future on a scale commensurate with immigration from 1890 to 1900 or during the period immediately preceding the war," the census bureau analysis says, "it is reasonable to suppose that the negro, less in demand because of the greater labor supply, would drift back to his former environment. But immigration, for the first time in federal history, has been restricted, and if this restriction continues and unskilled labor in prosperous times becomes again at a premium, is the negro to respond to the demand as during the war and continue to increase in urban centers during the present and subsequent decade at rates resembling those shown during the war period? Should this prove to be the case these effect upon the labor supply in the south (and thus upon southern industry and agriculture) and upon the negro race itself will be very marked.

"In every one of the northern states negro deaths in the five years, 1915-1919, outnumbered births; in the southern states, in general, the conditions are reversed.

"Throughout the north and in the cities of the south negro deaths are more numerous than negro births—in fact, southern cities are even more unfavorable than those of the north to natural increase. In 1920, for the first time, the proportion of white children to white women exceeded that of negro children to negro women, the difference being 42 per 1,000. At the present time the proportion of children to women among southern negroes is only about five-sixths of what it is among southern whites.

Change Has Effect.

"These changes will doubtless prove to be closely connected with the rapid urbanization of negroes between 1910 and 1920. The rural negro population decreased in that decade by nearly one-fourth of a million, or 3.4 per cent, while the urban negro population increased by seven-eighths of a million, or 32.7 per cent. Under these conditions the swarming of negroes into cities north and south and the sharp fall in the increase of all American negroes are related almost as cause and effect.

"If the rate of increase between 1900 and 1920 be projected through the rest of the century without change, it would yield at its close about 20,500,000 as the maximum limit of negro population. It also seems reasonable to anticipate that the negroes, who in 1790 were more than 19 per cent, or nearly one-fifth of the population of the country and now are about one-tenth, are likely by the end of the century to be not more than one-twentieth."

FAVORS RACE MIGRATION.

E. J. Scott Justifies Negro Leaving South for Better Wages.

Migration of negro labor from the south to northern industrial centers and to better wages and a free and untrammeled citizenship is justified and should be encouraged, Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University, has stated in reply to a communication sent him by John M. Gibbs, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina Pine Association, Inc., of Norfolk, Va. Mr. Gibbs' letter was a result of the telegram previously sent by Mr. Scott to President Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, urging him to use his influence to relieve the reported labor shortage in the north with southern negro labor.

"I very definitely feel that it is the duty of colored people wherever opportunity offers to leave those sections where lynching and peonage are practiced upon them with impunity," said Mr. Scott. "I know quite definitely the difficulties that black men are likely to meet in some of the northern sections, but these difficulties are inconsequential when compared with the privileges of a free and untrammeled citizenship.

"I am sorry that you are disposed to consider the ambition on the part of colored people to seek their fullest development and the enjoyment of the fullest American citizenship as being unworthy. I should very much dislike to feel that the south the natural habitat of the negro, as you say is going to assume a permanent feeling of hostility toward the negro in these fundamental directions. If does, migration northward will continue."

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN
MAY 12, 1923

THE SOUTH WANTS THE NEGRO

Negro migration northward causes increasing alarm in the South. Dr. L. GARLAND PENN, Sr., of Cincinnati, secretary of the Board of Negro Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, said on Thursday that the movement from Southern to Northern and Western regions, which has been very marked during the last six months, has become a serious problem for the South. On the same day the Georgia Manufacturers' Association, in conference at Atlanta, unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the people of Georgia and the Southern States generally to use their best efforts to check the exodus to the North by trying to better the living conditions of the negro.

Figures as to the extent of this migration are variously estimated. LOUIS SEIBOLD, surveying the situation for the New York Herald, quotes 25,000 as the net loss of Alabama in negro population during the past two years. South Carolina is said to have lost 22,750. Georgia probably has sent an equal number northward.

How far social or political conditions in the South, including the revival of Ku Kluxism, have influenced this movement cannot be said. But its prime promotion, and the only thing that makes it possible, is the shortage of unskilled labor in the industrial centres of the North. Denied their usual supply from the South of Europe, they bid for the negro as their only relief. It is possible for him to earn more money here than in the South; he makes a satisfactory worker; and he will continue to come this way, seeking his best opportunity, and giving comparatively little thought to social or political conditions.

Senator DIAL, of South Carolina, has been conferring with Secretary DAVIS as to the possibility of attracting Italian immigration to the Southern States, chiefly with the idea of utilizing such labor on the plantations. But that would be a more or less doubtful experiment. If the Southern States want to retain their negro labor, the surest means at hand is to help remove the barriers that have been put up by a Congressional majority against the normal supply of untrained labor for the North, and thus obviate the demand which is drawing away their natural labor supply.

MINNEAPOLIS M MORN TRIB
MAY 6, 1923

The Northward Drift of the Negroes.

Reports issued by the Agricultural Department indicate that the Negroes are continuing to invade the North in greater and greater numbers. People became aware of the great wave of emigration which carried so many Negroes North during the war, but most observers supposed that the wave was only an incident of the war. In 1915 and 1916 alone something like 250,000 southern-born Negroes abandoned the South for the North.

It is a matter of some surprise, therefore, to learn that during the past year the Negroes have still been marching northward. The three main causes cited are the boll weevil, the recruiting agents and the attractive offers of northern industries. No doubt the immigrant restrictions have had a good deal to do with this last factor.

We may only speculate upon the future possibilities which the movement holds. Should the United States continue to limit immigration drastically, it is fair to suppose that northern industries will become more and more dependent upon the southern Negro. And as the southern Negro learns of attractive industrial offers, he quite gladly abandons the South for the land of the colder climate.

The Southerners look upon this migration with alarm. They fear that they will soon be without labor supply. It is odd, in a way, that the Southerners have reversed their position. Until recently they were wont to register alarm over the fact that their Negro population was so great. Now they are beginning to register alarm over the fact that their Negro population is not great enough.

Of course, there is not the slightest immediate danger the entire southern Negro population is going to walk northward, leaving the South overwhelmingly white. At present there are roughly nine million Negroes in the South and one million five hundred thousand Negroes in the North. There is no prospect that in the near future the apportionment will be reversed—that we shall have nine million Negroes in the North and one million five hundred thousand Negroes in the South. Still the recent emigration figures must look ominous to many southern observers. The drift northward cannot go on at its present dimensions for another quarter of a century without effecting some sweeping changes. Already, and for the first time in a hundred years, South Carolina has a preponderance of white population. It begins to look as if the next half century might witness a more equitable distribution of the Negroes throughout the length and breadth of America. The South is evidently going to have difficulty in keeping the main bloc of the American Negroes anchored to its historic spot.

ROCHE[illegible] POST EXPRESS
MAY [illegible]

Negroes Flocking North.

The Northern states have a million and a half negroes, against nine millions in the South. Perhaps the cotton states have more than their share; but if so, the discrepancy is being corrected, for an exodus of negroes took place last year and still continues, which is comparable to the great migration northward eight years ago. More than 5,000 laborers left North Carolina last week for Richmond and Baltimore, bringing work on fifty highway construction projects to a halt; and 90,000 negro farm workers left four Southern states last year, besides the unknown number which left the towns.

The negro gets more of the things he wants up North—more justice, more political liberty, better educational opportunities, better pay. And like all other migrants the most enterprising and industrious element are the first to seek their fortunes afar. When the South begins to suffer for lack of agricultural labor, as the North has, she will appreciate her negroes better and take more pains to keep them at home.

The industrial secretary of the Armstrong association in Philadelphia points out that our country has in its negroes a vast reservoir of intelligent, teachable labor which adapts itself readily to any industrial use. The North, he says, can easily absorb four millions and the South can easily spare them. Both will gain hereby. The North will be enabled to meet the growing demands for production and the South will be taught to arrange its industrial programme so that what labor remains will be more adequately employed, better treated and better paid.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Clinton S. C. Chronicle

JUL 19 1923

THE EMIGRATION QUESTION

The Chronicle is today reproducing from The Atlanta Constitution, an article from Dr.Thornwell Jacobs, president of Oglethorpe University and a native Clintonian; on the question of "Negro Emigration." He goes into a thoughtful discussion of the sociological and economic considerations of the emigration problem and presents his views in a somewhat different light to those that are now being expressed by many writers.

There is a divided opinion today on the negro migration question. Many hold with Dr. Jacobs, that this exodus is not without its compensating benefits to the South and its white farm population; while others see in it only disaster. In the long-run the former view, we believe, will prove to be the correct one. The problem must be considered today, whether we want to or not, as one of the big changes in the South during the past hundred years, and one that not only vitally effects us, but the whole country. Dr. Jacobs' article is therefore timely, and whether you agree or not with the views he expresses, there is food for deep and serious thought in his communication.

AUGUST 4 1923

EXODUS OF NEGROES AROUSES GEORGIA

Movement Northward Costs More Than Sherman's March to Sea.

46,674 HOUSES VACANT

State Stands to Lose $27,000,000 This Year, Banker Declares.

The exodus of negroes from the South is causing greater loss in terms of dollars than the historic march of General Sherman to the sea, according to computations compiled by bankers who have expressed grave concern over the increasing numbers in which negroes are moving to the northern manufacturing States. The loss to Georgia alone, it is estimated, will for this year approximate if not exceed $27,000,000, and in the wake of the departing negroes 46,674 vacant farmhouses and 55,524 idle plows are left. So rapid has been the migration that Georgia now has a labor shortage of 70,843 persons.

In an effort to check this movement, public men of the South and particularly the bankers who of all professions probably keep a closer eye on general industrial conditions are conferring with one another. As a part of this general survey of the situation, James S. Peters of Manchester, Ga., President of the Georgia Bankers' Association, supervised an inquiry into the results and causes of the exodus from that particular State. The causes, it was indicated, lay primarily in the fact that the Northern States offer negroes better living conditions brought about by higher wages, greater educational facilities and less race prejudice.

The destruction caused by this quiet migration is described as no less striking than the destruction caused by Sherman's army. The "destroyed" area is in this case, as well as in the Civil War, Georgia's agricultural lands. Weeds instead of crops are growing on farms adjoining either the public highways or the railroads and a tourist can see "thousands and thousands of acres of land and farm dwellings lying vacant," to quote Mr. Peters. In terms of the dollar sign, the depreciation in value is shown through comparison with prices in 1919. In that year these same idle acres brought from $40 to $75 an acre; today there is no demand for them at all.

Whites Also Leaving.

Not only are the negroes reported as leaving the farms, but also white people are departing. Since Jan. 1 of this year in which period the negro exodus has amounted to nearly 80,000, the departure of white labor has exceeded 29,500, or a little more than one-third the number of departing negroes. But the bankers are not concerned so much over the exodus of white people, as they are tackling first the major problem of negro emigration.

According to the survey conducted by Mr. Peters and results of which are described in the current monthly Journal of the American Bankers Association, the negro exodus in three months of this year amounted to a third of the total emigration during the years 1920-21-22. In those three years, the survey indicates, 151,500 negroes left Georgia. This figure, added to the total of migration for the first half of 1923, brings the total to approximately 230,000, a number larger than the population of Atlanta.

"Should the present rate continue during the remainder of the year," says Mr. Peters, "the number of negroes leaving Georgia this year will equal the population of one of our Congressional Districts or ten of our average middle Georgia counties. Our reports indicate that the railroads in one of the cities of the State have sold more than 5,000 tickets to negroes going to the industrial North and East since Jan. 1 of this year. This number, of course, was included in the totals of our survey.

"When we take into consideration that the negro population of Georgia increased only 30,000 from 1910 to 1920, it brings to our attention the fact that the negro population of Georgia now is possibly less than it has been since 1890. It seems apparent that this will continue so long as conditions here remain as they are at present and the industrial North and East offer higher wages and better living conditions."

South Needs Negro.

Labor agents are not responsible to any great extent for this shift in population, says Mr. Peters. One of the important mediums is found in the United States mails, negroes who have gone North writing to relatives, sweethearts and friends to urge them to go North. "I find in many instances that those who have gone ahead are sending money back to their families and friends to cover their transportation 'up North.'

"I believe that the negro would rather remain in the South and the South needs him. We are his best friend and he is our best source of labor supply. He knows how to farm under Southern conditions. He will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any people save the Oriental coolie. How can we keep them? That is largely a local question. However, some of the things we must do have been suggested from time to time by leaders of both the black and the white race and I repeat them here for emphasis."

These suggestions can be summarized in the proposition of bringing the southern wage scale more on a par with the scale in the North and East and in improving living conditions for the negro. In this regard, cities are invited to make a scientific study of negro quarters with a view to providing better sanitation, recreation possibilities and other welfare and improvement plans. In conclusion, Mr. Peters places the proposition before the Southern people by estimating the actual loss in terms of dollars.

"Based upon a production of $500 to the plow, which is very low, you will observe that Georgia's loss of wealth from her farms this year will amount to the sum of more than $27,000,000 and in a decade to more than $250,000,000."

MARIETTA, GA. Courier Times

JUL 19 1923

STEPS SUGGESTED STOP MIGRATION

State Race Relations Committee Makes Timely Recommendations

As essential steps in stopping negro migration from Georgia, the State committee on race relations at its semi-annual meeting in Atlanta Wednesday, recommended the immediate suppression of mob violence, the provision of better schools for negroes, and farm demonstration agents to teach them how to make a living under boll weevil conditions. For the prevention of lynching the legislature was urged to give the governor greater authority in case of derelict sheriffs, a measure which governors of the state have frequently requested in the past. Local citizens were urged to stand behind the officials and the courts in preventing and punishing mob violence.

The legislature was asked also to increase the appropriation for state negro schools and to provide more adequate normal, industrial and agricultural training for colored youth. It was pointed out that negroes pay one-twentieth of the states' property taxes, but receive back only a thirty-fifth of the appropriations for schools above the common grade. As a matter of justice each county was urged to undertake the building of at least one good negro school. The establishment by the state of a Colored tuberculosis sanitarium and a training school for colored delinquent girls was also recommended.

The Woman's section of the committee reported that they have secured funds for a colored public health nurse to devote her efforts chiefly to maternity and child welfare throughout the state.

Rev. R. H. Singleton, pastor of Big Bethel, made a report to the committee of the conference on migration held by negro leaders in Atlanta on July 4, at which an address to the public was drafted setting forth the principal causes of the heavy migration. Among them were mentioned low wages, poor housing, bad working conditions on plantations of absentee owners, lack of educational advantages, poor traveling accommodations, unequal enforcement of the law, the labor contract law, and mob violence. A number of these points were taken up by the race relations committee and covered in its recommendations.

Other speakers were: Prof. Walter B. Hill, Prof. J. Phil Campbell and Hon. E. Marvin Underwood.

Among those attending the meeting of the committee were:

Bishop F. F. Reese, Savannah; Mrs. A. R. Lawton, Savannah; J. Bailey Gordon, Rome; Prof. J. Phil. Campbell Athens; Mrs. R. P. Brooks, Athens; Mrs. W. A. Turner, Newnan; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison; Rev. W. W. Memminger, Atlanta; John J. Eagan, Atlanta; W. W. Alexander, Atlanta; Marion Jackson, Atlanta; Marvin Underwood, Atlanta; John A. Manget, Atlanta; Mrs. W. A. Albright, Atlanta; Mrs. J. Frank Smith, Atlanta; Mrs. John N. McEachern, Atlanta; Dr. T. J. Woofter, Atlanta; Mrs. Lindsey Arrington, Augusta; Rev. R. H. Singleton, Atlanta; W. J. Trent, Atlanta, and Prof. W. W. Reddick, Atlanta.

Call of the Cities to the Negro Race

Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, who served as congressman from Illinois for a long period of years, was defeated in an election and for two years had no official duties in Washington. He stated that he found no pleasure in staying in his home town as each man there was busy with his own affairs. Mr. Cannon was a statesman and as such was accustomed to giving attention to the question of the welfare of the people as a whole. To those members of the negro race that can lift themselves above the consideration of their own likes and dislikes, who can really feel concern for the future, even for that future that lies far beyond the span of their own existence to statesmanship in the negro race, these words are addressed.

The fact that there is an American negro today does not mean that there must always be one. The soil of the earth has preserved the skeletons of races that have roamed over its surface and have departed to return no more. The Piltdown, Neanderthal, Rhodesian and Cromagnon were races that once existed in large numbers but are now gone forever. The time is at hand when negro statesmanship should calmly consider the question as to whether or not the American negro is being invited to join the ranks of races that have disappeared altogether.

The question of the exodus of the negroes from the south is giving some white men serious concern. Before we laugh at their interest in this matter, let us calmly consider our own. Once upon a time a hound was chasing a rabbit, so the story runs. Some one chided the hound, telling him that he was not running as fast as the rabbit. The hound replied, "The rabbit is running for his life, while I am only running for my dinner." The white man's concern in the negro exodus may be about his dinner ,but the very life of the negro race in America is involved in this matter.

In the cities of the country the negro's death rate is higher than the birth rate. In spite of this fact, the race as a whole has been able to show an increase in population, because 72.6 per cent or nearly three-fourths continued to reside in the rural districts, where the birth rate was higher and the death rate lower, thus reducing the effect of the low birth rate and the high death rate of the cities.

But now the cities are calling for the entire negro population. Within the next few years they could use it all. Let us note what would happen if the negroes as a whole would answer this call of the cities. The average death rate of the negroes in the cities is 27.1 per thousand. The average birth rate of negroes for the entire country is 26.3 per thousand. The birth rate is thus high because the negroes now live mainly in the country. If they go to the cities, the birth rate will fall greatly, and there will be a large excess of deaths over births. This means that the race will be headed for extinction, and time will execute the decree of racial death.

The death rate of the white people in the cities is 14.1 per thousand, or 13 per thousand under the city death rate of the negroes. Thus, in the cities the negroes are not only dying out faster than children are being born to them, but are dying out at nearly twice the rate of the white people. The 1910 census report says: "A marked excess (of births over deaths) is shown for nearly every city, and wherever the deaths outnumber the births, the excess is usually among the colored population."

Hon. P. P. Claxton, formerly commissioner of education for the United States, once said that it might take 500 years to solve the race question in America. Was he calculating that it would take the negro race that long to die out? Perhaps not, but if he had that in mind, he was giving the race that long to disappear when it was mainly a rural population. The date can be moved forward greatly if the negroes as a whole are to reside in the cities.

What is to be the end of this effort to produce a great branch of the African race in America? Is the record of our racial life to be closed with the fatal words "Blotted out?" Is this to be the end, after all the perils and bitter hardships of the journey across the Atlantic in the holds of the ships; after the laborious toil that laid low the forests and drained the swamps; after the giving of Crispus Attucks as the first blood offering of the American Revolution; after the record made behind the cotton bales at New Orleans in the War of 1812, and in Cuba during the Spanish-American War; after the nation's awful sweat of blood to give us freedom; after the rearing in the south of the most magnificent civilization ever achieved by negro hands; after the labors of love of those who in patience broke the seals of our ignorant minds and let in the light of knowledge; after the quickening of the hope of the world that Ethiopia was suddenly to stretch forth her hand unto God? Is the dream of the African that he was to have an American brother to serve him as an advocate and as an example of his possibilities to be rudely shattered?

The instinct of self-preservation runs throughout the realm of living creatures, whether they be plants or insects, lower animals or human beings. Not only do individuals insist on living, but species seek to avoid being blotted out. Nature is described by Tennyson as having a special love for the species when he says, "So careful of the type she seems, so careless of the single life.

Are the negroes to be an exception to this rule? Is there to be no concern with reference to the continuation of the species?

There is enough of heart and soul and sanity for the two races in the south to be able to sit down around the council table and work out plans that will remove every just cause of complaint and preserve a rural life for the American negro, thus giving him the opportunity to march down the highway of coming ages, blessing the world with the fruitage of his spirit nourished and ripened by all that America can give.

SUTTON E. GRIGGS.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN. TIMES

AUG 1 - 1923

NEGRO LEADERS EXPLAINS EXODUS

Tell Members of the Kiwanis Club the Whys of Movement to the North.

Three leading negro citizens of Chattanooga discussed the problem of the exodus of negro laborers before the Kiwanis club yesterday, by special invitation. Following their addresses, President John E. Lovell announced that a special committee of the club would be appointed to consider the problem and make recommendations. The speakers were the Rev. Bell, Attorney J. G. Burge and Dr. P. A. Stephens, all taking the race situation from different angles, but each expressing his love for Chattanooga and determination to stay here. The exodus of negroes, they said, is hampering negro churches and other institutions, and perplexing them just as it is the white people.

The Rev. Bell said that there were two things either or both of which might cause the negro or anyone to leave his place of nativity. One, if the trick of the eagle, that of removing the down from the nest and leaving the youngsters to lie on the thorns or fly for themselves, is played; the other, of alluring promises of a land of milk and honey are held out.

Among reasons for the restlessness of local negroes, Dr. Stephens charged lack of sanitation, poor housing, poor living conditions, low wages and exorbitant rents for mere shacks. He cited "Onion bottom," Fifth street and portions of Tannery flats as instances of colored home sections where conditions are unsatisfactory. The negro physician also attacked fee-grabbing, saying that after a negro draws his week's wages it is naturally disquieting to have all his money taken by the officers, especially as in so many cases the crap game is started by another negro "piking" for the officials. Ku-Kluxism, with its attendant evil of mob law, the physician also denounced.

Attorney Burge, after saying that the negroes try to look up to and trust the white people and like to live near and work for them, said that some of the needed confidence had been destroyed by the refusal of the county court to build a refuge for negro women, for which $5,000 was voted some years ago and for which negro women raised $2,000 as a furnishing fund. He cited this, he said, as one of many things which had caused dissatisfaction, saying the women first started the movement northward and the men followed. In conclusion, he said that the campaign against the antilynching bill by people of this section had caused negro people to feel that they are not secure in their homes, that a negro is likely to come home from a hard day's work any night and find himself dragged from it by a masked or hooded mob, never to return.

The club voted to hold its annual picnic some time during the present month at Ocoee lake and Herschel Keith, chairman of the picnic committee, was instructed to proceed with arrangements. Supt. E. D. Reed, of the Tennessee Electric Power company, extended an invitation to the club in behalf of the company.

MICHIGAN MAY TAKE STEPS FOR BETTERMENT OF NEGROES

Lansing, Mich., July 6.—Young Negroes from all parts of the south are flocking to Michigan industries by the hundreds, according to a report made to the State Administrative Board last Thursday. The report was submitted by D. Whitney Watkins, commissioner of Agriculture and Carl Young, labor commissioner. In the report they blame unrest prevalent among young Negroes in the South since the war as the dominating cause for the great in flux.

The report also asks that the State Administrative Board appoint a committee to make a survey of the situation and preparation to take care of the increased Negro population.. Other recommendations of the commissioners are that the immigration of Negroes be discouraged, that the Negro farm colonies be established and that authority be given to keep in touch with the welfare needs of the Negroes.

Exodus Is Answer to Hooded Mob

Camden, Ark., Aug. 3.—Carrying banners warning "undesirables," a mob of 700 Klansmen paraded the streets while several thousand residents of Camden and near by towns looked on in silence. The parade, more than a mile long, ended at the baseball park where Captain Shipwith of Mer Rouge fame told "the true story" of the Louisiana mystery.

The banners carried by the maskers read as follows:

"Bootleggers and moonshiners, beware!"

"Jitney drivers, watch out! Be 100 per cent white or 100 per cent black."

"White blood and black blood shall not mix."

"We are not anti anything that is right."

"A twig then, an oak now. Loafing Negro, where is your job? Whites also."

"Farm hands are needed. Get on the job or get out."

A crowd of 2,000 gathered at Abbott field to witness the initiation of 111 candidates, who gathered around the fiery cross. The ceremony lasted until 1 a. m., when Captain Skipwith began his discourse. This was followed by a barbecue.

Skipwith said the evidence in the Mer Rouge investigation showed that the bodies found in a lake were not those of Daniels and Richards, that the bodies had been brought there to carry out a "frame up."

Most of the Race population are planning to leave for the North and West, deserting the farmers and cotton growers. The whites are uneasy.

Race Prejudice in New England.

A press dispatch from Boston announces an organized movement to discourage the migration of negroes to New England. Officials of the New England Chamber of Commerce, it appears, are seeking the co-operation of New England governors in an effort "to put an end to the steady stream of southern negroes arriving in the greater industrial centers." It is declared that the unwelcome migration has "actually become a serious problem to many New England communities," that "the northern members of the migrant's own race really resent his arrival;" that the negro of the south is not bettering himself in any way by migrating to the New England states, but is, in fact, creating considerable hardship not only for himself but for the northern members of his race;" that "race prejudice prevails in New England;" and that "fully 40 per cent of the many thousands of negroes who have arrived here from the south this year are now unemployed and dependent upon charitable organizations." This story from Boston is "shocking," if true, but hardly surprising to those who have studied the race problem at first hand. When its traditional theory regarding the negro is put to the test of actual practice, New England discovers that with respect to racial problems as in respect of other things there is a great gulf fixed between theory and practice. "Race prejudice," admitted by the Boston dispatch to be accompanying the "negro migrants" even into New England, long since made its appearance in other sections of the north. None the less, New England's reported attempt to halt the negro migration probably will be regarded by the migrating negroes themselves as "the most unkindest cut of all."—The New Orleans Times-Democrat.

Of course the negroes down here, bent on going, will say that this is all propaganda, but just as soon as things tighten up a little in Chicago and Detroit they are going to be the first to lose their jobs.

The negro is a free agent and if he wants to go north, west or east that is his business, but we predict that pretty soon he is going to find it bad business.

Labor— 1923.
Migration Movement.

JUL 18 1923

FARM LABOR EXODUS CONTINUES SERIOUS

CROP REPORT ISSUED

Georgia Peach and Other Shipments Are Late

Atlanta, July 17.—Exodus of farm labor continues, according to the Southeastern fortnightly crop report July 1 to July 15, made public here today by the United States Department of Agriculture.

North Carolina, the report added, reports a net gain in some counties at the expense of states farther Suuth.

The past two weeks, continued the report, have been favorably to all crops, except that certain localities were suffering from rain. A good downpour is now needed by practically all of the territory, Georgia and South Carolina corn need it particularly.

Wheat threshing is in full swing in Tennessee, the report said. In North Carolina, the harvest is unusually good, following a favorable season.

A considerable quantity of hay has been saved in Tennessee, while prospects continue good in remainder of the territory, except where it has been too dry, the report averred, adding that pastures are still in good shape, but needing moisture.

The report declared tobacco yield and quality were good and the harvest is now over in Florida and Southwest Georgia, South Carolina and Georgia "bright" areas are now harvesting with excellent prospects. Everything is favorable in the new area of North Carolina, but the old belt suffered from drought. Tennessee tobacco is doing fairly well, but "buttoning" rather low. Little topping has been done there.

In respect to cotton the report stated all states report considerable progress in the growth of the plant within the past two weeks. The fields are reasonably clean and blooms are forming rapidly in the South and commencing in the upper region. Boll weevils are particularly bad in South Georgia and Florida, causing a decline in the condition figure.

This pest, the report added is reported very active in the remainder of the territory, although it was held in check by the dry weather during the past two weeks. The crop is so late that the direct weevil damage in the upper part of the belt is hard to forecast and the outturn of the whole crop is problematical.

Commenting on the Southern fruit outlook, the report declared peaches and apples have a less encouraging outlook in North Carolina and Tennessee. In Georgia the main commercial apple section reports favorably, but the general agricultural area indicates a small crop. Georgia peaches are very late and shipments badly behind last year, but it is expected that the Elbertas will even things up. Florida citrus and Alabama satsumas are in good shape. Florida is harvesting early grapes, figs, pineapples and other fruits.

The report season is over in Florida with the exception of onions and melons, according to the report. Both watermelons and cantaloupes have light crops. A considerable acreage of late cowpeas and soy beans is being planted. Great damage by the Mexican beetle is reported in Tennessee and North Georgia, it was said, and it has become a very serious pest. Peanuts are needing rain, the report concluded.

KANSAS CITY MO TIMES
MAY 31, 1923

TELLS ABOUT NEGROES' EXODUS.

F. T. Lane Gives Observations Made in Tour of the South.

First hand observations of the heavy migration of negroes to the North and West were made in a tour of the South during the last two weeks by F. T. Lane, negro executive secretary of the Community Service Urban League, an organization for social service among negroes, at 1518 East Eighteenth street.

"In just one night I saw six car loads of negroes leave Memphis, Tenn.," said Lane yesterday. "They were headed for St. Louis, Chicago and other points. In Atlanta cars of negroes may be seen leaving for northern points every day. The movement from the South appears to be general. Not so many of the negroes are coming into Kansas City as to other large centers, but quite a few stop here. Many come through here and after getting a line on employment in other places, move on."

There is no single explanation of the migration, according to Lane, who attended the national conference of social workers in Washington recently and secured opinions of various observers on the question. Ravages of the boll weevil, unprofitable farming conditions, dissatisfaction of the negro with the treatment received in parts of the South, an unusual demand for labor in northern and western industrial centers and the work of agents in recruiting help among the negroes are all behind the movement in his opinion.

"Many of the negroes leaving the South seem to know just where they are going, what work they will engage in and have the funds to pay their way," said Lane. "So it is a pretty methodical movement.

"But it creates problems all around. People of the South are beginning to realize the danger of losing considerable labor and in some places are giving the negroes better schools and working conditions. I think it will be generally true that if the negro is not given some humane attention, in addition to being paid wages, he is going to be dissatisfied and to move on from one place to another to find work.

"In Kansas City the problem centers around housing, recreation and industrial conditions. The health condition, including the high death rate, is bound up with all of these. An intelligent and friendly interest in the situation on the part of leading citizens would help greatly."

SOUTH'S LABOR PROBLEM.

Governor Trinkle Predicts Early Return of Southern Negro.

The most important problem in the South today is that of labor, according to Governor E. Lee Trinkle of Virginia, who has been at the Hotel Pennsylvania after having attended the commencement at the Virginia Military Institute in Staunton, Va. Governor Trinkle says that the migration of negroes to the North is causing a curtailment of agricultural and building and is creating a very trying situation.

"As I came up from Virginia I saw four carloads of negroes coming from North Carolina to Newark, N. J., I think it was, to work in the factories there," said the Governor. "The negroes are coming North in great numbers from nearly every part of the South in response to the offers of high wages which are made to them by various labor agents whose business it is to get laborers in quantities. They show the negro one side of the question —how much money he will get—and he has to learn for himself how much more it costs him to live in the North than in the South. This he soon learns—to his sorrow.

"The negro is a good laborer, properly directed. He makes a good farmer working under supervision, and it is upon him that the producers of the large tobacco and cotton and sugar crops of the South depend. The shortage of labor is making itself felt, not only in the agricultural situation, but in building as well. The South is growing very rapidly, and a tremendous amount of building is in progress or being planned. This program is going to be stopped temporarily, or at least, in a great degree curtailed, owing to the shortage of labor for actual construction and to the shortage of production of the raw building materials as a direct result of the labor situation.

"The Southern negro will not stay long in the North. He does not, never has, and never will fit into the scheme of things in the North. Northern people do not understand the negro as Southern people do, and he soon realizes this, and in the majority of cases, sooner or later, returns to the South. This is the hopeful and reassuring aspect of the present situation. The South has only to slow up on its production for a little while. It has been producing a great deal of material and will simply have to content itself with less lavish production until the labor shortage problem solves itself naturally by the return of the negro from his 'excursion.'

"Either this, or an importation of foreign labor, is the answer to the Southern labor problem, and I do not believe the South will make the latter answer. If it does, it will but add another problem instead of solving one. At present there is a very low percentage of foreign-born people in the South; in Virginia, for example, which has the lowest rate, perhaps, only one and five-tenths per cent. of the population is foreign-born."

"THE NEGROES ARE LEAVING THE SOUTH GOING NORTH"

When the negroes all get North
among their special friends (?)
And they have social rights and the
trouble then begins,
Won't the people in the South have
lots and lots of fun
Telling the Yankees just how it
should be done,
And giving advice, which we used to
have to take,
For the good of society and for the
negro's sake?

JAMES DEMPSEY BULLOCK,
Wilson, N. C.

The Great Migration.

In a pamphlet authorized by a state-wide conference of negroes in Georgia are set forth various reasons why negroes are leaving southern plantations in large numbers to come to northern industrial centers. Among those reasons are: The extreme difficulty the negro finds in making a living in the south, either as a small farmer or as a farm laborer; the very limited opportunities for the education of his children; the necessity of living in quarters so overcrowded and unclean that they breed immorality, crime and disease; cruel and degrading social discriminations, and, worst of all, the white defiance of law as expressed in mob violence, from which no negro in the south, however industrious and honest he may be, can feel safe.

These reasons seem entirely sufficient to explain the negro's leaving the south. But is he permanently bettering his lot by the change? In many ways he is; in other ways the answer cannot so readily be given. In northern industrial cities the southern negro finds it possible, during the present period of activity at least, to make better wages than he had ever dreamed possible. What his status will be in the labor market with the return of "hard times" is something that requires thought.

In the north undoubtedly his opportunities for education are better. Housing conditions, too, are more favorable than those afforded by the plantation "quarters," but they are still far from ideal. The same crowding that was forced on the negro in the "quarters" is quite as noticeable, with all the old evils and some new ones, in many a city tenement. The people who brought the negro north have done far less than they should have done to provide him with a suitable place to live.

In northern cities the negro is not subject to the cruelties of social discrimination that he had to endure in the south, though it would be idle to deny that there is discrimination against him. In the north he is relieved of his dread of mob violence, though in several northern cities there have been times since the great migration began when no negro could feel safe from mobs that were formed because of race prejudice.

Industrially, the southern negro who has come north is needed, for the present, at least, in his new environment. Socially he has improved his position.

Politically he is often exploited outrageously in ways that are no less evil for him than for the community in which he lives.

Whether the negro is to benefit in full from his migration will depend on steps that have not yet been taken. Therefore the influential members of his race and his friends among the whites still have a big problem on their hands.

JUL 20 1923

By ROYAL DANIEL.

Wilkes County, which has been unusually hard hit by the constantly growing exodus of negroes from Georgia, has hit upon the commonsense plan of filling the places of negroes with white farmers as far as possible.

To this end, the county has listed 20,000 acres of fertile land which is being offered throughout the west. The value of this land is estimated at approximately $750,000.

The lands are divided into tracts from 13 acres to 1,350 and in value from $1,350 to $72,565. The entire proposition, suggested by the Georgia Association, is being handled by the Kiwanis Club of Washington, the county seat of Wilkes.

THE MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO

Notwithstanding the alarm from various sources picturing the future in the North as being bad and the unsuitable climate for the Negro, the loss of jobs and the pain of hunger and privation, he continues his pilgrimage. Thousands are going every day and labor agents become more active as the reports of bad conditions are emphasized. The Southern Negro seems more determined in this program than any he has engaged in. His attitude takes the form of a portion of the present marriage vow: "For better or for worse." Somehow he has convinced himself that it can be no worse, and if a little worse, he would rather be among strangers punished than among his supposed friends.

The unrest should be viewed from more than one angle if we hope to arrive at a proper solution. And unless those interested will decide this fact, all other efforts simply feed the movement and increase the migration. There is more to be considered in human happiness than the mere handling of money or easy access to money or the earning of money in wages, salaries or commissions. Humanity, all of it, must be respected as the highest effort of the creation. Races, all of them, must be assured of the protection of the laws, the pleasures provided and the liberties accorded citizens. A literal and human interpretation must be the attitude of our jurists, governors and statesmen if the measure of justice due is had. The Negro wants this justice. He wants this form of protection. He does not want the white man's place, but he wants his place when he merits it. He wants positions when he is efficient. He wants the salary he earns and not a salary provided for Negroes only. He wants the privilege to lead and superintend his own people when he has so prepared himself and is respected and considered by his folk. And this is the tangle in which we find ourselves.

Our industry or plants in the mineral districts might be considered as uniformly fair and offering protection to our race members. Where the Negro suffers most in these plants is because of his lack of contact and acquaintance with the higher officers. It would be well for our well established plants to occasionally make investigation through unbiased but interested authority and have heart to heart talks and conferences with the Negro people. While superintendents may mean well and intend to present the real situation and condition in plants, it is almost impossible for them to interpret the meaning and purpose of the average Negro laborer. There are feelings and complaints that the Negro would gladly express to higher authority that he would not divulge to lesser lights.

It is the purpose of this publication to be absolutely fair and open in all matters and especially in the matter of interracial duty and race co-operation. We do have substantial industrial institutions and we have a large number of Negro men and women in the industrial fields who have not lost faith in the leadership of the industrial captains, but under the alarming circumstances these men and women, so necessary to the progress of our industries and the commonwealth of Alabama, can be disturbed, and may be disturbed in a crisis like this unless they are given every protection against the attacks of their enemies and the enemies of industry.

Mr. Richard Johnston, an industrial writer on The Birmingham Age-Herald, has rendered a most comprehensive opinion in the past few days touching the desires and feelings of the Negro people. Well did he compliment some of our plants and advised a more human and fair disposition toward the Negro. The article is so complete and carries so beautifully the thought of the under man, we are printing it on this page of The Reporter. It is fair and helpful to warn any people of the danger ahead such as is given by our daily press respecting the possible disadvantages that may come to colored people who go away in large numbers to other sections. We have always advised precaution in this matter and we do not believe now that an effort of this kind should be looked upon carelessly or continued with vengeance or prejudice. But in emphasizing the possible disadvantages it would be well for all of us to offer some solution for the unchecked and inhuman cruelties that are practiced upon us every day in the South. And while we deplore the possible hard struggle awaiting us elsewhere, we can not forget the pain, the war, the bitterness that we now suffer. If we decide the question on what should be done for the Negro and this decision be left entirely to the judgment of prejudiced whites, we simply make a program to inflame the situation. The prescription written for many years as a sure cure for Negro complaints is but inflaming an acute situation and we must change the medicine and write a prescription for humanity, one balanced out on common sense and justice, and his complaints will be cured. This can be done; it is being done in the South; it is being done in Jefferson County and in many other mineral fields of Alabama, and it must be done everywhere in the South, or the competition will be too great and the South won't compete.

JUL 25 1923

DOING WITHOUT THE NEGRO.

In the exodus of the negro laborer to the North there is a lesson for the Southern white man. In some sections, where the loss of labor has been particularly large, it is said the crops are smaller but better than in former years. This is taken to mean that the farmer, dependent upon his own resources and that of his family and neighbors, is replacing the slipshod methods of the negro with an intensive cultivation of a smaller acreage. The result will spell more net money for the farmer than under the old condition.

The majority of white men, when they do a job for themselves, try to do it right. The policy of the negro in many cases has always been to do just as little work as he could get away with and hold the job. Such labor has been more or less unsatisfactory. The quicker the Southern farmer becomes independent of his negro laborer the better off he will be. This fact is being brought home to the planters daily in their experience during the present growing season.

People who have been through eastern North Carolina this Summer declare that the crops in that section are better than in recent years. North Carolina, however, has not suffered such a loss in colored population as has some other Southern States. In South Carolina, where the exodus has been quite severe, the report is that a larger return is being grown upon a smaller acreage. The same experience will apply throughout the cotton growing States.

If the Southern farmer will concentrate upon the necessity of doing without the negro, the result will be to the disadvantage only of the negro. He will return from his hard adventure in the North only to learn that he has no home either in the North or in the South. His condition will be infinitely more pitiable thn it is now—when he has listened to the siren voice of the irresponsible labor agent to his own undoing.

The natural habitat of the negro is in the South, and if he will abandon his shiftless tactics and learn to give a fair return in labor for the wage received, the element of friction between the races would in large measure be abated. In this day of intensive endeavor the negro must keep up with the procession or go under. The Southern farmer is rapidly learning that cotton and tobacco can be grown without him. The salvation of the negro is in the hands of the negro.

JUL 19 1923

NEGRO EXODUS NORTH

Many section of Georgia are beginning to view with alarm the constant exodus of negroes from the big plantations in Southwest and Middle Georgia. This, however, is in parts of the state where the negroes do most the work in th fields and the common laborers in many of our industrial plants. These are feeling the effects.

Happily, here in Wayne county, where the shiftless kind of darkey never did amount to much, we have been freer of this menace than any other section in the whole state. For the most part, we are glad the better class of white home owners are settling among us on tracts sufficiently large to do all the work themselves and in their own way without interference from labor agents of what not, areentirely independent of the roving negroes.

The Sentinel believes that the going of negroes will untold millions to the wealth of our section, for it reduce our production and wonderfully increase the of that which we produce.

the absorption of the overfloy of the negro popthe North continue until this top-heaviness ch we have labored for years has been relieved, minute this is accomplished Southern prosperity t up in full blast, and the benefits accuring will ly be to the white men, but alike to the negro who ins.

We do not know just how much negro population Wayne county and this section is credited with by the last census, but it's mighty small. If the negro who is with us wishes to remain and is industrious, he will find that the white folks of the South are his best friends. It is the shiftless kind of darkey that is leaving, and for all we care, he is welcome to go.—Jesup Sentinel.

Labor – 1923
Migration Movement

NEGROES RETURN TO MISSISSIPPI FARMS

MEMPHIS TENN APPEAL
FEBRUARY 11, 1923

Experiences in North Are "Powerfully Bitter."

Two train loads of negroes, all of them former plantation negroes, have just returned from Chicago to the vicinity of Indianola, Miss., through private enterprise seeking labor for farms in that region.

The negroes were glad to get back. Moreover, they say they are going to stay; they have no more longings for the "high wages" and other so-called attractions held out by the industrial plants in northern cities. They have had a taste of it and the taste was "powerfully bitter."

Facts concerning the return of the negro families were obtained yesterday over long distance telephon from C. R. Mayfield of the law firm of Mayfield & Dever of Indianola. The concern has made a specialty of liquidating, reselling or operating plantation properties in that portion of the Mississippi delta, and the labor was needed for the places they expect to operate this year.

Mr. Mayfield made a personal visit to Chicago, enlisted the services of negro employment agencies, and quickly got two train loads of negro families. He declared that he could have secured many more and expressed the view that the conditions he found in Chicago probably obtain in many other northern cities such as St. Louis, Cincinnati and Cleveland, Detroit and other industrial points to which the negro migration of the last few years has been chiefly directed.

Most of the negroes returned from Chicago, said Mr. Mayfield, are older negroes and negroes with families and consequently dependents. The younger negroes are loath to return south so long as they can hang on in the cities. Conditions under which the older negroes with families had been living were described as acute and in many instances, pitiful.

Quite a number of the women and children brought back were so badly in need of sufficient clothing to keep them warm that they had converted bedding into wearing apparel. Several even wore blankets, Mr. Mayfield asserted, to hide their nakedness. They had been pinched for food along with clothing.

The stories told were of the same general nature. Lack of work, lack of money and sickness about sums them up. At first, the men had little trouble in finding work at pretty good wages. Many said they got along all right for a month or two months. Then their wages were reduced with the explanation that labor was so plentiful. After that it was a case of taking anything or going in want, and the ones in want grew steadily in number.

Accustomed as many of the southern negroes had been to being "taken care of" by the white folks, they quickly found that they must depend wholly upon themselves. Food must be paid for, clothing must be paid for, rent must be paid, and it took cash to buy coal. "Furnishing" they found to be an unknown custom and even an unknown term. Bad weather, little food, and that not good, and miserable living conditions brought sickness and the need for money to pay the doctor and the drug store. It got to a point with many of them that they didn't know what to expect next—even the death angel.

According to the Indianola man, as many as could be used were brought back and no efforts made to find more, but that would be a very minor feature, in his view, not alone in Chicago, but in the other cities.

In his conversation, Mr. Mayfield declared he was heartily in favor of securing a good class of foreign-born peasant farmers as a permanent type of farm labor in the cotton section, because he believes they will produce far better results as tenants and better citizens later as landowners than is to be expected of the negro.

JOHNSTOWN PA DEMOCRAT
JANUARY 22, 1923

THE NEGRO MOVES NORTH.

Economic forces will not be denied. We can close our eyes and our minds to them, but they go their way and hold their sway nevertheless. Our immigration laws and our tariff laws serve to create artificial barriers that impede the streams of commerce and prevent a world-wide distribution of labor, based on purely economic considerations.

While we can prevent the immigrant from landing on our shores, we will find it more difficult to prevent a distribution of labor that may ultimately have a profound economic significance.

During the past few months more than 50,000 negroes have left the south. During the war 500,000 came north.

The negro press throughout the country is devoting considerable space to the exodus. A southern weekly recently gave fourteen reasons for the negro's departure which are quoted by Lester A. Walton in an article in the New York World. These reasons are:

Unjust treatment.
Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.
Taxation without representation.
Denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary.
No legislative representation in the legislative halls of the state and nation.
Inadequate school facilities in the rural school districts.
Inequality of pay of negro teachers doing the same work as white people.
Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.
Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.
Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext, with no immediate relief in sight.
Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize negro communities.
A longing for free air.
Relatives who have gone before writing south and telling about real freedom in the north.
The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the north.

Of all the reasons given, the last one is probably the real one. The social and economic conditions that face the negro in the south are no worse now than they have been for years.

Indeed, in spite of all that is going on in the way of persecution, there are greater opportunities in the south for the negro than there have been at any time since the war. But northern labor agents have turned to the south, just as they have turned to Mexico, for common labor. These agents tell the negro who may be working on a plantation for 60 cents a day about jobs that pay $3 a day. And so the negro starts out after those jobs.

The answer, as far as the south is concerned, is to make as high a bid as the north is making. If it does not do that, and present tendencies continue, it will be the north, not the south, that will have the negro problem on its hands. It remains to be demonstrated that the north can handle that problem any better than the south has handled it. Chicago, we know, can be as barbaric as Atlanta.

For fifty years the people in the north have been telling the south how to handle the negro problem. The south may yet be in a position to advise the north on that matter. There would be a sort of poetic justice in such a development. The problem is a serious one. The negro is on the move and he is moving north. The movement, moreover, is the direct result of our immigration policy.

YCKSBURG MISS HERALD
FEBRUARY 9, 1923

FARM LABOR

Using figures from the census of 1920 and of 1910 and the total shifting of negro population in the United States since 1860 a leading business magazine says that the South is unduly alarmed over the migration of the negroes to the North and West.

This magazine claims that the total negro population in the South has been increasing. It also says that a wider distribution of negroes throughout the country would have its good side, worth considering, although "a loss of farm labor would be bad." It is also stated that "previous phenomena of this sort have ended with the negro getting back to his own 'home-folks,' sooner or later."

This may sound truthful and sensible to some not acquainted with existing labor conditions in the South. But to the farmer who has for years had difficulties in securing labor and who yearly sees the negro moving elsewhere and very few returning, such an argument sounds too pitiful to be offered as either fair or sensible.

The negroes have been leaving the South and going to the North and West in greater numbers than usual during the last six months. The farmers know this and are somewhat handicapped by the difficulties met in securing labor to take the place of that lost.

True it is that one good can come from the shortage of labor in the South and that is that the farmer may thereby be forced to use more efficient machinery for the cultivation of his crops. But this gain is almost wholly offset by the nature of the cotton crop, which permits of only a limited use of machinery in its cultivation.

The labor of the South is being attracted away from home by the lure of higher wages and shorter hours. Those who leave do not consider the kind of work and the climate found in the industrial centers of the North and West.

These two things send many negroes back to the South, but many do not return and so the increase in negro population in the South has, since 1910, been insufficient to meet the growing needs for labor for Southern agriculture.

What the South must do if it will maintain an adequate labor supply is to place the facts squarely before the negroes and show them that it is to their advantage to remain among their "home-folks," where work and climate will be congenial.

'NEGRO MIGRATION AND THE REMEDY.'

The spring migration of colored labor from the farms and cities of the South to the large industrial centers of the North is in full swing. Large companies of Negroes, often entire families, are leaving Richmond through the Broad Street terminal almost daily, lured to a non-existent land of high wages and of easy living de cribed by Northern labor agents.

Some of these Negroes will return it is true; return with the first snows and the closing down of Northern work, to live unhappily themselves and to spread unhappiness among their race. Many never return until they come in the baggage-car with attendant mourners in the coaches behind.

The large majority of the Negroes now going North are from the farming sections of the Carolinas and Virginia; many of them are from Richmond. They present a problem that must be solved. Unless it is, there is no small danger that the South may lose an element that has played a very important part in her present prosperity.

The solution lies not in the passage of laws prohibiting the recruiting of labor for shipment out of the state, but rather in improving the conditions under which the colored man works and lives. He is enjoying educational opportunities and is being taught how he should live, but he needs help in securing better living and housing conditions both on the farm and in the cities. Richmond is a notable example of this neglect. During the rapid growth of the city in the last few years the housing question has been one of large concern, and little progress. Few steps, if any, have been taken to improve the housing condition of the colored population. Many Negroes live in the tumble-down shacks that have stood since the Civil War. Good residences for the thrifty are almost unprocurable.

Nothing will take the place of good housing and fair treatment. Along with these things there can be efforts to acquaint the colored man with the fact that the high wages of the North are as a rule offset by high rents, high cost of living, frequent "shut-downs" and the exactions of of unsympathetic employers.

There is no use mincing words. The Negro race has its delinquents as other races have. It is traditional in the South to complain of the shortcomings of the Negro as a worker. The truth is he usually is steady, industrious and little disposed to strikes or murmurings. The actual outlay in making life a little brighter for him and in assuring him a better home is as nothing compared with the cost of attempting to replace him or to do without him.

(News Leader, Richmond, Va.)

TRENTON N J TIMES
MARCH 20, 1923

SHIFTING OF THE NEGROES.

Restrictions placed upon immigration, which have resulted in a scarcity of labor in many of the industries, are sending more negroes from the South into the industrial centers of the North, and the prediction is made that within a few weeks thousands more will be headed in this direction.

That will be gratifying news to the farmers, who have for several years been seriously handicapped through their inability to secure help, but it will create problems in the cities to which the negroes flock, for homes must be provided for them, and schools also.

Already the cotton growers in the Southern States are complaining because of the growing scarcity of field hands. It is a good policy to first care for our own people, but there is urgent need for a relaxation of the restrictions of the immigration law, for the negroes will not be able to supply the demand for common labor.

THE CALL OF THE NORTH

People move from country to city—from place to place—in response to an unbending, unyielding law of human nature. Capital calls for labor always when the supply is short. The fact is the underlying cause of Negro migration. Other things are stressed as causes by propagandists and platformists who find it an easy and profitable occupation to mount every stage, climb steeples, house-tops and every high eminence they can in shouting aloud, "Come On North, Negroes!" Some of them go beyond the limit in reminding southern Negroes of the "hell" in which they live, and painting bright pictures of the northern "Promised Land." Therein lie the dangers, inconveniences and disappointments of migration to some southerners. Many come without the intention of remaining. They have no ear for the rantings of professional exciters and propagandists. It would be well for all of those in the South hearing the call of the North at this time, to consider the matter in the light of plain business without the least of sentiment. The troubles of the race are very much the same everywhere in America. In the North particularly, the Negro is last to be put on a job and first to be laid off. When production reaches its peak, the troubles of Negro labor begin in the North. He may heed the call of the North now. It may be a profitable and advantageous thing to do. But one thing to be remembered is that the propagandist who screeches, "Come On North, Negroes" now cannot and will not help later when business is slow and times get dull. Like a needle in a haystack—the brother will be hard to find. Write this down in your note-book on "God's Country" then "Come On North, Negro," if you are headed this way. But be a steady worker, good at reporting, who saves his money when it has been earned.

He Said, "Goodby," Went Out, Closed the Door and Went North

By DR. H. R. BUTLER.

The other day I was hard at work in my office when a man came in and introdnced himself to me. I had heard of him before. He was from a certain Georgia County, a large land owner, a prosperous farmer and a money man in his community.

"Have a seat," said I; "what can I do for you?"

"Nothing," said he. "I am just passing through and wanted to see you and shake your hand and tell you a few things." And this is his story as near as I can remember it.

"I have given up farming for a while. I have not sold my land You know I once did a large business, now I am doing nothing. My children have all gone North and are doing well. They have also bought homes up there and are not coming back. They say there they have good schools and all children, regardless to color, go to the schools. There my sons and daughters register and vote for the candidates that are running for office. Here in Georgia I can not vote for the men who tax my property; here I, a land owner, can not sit on a jury; here I pay school tax and my children got only a mere makeshift of learning out of it. In my county the white primary method voted bonds for the erection of school buildings and they erected some good brick buildings for the white children, and our children were still going to four and five months school taught in churches and ground floors of lodge buildings; but we colored people are taxed to pay those bonds, although we are not getting one penny out of the proposition, so far as schools for our children are concerned." Then he looked me squarely in the face and said, "There is a whole lot more I would like to tell you, but what is the use? Perhaps it will work out all right one of these days." Extending his hand and grasping mine, he said, "good-by, doctor, if we should not meet again on this earth, I shall meet you yonder." And a tear stole down his black tender face and I felt that a sympathetic tear was in my eyes; and he went out and closed the door. He has gone North looking for justice, sympathy, freedom and warm hearts among strangers. Gone North where the snow falls, but after all where a man is a man for what he is, knows and has, and not altogether because of the color of his skin.

As that man went out the door and closed it I felt that Georgia was losing a valuable citizen. I sat for a while trying to place the responsibility for the breaking up and moving away of such large numbers of colored citizens, and the more I thought, the more and the louder it thundered in my very soul that the WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCH is responsible to God for this condition of affairs. If that church had only taken these colored people by the hand and led them along the Christian way to better race relations and thus proved to them that the Christian church stood for open-handed justice and freedom, and if that church had only taught their own group that it was, and is, just as great a sin to steal men's privileges to vote as it is to do any other sin, it would have gone a great way toward preventing the movement of our group North, East or any other direction.

As these thoughts turn over in my mind I am compelled to ask, what use are churches anyway? But from out of the deeps comes a voice saying, "It is God's way, hear ye Him." No, we do not understand, and I guess it is better that we do not. We must remember that the good are few and the evil are many. Not all the church houses whose great bells ring out are God's houses; but there are some church houses that do belong to God. It is in these few homes of the spirit that a few precious souls gather and lift up their hearts to the Master in prayer for those that would crucify the true faith. Right here in Atlanta, right here in Georgia and right here in the South can be found some of those God-loved souls whose very presence is pushing back God's wrath. May their tribe increase. I want to see the day when a white Christian will not be afraid or ashame to speak to a black sinner, or a black Christian will not be afraid or ashame to speak to a white sinner and tell him God is calling him; until we can get to that Christian level we are not getting very far from the devil's camp ground. Really it is sometimes amusing to me to see Christian people running from the devil instead of running to him. We must meet the devil on his own ground when a winning battle is to be fought. Jesus met Satan face to face on the mount and whipped him in one of the most powerful short arguments we have read. The church today must do the same, meet his satanic majesty on his own ground and whip him.

Talking about pool tables in the Y. M. C. A. Now let me tell you something. We must take the devil's own instruments and convert those instruments for the service of God. I remember when a fiddle was the devil's right hand instrument; now it is a violin and is used in every sacred service that can afford one. Once upon a time it was a sin of sins to have an organ in a church; now a church is not considered complete without its organ. These instruments have been taken over by God's people and used in His service; yes, use the tables and when those men come into the place to play, then there over that table, talk to them about Jesus and His wonderful power to save men.

If I had a church here are some of the things I would have in it; rooms for travelers, swimming pools, indoor tennis, a large lot for outdoor tennis and baseball, pool tables, a boys' or young men's band of forty or fifty pieces and the same for my young women and girls, with orchestras attached, lecture rooms for various ages of little ones with trained entertainers for children of their ages. I would have my Sunday school and then my great church where that great congregation would assemble to be instructed in God's word. I would take all of the devil's play things away from him and change them to suit into God's program.

Well, I was talking about that stranger that has gone North looking for what he ought to have had right at his door, but those that had it refused, because of custom, to give it to him—"FATHER, FORGIVE THEM FOR THEY KNOW NOT WHAT THEY DO."

NEGROES LURED AWAY

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE
APRIL 1, 1923

Steady Stream of Laborers Leaving Arkansas, Says Commissioner.

Lured by a promise of higher wages in the industrial centers of the North and East, a steady stream of negro labor is trickling out of the state, according to E. I. McKinley, deputy state commissioner of labor.

Mr. McKinley said yesterday that the emigration has not yet reached formidable proportions, but that it will if it increases. Negroes now in the North and East have written back to their friends of salaries from 50 cents an hour up for common labor in automobile, textile and other plants, and there is a general disinclination among Arkansas negroes to accept the $1.50 and $2 a day offered by state industries.

Also, Mr. McKinley said, negroes are under the impression that the manufacturers will pay their transportation to the out-of-state plants. No such arrangement is in effect, although two weeks ago 100 negroes applied at the State Labor Board for transportation to Chicago alone.

The demand for labor in Arkansas is increasing steadily, and so far the supply is meeting local demands, but with the negroes continuing to seek better wages elsewhere, Mr. McKinley is unable to say how long before the supply will be exhausted.

WHITE MAJORITY NOW IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Negro Emigration Puts Race in Minority for First Time in a Century.

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 16.—Emigration of negroes to the Northern industrial area has for the first time in a century given South Carolina a preponderance of white population, The Columbia State said today, in publishing figures on the movement.

With the coming of warm weather the emigration this Spring has grown to considerable proportions, the newspaper says, although it is not as heavy as a year ago. Many negroes who were discouraged several months ago because of the ravages of the cotton boll weevil have become convinced that they have a good chance to control the pest and have decided to remain on their farms. The State regards the movement as economic, pointing out that sections suffering most from the boll weevil are experiencing the heaviest emigration.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

MAY 6, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION CAUSING SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTH

MANY STATES HARD HIT

Cotton Acreage Cut and Other Interests Suffering

HOW NORTH IS AFFECTED

Moton Says South Is Awake to Need of Bettering Negro's Status.

By ROBERT R. MOTON.
President of Tuskegee Institute.

THE migration of negroes from the South to the North which set in shortly after the beginning of the World War and was checked with its close has been resumed again within the last few months on a scale that is exciting interest throughout the country. There is scarcely a newspaper, North or South, that has not carried one or more editorials on the subject, along with letters from correspondents. Interest in the South is perhaps accentuated by the fact that the cotton-planting season is on and the plans of cotton farmers have been seriously set back by the shortage of labor which they discover as they are about to resume farming operations.

With the first wave of negro migration which came immediately after the beginning of the war there was a disposition on the part of a large section of the white press to discount the inducements that were being offered in the North and to find satisfaction in a prediction that the negroes who did go would find the atmosphere altogether inhospitable and would soon return to the South, where they were better understood and already adjusted to living conditions. These predictions were unfulfilled. Fewer died from the cold than was expected. Not even the riots could make them pine for the sunny South, and steadily, though in decreasing volume, the numbers were augmented by those who came on from the South in the face of deflation of business, lack of employment and even intimidation at home.

Within the last six months the full tide of normalcy begins to swing in. Manufacture and trade both seem to have adjusted themselves to the new conditions. The railroads are signaled a clear track ahead, and with the resumption of prosperity the tide of negro migration from the South to the North sets in with a volume that is of profound interest to both sections, and to the South is little short of alarming.

That it is something more than a passing phenomenon is indicated by the fact that the Department of Agriculture found it worth while to make a special survey of the situation and to make a report on conditions as they affect the agricultural interests of the South. According to this report, 32,000 negro farm hands have left the State of Georgia for industrial centres in the North, which figures represent 13 per cent. of the total number of negro farm hands in the State. South Carolina has lost 22,700, or 3 per cent. of its negro farm population. From Florida about 2 per cent. have gone. Alabama has lost 10,000, which is 3½ per cent. of its negro farm population. Arkansas has lost about 15,000, which also is about 3½ per cent. of its negro farm population. Louisiana presents a loss of 1 per cent. Tennessee has lost about 4,500 negroes from its farm lands, while Texas reports but little or no migration of negro farm labor. All this has taken place within a year, with the certain prospect of more to follow. Now when one recalls that two-thirds of the cotton crop of the South before the war was produced by negro labor, it requires only ordinary common sense to see that this basic industry of the South will be profoundly affected by this continuous migration of its major labor element to the industrial centres of the North.

Reduction of South's Farms.

The effect of this steady, continuous drain upon the South's chief labor supply, which is likely not only to increase in volume but to persist steadily through a period of years, is of concern not only to the negro himself but to the nation as a whole, which will feel the reaction at a much earlier period than many would expect. The immediate effect upon the South, of course, will be upon agriculture, and in some degree upon various other economic and social conditions. First will come some reduction in acreage. This effect need not be permanent, however, for a large part may be made up for by the use of machinery in many agricultural operations which are now conducted by hand. The gang-plow is not a common sight in the South, and practically all of the planting, except of corn and the smaller grains, of which there is no large acreage, has been by hand. But the falling off in production, both because of reduced acreage and the limited labor supply, cannot so easily be made up, for the major crops of the South require hand cultivation. Many planters would have no difficulty in maintaining their present acreage if they could be sure of an adequate force for cultivation and for the final gathering in of the crops. Ever since the war began, each year has witnessed large areas of cotton standing unpicked throughout the harvesting season because of the migration of labor, either before or in the midst of that season. So long as the migration continues, each season must see a certain loss in production until labor conditions become stable.

But all of the migrants are not from the farming districts. The South's mining, lumbering and manufacturing industries are also being drawn upon for laborers. Indeed, many of the first migrants came out of these industrial fields of the South. Already familiar with the requirements and conditions of labor in these industries, laborers were sought out first of all in these centres, where it was reasonably sure there would be no difficulty in securing an adequate supply with the promise of better wages and better living conditions. These local centres in the South in turn filled up their depleted ranks with farm labor, so that in places like Birmingham, Ala., the centre of the South's largest mining and iron-manufacturing district, a two-phased migration was taking place, one stream from industrial centres of the South to industrial centres of the North and the second stream from the rural districts of the South to the industrial centres of the South. Of this latter type Alabama reports a local migration of 14,500 from the farms to the industrial centres of the State. Statistics of the first wave of migration reveal the very interesting fact that a large part of the migration from Georgia, Florida and South Carolina was going into Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina and even Oklahoma and Arkansas, the centres of a booming oil industry.

This sort of turnover in labor vastly increases the cost of labor to the South, not only through the necessity of meeting the competition of higher wages offered in the North but also in the costly process of training ignorant farm hands for specialized industrial tasks. Another effect of this migration of negro labor has been a practical revolution in social conditions in the South. In those sections where there was any considerable negro population it was a rare sight to see white field hands in the cotton fields, and in some places the social code entirely forbade the use of white women in agricultural operations. In one case where a white farmer had come to the South from the Northwest and, rather than lose his crop, had taken the women folks of his own family into the fields for harvesting, his neighbors waited upon him with the instruction that it was a violation of the social code to have white women in the fields as laborers and that he must either desist from the practice or leave the community. But that condition has passed. On a casual journey through the South one can see from the windows of the train white women, as well as men, working in the fields because no other labor is available.

The homes of the South have also felt the stress of negro migration. Servants are admittedly scarce. Many a lady today is washing her own dishes and doing her own housework who had never thought to be reduced to such necessity, simply because, in spite of inducements of higher wages and better living conditions, colored girls and women are not to be had. They have gone with their husbands and brothers into the North.

Higher Wages in Field and Factory.

Not all the negroes of the South want to go North, however. Not all of them can be induced by labor agents to break up homes and to leave endearing associations for the lure of more attractive wages or the promise of better social conditions. And those who have remained have felt the stimulating effect upon local conditions produced by the migration of their friends and neighbors. Wages are higher today in the South than ever before. Before the war it was not impossible to secure a field hand for 50 cents a day. Today the lowest rate in any section is $1.25 a day, andin many sections as high as $2 a day. The industrial centres of the South have witnessed a similar increase in wages. Unskilled labor receives from $2.50 to $3 a day, while the trades offer $5, $6 and as high as $8 per day to skilled workmen. This has meant a corresponding improvement in home life for negroes all over the South, one of

Photo by Paul Thompson

Major Robert R. Moton President of Tuskegee.

the first effects of which was to increase the number of children in both public and private schools, and particularly the number of girls going to school. For a time, coincident with the war, there was a falling off of the number of boys in the schools, caused both by drafting for the army and by the attraction of high wages. Still the proportion of girls and boys in the schools has not gone back to the old state where the girls but slightly outnumbered the boys. In some cases the girls today outnumber the boys by two to one. Similar effects are to be seen in the matter of land ownership, which has been steadily increasing, of home ownership, in the type of homes erected, and the general conditions of home life.

The most significant results are yet to come. The South is beginning seriously to consider the causes of negro migration, and editors concede that the offer of high wages in the North is not the only cause. Attention is more and more being focused upon general social conditions for the negro in the South, on the facts of lynching, mob violence, inadequate educational facilities, the lack of civic improvements, such as light, water, sewerage and police protection. Business men and City Commissioners are being urged to take account of these conditions and to make the necessary improvements. Planters are being urged to improve housing conditions for their tenants, to demand of their School Commissioners better schools for the children of their tenants, and there is a greater readiness on the part of all to give consideration to the disadvantages and disabilities under which the negro labors in the South, and to see to it that the South shall offer just as fair conditions for work and favorable conditions for living as can be found anywhere in the North. When the results of this tendency come into effect, negroes as a matter of fact will on the whole prefer to remain in the South, where the climate is agreeable, where the ties of sentiment are strongest and where negro life itself has already attained a development which, in spite any disadvantages, is not equaled among negroes in any other section of our country.

But the North, too, is affected by the migration of the negro in directions that are quite as marked, though somewhat different in character from those produced upon the South. The first beneficiaries are the manufacturers, who are looking to negro labor to take the place of emigrant labor called home to Europe during the war. The restrictions placed upon European immigration prevent the return of this labor, so that the expansion of industry in the North that is already projected by capitalists can look no other where than to the South for the necessary labor supply, and in doing so it contemplates not only the use of unskilled labor but the converting of this unskilled labor into skilled artisans and mechanics. Where heretofore Northern industry has not made large use of skilled negro labor, the present available supply of negro labor will make it possible to operate whole sections of industry with negroes in defiance of the objections and protests of labor unions, which as yet have not shown a very cordial attitude toward negro labor in spite of the official pronouncement of the American Federation of Labor to the contrary.

A corresponding advantage has come to the negro in the North through the enlarged industrial opportunity and the improved economic condition. Home ownership among negroes in some places in the North has increased 300 per cent. in the last decade, and in many instances the character of homes in which negroes live is indistinguishable from that occupied by whites on the same social scale.

Shortly after the migration began this matter of living conditions for negroes in the North became acute and was itself one of the primary causes of riots in the Northern cities. With the sudden increase in negro population in these Northern industrial centres, it was found that housing facilities were woefully inadequate in those districts already occupied by negroes. At once the newcomers, as well as the old residents, began to seek homes in other sections. This threw negroes into close contact with whites in sections where it had previously not obtained. Their coming was, in many cases, resented, and the result was in not a few cases an organized assault upon these newcomers who threatened not only the existing industrial status but at the same time raised unaccustomed social questions by their very presence. Riots followed. The strain is not yet relieved, but with the increasing housing facilities created by the taking over of entire blocks for sale and rental to negroes, this phase of the situation is rapidly adjusting itself.

Another problem that has been introduced into the North by the presence in large numbers of negroes from the South is in the matter of schools. For the most part, in Northern cities there has in the past been no discrimination in the public schools. White and colored children have attended the same schools, usually with white teachers, and things have gone on smoothly. Usually there were only a few negro children in any one school, but with the large increase in negro population the number of negro children in any one school was greatly increased, and, as has always been the case, the increase in numbers has precipitated the race problem. In one place and another the attempt has been made to segregate negroes in the public school system, but thus far without any general success. In some districts most of the children in a given school are negroes, but children of other races will be found among them, and when the agitation has subsided there has been thus far little difficulty in bringing about a harmonious adjustment without the necessity of segregation.

The migration has also introduced a religious problem into the Northern cities. So rapid was the increase in many cases that the churches were unable to take care of those who sought their ministrations. The result has been a moving out of old edifices and a general purchase of churhces abandoned by whites in districts formerly occupied by their members, but now taken over almost entirely by the negro population.

There has been a very effective and happy co-operation between white and colored churches of the same denomination by which the white churches have largely made the colored church their agents in doing the social work for the negro migrants which constitute a problem which all the churches must face together.

One other phase of the reaction of negro migration on Northern conditions is the influx of a vast voting population into the doubtful States of the North. In Ohio, in Illinois, in New Jersey and in other States, the negro has become a tremendous political factor, not only in deciding the issue between contending political parties, but in holding the balance of power as between candidates in the same party. The effect of his presence must, therefore, be found not only in municipal and in State elections, but also in national politics. Inevitably, the effect of this will tell in the South, where already there is a disposition to give consideration to the value of the intelligent negro vote in elections that have no possible national significance, but where local issues are tightly drawn. This negro vote has already decided such questions in the South as the issuing of bonds and the election of municipal officers.

Negro Useful in the North.

A calm investigation both of causes and results will disclose this fact: that the migration of negroes to the North has undoubtedly produced beneficial results to the North, to the South and to the negro himself in spite of whatever conflict or confusion has been incident to the readjustments made necessary by the movement. It has not been without some disorder and some friction, which must inevitably attend so large a movement under such varied circumstances; but it is safe to say that the problem of the negro in the North does not begin to be as serious in that section as the problem of the foreign born emigrant and the non-English speaking elements of Northern population. From all reports the negro has proved himself as capable, as dependable and as tractable a labor element in the North as he has been in the South and as efficient as the foreigner he has replaced. His Americanism is just as pure as that of any element in the nation's population, and perhaps a little purer than some. He is not unresponsive to the larger opportunities that are accorded him in the North.

It is undeniably true that he was attracted there by higher wages offered him, but it is worth while to consider also how far it may be the result of social conditions which profoundly affect the negro. School facilities in the rural districts of the South are rather limited for both races, more so for blacks than for whites. The terms of the contract system of farming which obtains on a large scale throughout the South in most cases do not offer an open way for advancement to land and home ownership to the farm laborer. While housing conditions on the plantations are steadily improving, they are in many cases rather meagre in their comforts as compared with the conveniences now provided for their laborers by the large industrial concerns in the South as well as in the North. Segregation, which exists in the North as well as the South, is not so widely extended there, nor is it a requirement of the law. Then, too, lynching and mob violence weigh heavily upon the mind of the negro; more so, perhaps, than his generally cheerful countenance would seem to indicate or his friends suspect. And in the North the intelligent, industrious, law-abiding black man has a larger share in shaping public policies affecting his own welfare. If the time were taken to investigate this movement thoroughly, it is very likely that these facts, of which the majority of negroes are not altogether ignorant, may be found to have a great deal to do with the migration.

But already there are reactions in the South making for improvement in all the conditions which seem to give the North an advantage over the South in its bid for negro labor. At no time have the condition and wants of the negro received so much consideration in the South as they receive today on the part of manufacturers, planters, bankers, school officials, legislators and Governors. This is recorded in the lengthening of school terms, the building of schoolhouses, the improvement of housing and sanitary conditions, the provision of public playgrounds, and the outspoken demand for justice and fair dealing toward the negro heard on every hand from the leading public officials and private citizens of the South. This is especially true in the matter of mob violence and lynching, with respect to which the sentiment of the press, of the churches and of civic organizations of every kind in the South is today as strongly opposed as that of any other section of our country.

Certain advantages have existed all along for the negro, such as the opportunity to acquire land at the lowest figure found anywhere in this country, the presence of sympathetic, helpful friends among the best elements of the white South, and the rapid strides in advancement along all lines made within the race itself. All this is a tremendous impetus toward progress for the whole race, but more significant than anything else is the awakened consciousness of the South itself to the status of the negro, not only as an economic asset but, all things considered, as a solid, dependable element of citizenship that has already proved its loyalty to the South as well as to the whole country, and asks only a fair opportunity to do its share in promoting the unprecedented progress which awaits this section in the next decade.

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EXODUS ALARMING TO COTTON GROWERS

Head of Cotton Growers Association Admits Ku Klux and Lynching Partly Responsible

(Special To Journal and Guide)

Washington, D. C.—Southern cotton growers and industries are waking up to the seriousness of the exodus of Negro labor, according to a statement made today by J. S. Wannamaker, president of the American Cotton Growers Association. Mr Wannamaker said:

"We have personal representatives canvassing every section of the cotton belt and they confirm the statement of an accurate report on acreage. We also have representatives in the north to ascertain the truth concerning the migration of labor. As a result of this investigation we find that labor is being drawn from the agricultural centers of America to the industrial centers; however, from no section to a greater extent than from the rural sections of the south. We found in many of these plants they have already employed thousands of Negro laborers and state it as their purpose to empley them in largely increasing numbers. We found that the wages paid these laborers is ten to twenty times the amount it was possible for them to earn in the cotton fields of the south and their working hours are far shorter and their living conditions far better.

"That is the sort of talk that takes the Negro north. He is hunting more money, and he is being employed in capacities never dreamed of ten years ago. The 'bohunk'—the general term for a low type foreigner who used to pour into this country for the pick and shovel job—has been blocked. Somebody must do his work. Negro field hands of the south are going to it."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

NASHVILLE TENN. TENNESSEAN
APRIL 26, 1923

Negro Migration.

The government report says that 4,500 negroes have left Tennessee for the industrial centers of the North during the past twelve months. This is 1 per cent of our total colored population. There is nothing startling in these figures, because the census of 1920 shows that our colored population is steadily decreasing, and that it decreased over 20,000 in the ten-year period preceding 1920. It is really only a part of the migration of our population from the farms to the cities, and the colored man is making this change for the same reason as the white man, which is to better his condition.

It is an index of the prostrate and unprofitable condition of the farming industry. It has no other significance. It was a movement that gained great momentum during the high wage period of the war, and the movement continues from the same causes that started it. It grows out of the natural desire of the human being to better his living conditions as much as possible.

Between 1910 and 1920, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana suffered a decrease in their colored population. During the same period, a notable increase was made in the colored population of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. In Connecticut, the increase was 33 per cent, and in Michigan nearly 300 per cent. It is interesting to note that during this period, the State of Kansas, which has long advertised herself as a negro haven, only increased her colored population by 7 per cent, though the climate of Kansas is warmer than that of Connecticut and Michigan, or any of the states above noted, where the increase is large.

All of which indicates that this migration is caused by economic conditions and not social conditions. It shows that the colored race is undergoing some industrial evolution, that it is making progress in the skilled trades, and that it is no longer merely a reservoir of unskilled labor. This gradual migration of the colored population to other parts of the country will likely continue for some time yet unless the causes that foster this movement disappear.

Upon the whole, there seems no reason to fear that a movement of this kind within reasonable limits will dislocate industrial conditions, or that it will harm the South or the colored race. In many respects, this race has had a most fortunate history in America, but in some respects it has not fared so well. For many years after the Civil War, white men contended about the Negro's political status and his social status, but utterly neglected his economic status and his industrial training.

So there have been times when the South and the colored race have both suffered because of the congestion of this race in the South, and especially in certain agricultural sections. This congestion has acted to produce such an oversupply of unskilled labor in some communities that there was little opportunity for the colored man to make more than a bare living, and there was little incentive offered him to exercise energy or a worthy ambition to prosper.

The South was his cradle in America, and it will always remain his home. The climate suits him, and despite all the arguments and strife about his political and social rights, there exists an undefined affinity and understanding between the two races in the South that does not exist elsewhere. But it is natural to expect that he will continue to migrate into other sections, and it may be that new contacts will be helpful to him.

If this migration gradually produces some economic changes in the South, there is no reason to fear that such changes will be harmful.

NORFOLK VA VIRGINIAN PILOT
APRIL 26, 1923

A New Negro Migration

The great northward migration of negro laborers in progress from 1915 to 1918 owed its first impulse to the disastrous cotton season of 1914-15, when prices for the South's staple crop were so low as to discourage all tenants on Southern farms and all laborers in the cotton fields. Following close on the heels of the calamitous cotton market came the war's stoppage of immigration and the consequent demand for labor in industries stimulated to extraordinary activity by war orders. America's declaration of war with its ensuing heavy displacements of labor contributed the final impulse to the hegira. These influences, together with the desire on the part of many negroes to avoid what they considered discriminations against their race in the South, were responsible for the transfer of from 200,000 to 350,000 colored laborers from farms in the cotton belt to manufacturing cities in the North and Middle West.

Influences at work today roughly approximate those which occasioned the earlier migration. The impulse to better their social condition is even stronger today among Southern negroes than it was eight years ago. The Ku Klux Klan has done its full part to give this impulse point. Cotton prices are high, but the depredations of the boll weevil have made cotton culture everywhere hazardous and in many sections unprofitable. Negro tenant farmers suffering under the economic distress in the weevil-infested areas find many incentives for a change, in the higher wages which a reviving industry in need of additional laborers is willing to pay. 'It is not surprising, under these conditions, that the Department of Agriculture's survey of Southern farms takes note of a new northward migration of negro laborers.

Even before the official announcement a movement had become noticeable. It is only a few days since the agricultural statistician in Virginia reported an impending shortage of farm labor. Part of the shortage was clearly attributable to the hegira of colored helpers. The Columbia State has collected information which proves to its satisfaction that South Carolina negroes have migrated in such numbers as to give the State for the first time in its history a preponderantly white population. These and other announcements of similar purport now receive confirmation in the Government's findings.

The transfer of large numbers of negro workers to the industrial centers will undoubtedly work a hardship on Southern cotton planters. During the current season, at least, they will be unable to make up the deficiencies in their labor supply. But in a few years this immediate change will bring its own remedy. Curtailed production will put cotton prices still higher and enable planters to advance wages and to offer prospective tenants greater inducements. In a few seasons the relatively increased compensations of farming will draw new laborers into the fields. Some of them may be recruited from the ranks of the emigrants themselves. Many of the negroes who left the South in the war period have since found their way back to Southern communities as deflation made living harder in the industrial centers, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same thing will happen again.

The real significance of the migration now in progress is not found in its immediate effects on Southern agriculture nor in its introduction of new complications in the labor problems of Northern industrial centers, but in its demonstration of the increasing mobility of negro labor. For the second time within a decade a vast army of negroes has left the region in which their race has for centuries been domiciled and has invaded new and distant territories bent on entering new occupations. A few more migrations of similar nature and the colored man will no longer be an immovable fixture of the South.

That will bring the South face to face with a labor problem expressed in new terms, and one that may not be open to simple solution.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal
MAY 24 1923

The Migration of Negro Labo a Simple Statement of Facts

THE first step in the solution of a problem is to find the facts; the second is to think about them. What, then, are the facts of the much-discussed migration of Negro labor from the South?

Some meaningful figures, compiled from reports by county farm demonstration agents in every region of Georgia, were given out this week by President Soule, of the State College of Agriculture. Since January the first, according to this information, sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty Negroes have left the state. On the assumption that each of them could make a dollar a day, this authority reckons that the productive value of the workers thus removed would amount in the course of a year to upwards of twenty-five million dollars. It is estimated, moreover, that since January the first, one hundred thousand persons have left Georgia farms, of which total approximately eighteen thousand or more were whites, and the remainder colored. Within the same period, as the report indicates, about eleven thousand eight hundred farms in the state have been virtually abandoned. The loss thus entailed in agricultural production is calculated as little less than six million dollars.

The federal department of agriculture reported the number of colored farm hands emigrating from Georgia to industrial centers of the North in the last year at thirty-two thousand. The Wall Street Journal estimates the Southern total of the year's migration to be in excess of three hundred thousand. This trend, though now especially marked, is not of sudden or merely recent origin. "The number of Southern-born Negroes living in the North and West," according to the World Almanac, "increased from 440,534 in 1910 to 780,794 in 1920, forming 40.9 per cent of the total Negro population of the North and West in the earlier year, and 50.3 per cent in the later. . . . The Negroes who were born in South Carolina and had migrated from that state to Pennsylvania increased from 2,113 in 1910 to 11,624 in 1920; those from Georgia to Pennsylvania increased from 1,578 to 16,196; those from Florida to Pennsylvania, from 393 to 5,370; those from Alabama to Ohio, from 781 to 17,588; those from Mississippi to Illinois, from 4,612 to 19,485; and those from Louisiana to Illinois, from 1,609 to 8,078." The

larger part of the shifting here indicated took place, no doubt, in the war period, and was caused in great measure by extraordinary demands and abnormal wages for industrial labor at the North. It should be noted, however, that the movement has stretched over too long a span to be explainable in terms of war economics alone. Pronounced as it is today, it was plainly discernible in the decade 1900-1910.

Consider, by way of further illustration, that whereas for the decade 1900-1910 the increase in the number of Georgia's Negro inhabitants was 13.7 per cent, for the decade 1910-1920 it was only 2.5 per cent. During the same period South Carolina's increase fell from 6.8 to 3.5; Florida's from 33.8 to 6.7; while Alabama's went from an increase of 9.8 to a decrease of .8 per cent; and Mississippi's from an increase of 11.2 to a decrease of 7.4. These striking results are computed in the Negro Year Book of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The same facts are to be seen in other forms when we note from federal census reports that Georgia's gain in Negro population in the entire decade ended 1920 was only 29,378—considerably less than half the total exodus of colored workers from the state during the last five months. South Carolina's gain was only 28,876, whereas in the preceding ten years it had been 53,522. Alabama had no gain at all, but a net loss of 7,630; while Mississippi had a loss of 74,303.

If this trend continues, what will be the result by 1930? And what the economic consequences to the South? Will they be, in the last reckoning favorable or adverse? That is a large question. Of immediate and more intense interest are the probable consequences to this year's crops, and to those of ensuing seasons. From the Wall Street Journal's point of view it appears that "a continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future, while demand is on the increase. Cotton cannot be successfully raised without colored labor; neither is it like wheat or corn, which yields to mechanical invention. It is essentially a hand-produced crop. . . . The world is now using American cotton at the rate of thirteen million bales a year. At the end of this season, July 31, 1923, there will be only a small surplus in the world, to say nothing about leaving a surplus to carry over into the next year." Thus does a migration in which the agricultural South is peculiarly concerned find reactions in the world's farthest corners of industry and finance.

History sometimes turns upon seeming trivialities. Long ago, in the Middle Ages, North Sea herring fisheries were immensely profitable to the ports and merchants of that region. But there came a season, in the thirteenth century, when the herring (stirred we know not what restless instinct), moved, millions strong, out of the North Sea into into the Baltic. Thereupon new centers of herring prosperity sprang into being, while the old sought other means to fortune. Thereby, moreover, were developed between the eastern shores of the Baltic and the lands of western Europe lines of commerce that greatly influenced the future of civilization. When some student of plant life, more than a hundred years ago, bred a variety of cotton which could be grown profitably on the uplands; and when at about the same time a young school teacher, tinkering away at Mulberry Grove, near Savannah, invented a machine for separating cotton from the fibre—few men of the day dreamed of the tremendous sweep of events which those incidents bedided.

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Such must be our conduct and such our conclusions if we are to deal successfully with any phase of the problem, immediate or remote. If it is to the interest of the South to retain its colored farm labor, then assuredly it is to our interest to ascertain all the causes, those within our borders as well as those without, which may be operating to divert that labor to regions afar. To such causes as are within our control we can well afford to give careful and candid thought. Every farming district may profitably consider whether or not its labor is as well housed, as well nourished, as well treated as both expediency and right require. Railing at peripatetic labor agents from the North (who certainly are a far from admirable lot) may relieve the feelings now and then, but it will raise no cotton. If we would stop effects, we must go, in so far as we can, beyond surface symptoms, to causes.

BOSTON, MASS. POST
MAY 6, 1923

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But does the colored man as a whole flourish in the North? The Census Bureau says no, and cites vital statistics to prove its contention. Thus:

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One thing, however, these Southern gentlemen should take unto themselves very seriously, and that is the realization that if the Negro quits them in any large numbers it is their own fault. The colored man is beginning to realize with bitterness that he is denied rights of suffrage granted to the most ignorant newcomer to these shores in the North; that he is scrimped in education, that he is denied court trial, and that he is treated as a beast of burden without human attributes. This cannot go on forever.

N.Y.C. CALL
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Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

NASHVILLE TENN. TENNESSEAN
APRIL 26, 1923

Negro Migration.

The government report says that 4,500 negroes have left Tennessee for the industrial centers of the North during the past twelve months. This is 1 per cent of our total colored population. There is nothing startling in these figures, because the census of 1920 shows that our colored population is steadily decreasing, and that it decreased over 20,000 in the ten-year period preceding 1920. It is really only a part of the migration of our population from the farms to the cities, and the colored man is making this change for the same reason as the white man, which is to better his condition.

It is an index of the prostrate and unprofitable condition of the farming industry. It has no other significance. It was a movement that gained great momentum during the high wage period of the war, and the movement continues from the same causes that started it. It grows out of the natural desire of the human being to better his living conditions as much as possible.

Between 1910 and 1920, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana suffered a decrease in their colored population. During the same period, a notable increase was made in the colored population of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. In Connecticut, the increase was 33 per cent, and in Michigan nearly 300 per cent. It is interesting to note that during this period, the State of Kansas, which has long advertised herself as a negro haven, only increased her colored population by 7 per cent, though the climate of Kansas is warmer than that of Connecticut and Michigan, or any of the states above noted, where the increase is large.

All of which indicates that this migration is caused by economic conditions and not social conditions. It shows that the colored race is undergoing some industrial evolution, that it is making progress in the skilled trades, and that it is no longer merely a reservoir of unskilled labor. This gradual migration of the colored population to other parts of the country will likely continue for some time yet unless the causes that foster this movement disappear.

Upon the whole, there seems no reason to fear that a movement of this kind within reasonable limits will dislocate industrial conditions, or that it will harm the South or the colored race. In many respects, this race has had a most fortunate history in America, but in some respects it has not fared so well. For many years after the Civil War, white men contended about the Negro's political status and his social status, but utterly neglected his economic status and his industrial training.

So there have been times when the South and the colored race have both suffered because of the congestion of this race in the South, and especially in certain agricultural sections. This congestion has acted to produce such an oversupply of unskilled labor in some communities that there was little opportunity for the colored man to make more than a bare living, and there was little incentive offered him to exercise energy or a worthy ambition to prosper.

The South was his cradle in America, and it will always remain his home. The climate suits him, and despite all the arguments and strife about his political and social rights, there exists an undefined affinity and understanding between the two races in the South that does not exist elsewhere. But it is natural to expect that he will continue to migrate into other sections, and it may be that new contacts will be helpful to him.

If this migration gradually produces some economic changes in the South, there is no reason to fear that such changes will be harmful.

NORFOLK VA VIRGINIAN PILOT
APRIL 26, 1923

A New Negro Migration

The great northward migration of negro laborers in progress from 1915 to 1918 owed its first impulse to the disastrous cotton season of 1914-15, when prices for the South's staple crop were so low as to discourage all tenants on Southern farms and all laborers in the cotton fields. Following close on the heels of the calamitous cotton market came the war's stoppage of immigration and the consequent demand for labor in industries stimulated to extraordinary activity by war orders. America's declaration of war with its ensuing heavy displacements of labor contributed the final impulse to the hegira. These influences, together with the desire on the part of many negroes to avoid what they considered discriminations against their race in the South, were responsible for the transfer of from 200,000 to 350,000 colored laborers from farms in the cotton belt to manufacturing cities in the North and Middle West.

Influences at work today roughly approximate those which occasioned the earlier migration. The impulse to better their social condition is even stronger today among Southern negroes than it was eight years ago. The Ku Klux Klan has done its full part to give this impulse point. Cotton prices are high, but the depredations of the boll weevil have made cotton culture everywhere hazardous and in many sections unprofitable. Negro tenant farmers suffering under the economic distress in the weevil-infested areas find many incentives for a change, in the higher wages which a reviving industry in need of additional laborers is willing to pay. 'It is not surprising, under these conditions, that the Department of Agriculture's survey of Southern farms takes note of a new northward migration of negro laborers.

Even before the official announcement a movement had become noticeable. It is only a few days since the agricultural statistician in Virginia reported an impending shortage of farm labor. Part of the shortage was clearly attributable to the hegira of colored helpers. The Columbia State has collected information which proves to its satisfaction that South Carolina negroes have migrated in such numbers as to give the State for the first time in its history a preponderantly white population. These and other announcements of similar purport now receive confirmation in the Government's findings.

The transfer of large numbers of negro workers to the industrial centers will undoubtedly work a hardship on Southern cotton planters. During the current season, at least, they will be unable to make up the deficiencies in their labor supply. But in a few years this immediate change will bring its own remedy. Curtailed production will put cotton prices still higher and enable planters to advance wages and to offer prospective tenants greater inducements. In a few seasons the relatively increased compensations of farming will draw new laborers into the fields. Some of them may be recruited from the ranks of the emigrants themselves. Many of the negroes who left the South in the war period have since found their way back to Southern communities as deflation made living harder in the industrial centers, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same thing will happen again.

The real significance of the migration now in progress is not found in its immediate effects on Southern agriculture nor in its introduction of new complications in the labor problems of Northern industrial centers, but in its demonstration of the increasing mobility of negro labor. For the second time within a decade a vast army of negroes has left the region in which their race has for centuries been domiciled and has invaded new and distant territories bent on entering new occupations. A few more migrations of similar nature and the colored man will no longer be an immovable fixture of the South.

That will bring the South face to face with a labor problem expressed in new terms, and one that may not be open to simple solution.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal

MAY 24 1923

The Migration of Negro Labo a Simple Statement of Facts

THE first step in the solution of a problem is to find the facts; the second is to think about them. What, then, are the facts of the much-discussed migration of Negro labor from the South?

Some meaningful figures, compiled from reports by county farm demonstration agents in every region of Georgia, were given out this week by President Soule, of the State College of Agriculture. Since January the first, according to this information, sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty Negroes have left the state. On the assumption that each of them could make a dollar a day, this authority reckons that the productive value of the workers thus removed would amount in the course of a year to upwards of twenty-five million dollars. It is estimated, moreover, that since January the first, one hundred thousand persons have left Georgia farms, of which total approximately eighteen thousand or more were whites, and the remainder colored. Within the same period, as the report indicates, about eleven thousand eight hundred farms in the state have been virtually abandoned. The loss thus entailed in agricultural production is calculated as little less than six million dollars.

The federal department of agriculture reported the number of colored farm hands emigrating from Georgia to industrial centers of the North in the last year at thirty-two thousand. The Wall Street Journal estimates the Southern total of the year's migration to be in excess of three hundred thousand. This trend, though now especially marked, is not of sudden or merely recent origin. "The number of Southern-born Negroes living in the North and West," according to the World Almanac, "increased from 440,534 in 1910 to 780,794 in 1920, forming 40.9 per cent of the total Negro population of the North and West in the earlier year, and 50.3 per cent in the later. . . . The Negroes who were born in South Carolina and had migrated from that state to Pennsylvania increased from 2,113 in 1910 to 11,624 in 1920; those from Georgia to Pennsylvania increased from 1,578 to 16,196; those from Florida to Pennsylvania, from 393 to 5,370; those from Alabama to Ohio, from 781 to 17,588; those from Mississippi to Illinois, from 4,612 to 19,485; and those from Louisiana to Illinois, from 1,609 to 8,078." The

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement.

THE NEGRO EXODUS FROM THE SOUTH

Negro migration from the South has furnished and is still furnishing subject of intense interest to the public in every section of the country. In the South, the continuance of the migration and the large increase in number of migrants has aroused the white people of that section to a realization of the threatened loss of their most dependable labor and movements are now being inaugurated to discover the causes of the migration and find, if possible, a remedy to check its further spread and continuance.

In Mississippi, a State-wide conference of Negroes and whites is called on the 19th inst., to be held in every county seat in that State. And in every State of the South, it is not to be doubted, some effort will be made to stem the tide, which if continued will before long drain the South of its best labor, and, for a time, at least, spell disaster to its industries and progress. Conferences, however, will never bridge the gap that is now open wide between the Negroes of the South and the whites, unless the white leaders of that section cease to look upon th Negro as different from themslves and as not moved by the same impulses an demotions as themselves. Unless they approach the issue with open mind and honest and sincere purpose all the conferences in the world will mean nothing, and day by day they will witness the departure of Negroes from their midst in increasing numbers.

In seeking the causes they might just as well open their eyes to the fact that the cause is, summing it up in one word, oppression. First, disfranchisement which has rendered the Negro absolutely helpless and placed his neck under the heel of whomsoever of the white race willed to lynch, murder, maim, rob, cheat, charge with crime and cause to be thrown into prison and thence into the hell of State or county chain gangs or peonage.

Aside from the crimes of violence against him the bloody record of which has never been published, his labor has been exploited, his wages kept down to the lowest level, and living conditions on the farms or wherever furnished by the employer, scarcely fit for animals.

Education of Negro children has been a farce, and Negroes have been and are taxed to build magnificent school houses for white children, and to maintain a splendid school system for education of white children, while their own children have shacks for school houses.

These causes run back and stretch over a period of thirty or more years and the reason why Negroes remained in the South was not because they were contented, but because they could not earn enough to go elsewhere in search of work, and mainly because the doors of employment were closed against them in other sections. The occasion of their leaving now is because there is demand for their labor in all sections of the country, and unless their treatment is speedily charactrized by fairness and justice the South bids fair to lose a million or more of the race within the next year.

Lynching and Negro Migration

In the widespread comment in the North on the heavy migration of negroes from the South to the industrial districts of the North and West, there is a distinct tendency to blame the lynching evil in the South as an important cause of the movement. Some of those who know the least about conditions in the South emphasize this alleged cause above all others.

Proof of the error in this view of the movement is found in the fact that Texas with a lynching record that equals and sometimes exceeds that of Georgia and other Southern States which have lost great numbers of their negro citizens, has lost comparatively few of her negroes. Instead of a decrease in negro population on the farm, an increase is shown. Negro farm owners in Texas have increased 12 per cent within the last decade, compared with an increase of a little more than 1 per cent among whites.

If it is fear of lynching that is driving negroes out of the Southeastern States, as is claimed, why are not the Texas negroes emigrating for the same reason? Lynching is not to be condoned, in Texas or in any other State. The people of Texas ought to be ashamed of the State's lynching record, and they should use drastic measures to eradicate the evil. But it is apparent that Texas negroes are not so fearful of lynchers as to flee from them.

As a matter of fact, the average negro in Texas, and probably in the other States, is not greatly concerned about the occasional lynchings that occur. The law-abiding negro has nothing to fear from mob violence in the South. He knows that as long as he behaves himself he is safe, and that he will have white friends to assist him in making a living.

The migration of negroes is of economic, not political or social origin. The negro laborer finds opportunities to make more money in the industrial centers and to live more comfortably than he does in some sections of the old South. In Texas where agricultural conditions are more favorable, he does not yield to the attraction of the industrial cities and finds contentment in his native haunts.

It is incorrect and unfair to charge the South with driving out its negroes through fear of lynching. The truth is, the negro is just as apt to be lynched in the North as in the South, for certain crimes. Lynching is not a sectional evil.

OUR NEW COMERS

According to a report made by Gordon Simpson, Secretary of the local Urban League, there is a constant influx into St. Louis of colored people, migrating from the South.

And while we are pleased to see the new comers in our city because we know what has driven them here and elsewhere North and West; yet we can't but realize an added responsibility upon those of us who have been here for years or a life time.

In the past, we have come, one or two, here and there, and far between. Thus it was very much easier for those who came in that way to adjust themselves to the new conditions without disturbing, or attracting any attention. But today with them coming by the hundreds, yea, thousands, there is quite a different proposition.

The very first danger which confronts us, is the evil designers who are alert night and day preying upon these new comers, who are not so well acquainted with the ways of the big cities. Then comes the housing and employment conditions which must be looked after.

Something should be done to help direct these people in the right channels. Something must be done. Where are the forces of righteousness? The churches, the social agencies, the benevolent and charities.

Many of these new comers are crowding our jails and penitentiaries just because we have stood idly by and allowed the forces of evil to take hold on them.

Let the forces of righteousness come together. We would suggest that the ministers of the churches, the Y. M. C. A., the Urban League, Miss Young of the Juvenile Court, and the Y. W. C. A. forces come together for a conference to the end that something be done, and that speedily, ere we all suffer as a penalty of our own negligence.

Don't wait and say, "Who will call a conference," but get busy earnestly, and results are sure.

EXODUS A NEGRO PROBLEM.

South Carolina Governor Tells Them They Must Solve It Themselves.

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 2.—The exodus of the negro from the South is more the problem of the negro himself and the community to which he goes than that of the Southern white man, Governor McLeod said today in a letter written to a negro leader in this State. Present economic conditions in the rural sections were held responsible by the State Executive for the migration of negroes.

"The most serious problem from the standpoint of the colored man," Governor McLeod said, "is whether or not his condition is going to be better and permanently improved by removal to the North. You must bear in mind the proven historical fact that while the Northern people love the negro en masse and as a race they have no affection or consideration for him as an individual * * *

"It is well for thoughtful colored people to bear in mind that the exodus of the negro from the South is by no means entirely the Southern white man's problem. He can in course of time recover, and will. It is primarily the problem of the negro. He goes to a new home, different occupation, different climate, different surroundings and must find his way among an entirely different class of white people than those among whom he has been accustomed to live.

"It is likewise a problem of the communities and States to which the negro is migrating. He is only wanted there as a laborer and is not welcomed by others than those in whose employment he goes. We have had experiences of the fact that race prejudice prevails in the North and in the West and expresses itself not only as against the individual, but en masse."

EXODUS CONTINUES FROM SOUTH BY THE THOUSAND

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Montgomery, Ala., June 1.—Thousands of people, disgusted at the treatment accorded them by the whites, are planning to leave this section of the South within the next 60 days. The exodus is alarming the white merchant, the white manufacturer and the white planter. In the hotels and clubs, the "exodus of Negro labor" is the chief topic. It supplants everything of great importance, economic or political, in the United States as well as the demoralization of the European countries. The fact that the South is losing its labor is hurting the white man.

Out of a population of 2,300,000 in this state there are about 900,000 who are not white. During the past two years over 25,000 of these have packed their belongings and have left "to better their condition," going into Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and New Jersey, some into the Dakotas and Minnesota. They have not all gone to the big cities either. A Chicago Defender staff correspondent getting in close touch with those relatives left behind learns that those who have "kissed the South good-by" are fareing well "up North." The ice and snow didn't bother them and these letters all have one trend, they tell relatives to sell out and come away. The daily papers failing in their propaganda to instill fear into the hearts of these people by portraying hardships during the winter have failed. Southern winters themselves have changed in the last few years. The promise of the white man has amounted to naught and the brother is taking no chances.

A talk with an employment manager of the iron and steel mines, reveals the fact that the labor shortage is becoming more acute every week, especially with common labor. Farm industries already have reported a shortage. The gathering of sugar, corn, rice, cotton and tobacco crops are already a worry to the owners. For the first time in the history of the state the farmers have set up a howl. Recruit agents from the steel mills in Pennsylvania and other industries in the North have come here and signed up over 2,000 from the rural districts alone.

Wages Not Only Reason

Higher wages do not constitute the sole readiness to leave. Wages have been raised here and in other Alabama cities. Not so much as in the North because living conditions are cheaper. State laws have and do nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. There is little, if any, justice. There are two reasons and the activity of the Ku Klux is another.

The state laws do not give the Race the proper and equal educational advantages, thus preventing many from obtaining the franchise privileges granted the Race by the Constitution of the United States.

The effect of these state laws, contrary to the constitution is revealed clearly by citing the last presidential election when only 237,944 citizens of Alabama voted when 450,000 should have done so; 74,000 cast their votes for Harding. Owing to the rigid qualifications set by the state law, contrary to the United States Constitution, out of a black population of 900,000 LESS THAN 5,000 voted in the entire state in the last presidential contest.

Students of both races on the "Negro problem" agree that these conditions as stated above and the attractive industrial opportunities, the ability to own their own home and give the children an education is influencing the Race to leave this section of the country.

Hillbillies Still Exist

The "Hillbilly" politician comes in for his share of censure. There are several representatives of this sort in Congress today. In the North they would be termed as "radicals or reds." On more than scores of occasions these "hillbillies" have been responsible for the outrages committed upon men, women and children of Color. Between 1885 and 1922 there were 336 known lynchings in this state. This does not count the thousands who have been killed and their bodies chucked into some pond or lake, weighed down with stones, nor the countless numbers who have been buried in a ditch with the knowledge of the sheriffs. These are numbered among the missing. "Jest wandered off somewhar," they put it down here when inquiries are made. There is no way to get at the bottom of these outrages, the mayor, county judge, sheriff, state's attorney and all the machinery of the law are identified with the Ku Klux. There was a time when a Jew or a Catholic held office but to make good their determination to run things to suit themselves, the Klan had rid the offices of the state of these.

Following failure of the Dyer anti-lynching bill in the Senate there was shown a bitter disappointment in the Republican party. Members of the Race had placed faith that perhaps the passing of the bill would change conditions somewhat here. The hand of the South was plainly shown in the bill's defeat. With no hope, those of Color who have sought "to better their condition" are bound for the "promised land." Resolutions passed by meeting of white men, promises and the like, many come and go—the exodus continues.

AND THE NEGRO STILL COMES NORTH

THE white press seems much concerned at the coming of the Southern Negro to the North. We wonder why all of this amazement at what we look upon as commonplace. Of course, when the Negro does anything unusual the whites are inclined to wonder why. They are asking why the Negro comes. They know full well why. Don't you fool yourselves into thinking otherwise, either. Well, since they ask we will really inform them as to why our brothers and sisters come north.

The Negro comes north first of all because he wishes to. He comes in spite of the efforts of certain paid Negro leaders to keep him in bondage. He comes because he wants his children removed from the baneful influence of bought and controlled Negro teachers; because he is tired of being continually cheated and daily robbed by the Southern whites; because he is tired of working for nothing; because most of all he wants his wife and daughters removed from the omnipresent Negro-chasing white man. Now you have it.

He comes for better or for worse—it can't be for worse. He is a citizen and has the full right to move or stay, ride or walk. He is a citizen by right of toil, by right of birth, by right of full measure of service on all of America's battlefields. Why shouldn't he move if he cares to? At any rate he comes.

The South will miss him. Perhaps he will miss the South—but not much. Lovers have parted before, and in this case the black man will live the longer for the parting. If the cotton crop fails, as some claim it will, let it fail; the black man will lose nothing. Cotton crop or no cotton crop, he always lost at any rate. Cane crop or no cane crop, he cannot lose, for, according to the white man's arithmetic, he was never free from debt. In the words of Edmund Burke, "Let us pass on; for God's sake, let us pass on."

Some of us, perhaps, had rather see him remain on the job and fight it out. Others point out that the odds against him in such an endeavor are too many, and that in the struggle, regardless of how peaceful it might be, he would be the loser. Well, they come, and they will continue to come. Let them come.

You who have been in Egypt know the nature of the taskmaster. You know the pain and horrors endured. You know that the Pharaoh on the throne knows not Joseph. The former ones knew him not, nor will the succeeding ones know him. So get all of the finger rings and earrings you can and move to the far country seems to be the attitude of those who are now down in Egypt. At any rate, they come.

T. W. A.

MAY USE VIGILANTES TO END LABOR EXODUS

Louisiana Aroused by Work of Labor Agents.

BATON ROUGE, La., May 31.—Vigilance committees, sooner or later will take the situation in their own hands if something is not done to curb the activities of labor agents who are sending laborers out of Louisiana in large numbers, T. E. Wood, state commissioner of labor, declared today in a communication to Gov. Parker asking the assistance of the executive in a campaign to drive the agents from the state.

"If in the final, nothing is to be accomplished by the efforts of this department through legal channels or for lack of assistance on the part of others," Mr. Wood wrote the governor, "sooner or later somebody will take the 'bull by the horns' and protect themselves against these violators, and this regardless of consequences. Already I hear talk of 'vigilance committees' and the price labor agents will pay."

The commissioner declared the agents were shipping all classes of common and semiskilled labor, especially negro laborers, from the state in violation of a state law. The railroads, he said, were the worst offenders and he charged that they were shipping more laborers than all other agencies combined. He named particularly the Illinois Central and the Southern Railway system and added that the railroad companies "tip off" labor agents in order that they may avoid arrest.

LABOR EMIGRATION WORRIES OFFICIALS

Railroads Take Steps to Aid in Enforcement of Labor Agents Laws

Emigration of labor from the South hag served to stir up the railroad officials. The Atlantic Coast Line railway, through P. R. Albright, vice-president and general manager, will see that state laws against labor agents are obeyed. Local Coast Line officials are in receipt of a circular from Mr. Albright.

All Atlantic Coast Line employes are requested to keep on watch for labor agents. They are instructed to see that labor agents obey the laws of the various states and that they take out a license.

Mr. Albright's letter to superintendents and agents relative to the labor situation is as follows:

"You are doubtless aware of the fact that laborers in great numbers are being induced to emigrate from territory served by this Company. If this emigration continues the result will be in all probability be a labor shortage, which will seriously interfere with farming and business interests of the communities affected. Whether the movement wil result in any lasting good to the laborers leaving this territory is questionable.

"You are, of course, advised of the requirements of the several States through which this company operates, with reference to the licensing of persons engaged in the business of Emigrant Agent or in hiring persons in a State for employment beyond the limits of the State. It is believed that in many instances the provisions of these statutes are being disregarded and the taxes provided in connection with such licensing are not being paid. Respect for the law, as well as the financial interests involved, require that the provisions be strictly complied with.

"It is suggested that you bring this matter to the attenion of the local authorities and also Chambers of Commerce and other organizations in your respective communities, and that effort be made to see that the hiring of laborers for employment outside of the State is done only by those properly authorized so to do, and that the requirements of the laws are strictly complied with.

"I am enclosing copy of circular issued with reference to this subject.

"Signed, P. R. Albright, Vice-President and General Manager."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

NEGRO MIGRATION NEARS THE HALF MILLION MARK

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Office of the Secretary
Washington

October 24, 1923.

It is announced by the Secretary of Labor, through Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, specially detailed to observe the present movement of migratory Negro labor, that 478,700, or nearly half a million Negro migrants forsook their abodes and occupations in thirteen southern States during the year September 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923, according to conclusions made from a series of total figures submitted by State, municipal and civic statisticians and authorities of those States. The round-number estimation is believed to be a fairly accurate summary of similar estimations carefully compiled for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

An analysis of the 478,700 total reveals the fact that of Negro migrants 90,000; Arkansas, 5,000; Florida, 90,- for the year noted, Alabama yielded 000; Georgia, 120,600; Kentucky, 2,500 Louisiana, 15,000; Mississippi, 82,600; North Carolina, 25,000; Oklahoma, 1,000; South Carolina, 25,000; Tennessee, 10,000; Texas, 2,000; and Virginia, 100,000. From the above, it will be noted that Georgia yielded the largest and Oklahoma the smallest, quota of Negro migrants.

For purposes of further comparisons and inferences, the table below, showing the normal population of each State, and the number and per cent of Negro migration therefrom, is added:

State	Population	No. of Migrants, T. Migr.	Per cent of
Total	8,441,106	478,700	100.0
Alabama	900,652	90,000	18.8
Arkansas	472,220	5,000	1.1
Florida	329,487	90,000	18.8
Georgia	1,206,365	120,600	25.2
Kentucky	235,938	2,500	.5
Louisiana	700,257	15,000	3.1
Mississippi	935,184	82,600	17.3
N. Carolina	864,719	25,000	5.2
Oklahoma	149,408	1,000	.2
S. Carolina	864,719	25,000	2.5
Tennessee	451,758	10,000	2.1
Texas	741,694	2,000	.4
Virginia	690,017	10,000	2.1

In commenting upon the migratory movement depicted above, a number of chambers of commerce of the South expressed the opinion that the oncoming winter would cause the return of large numbers of the departees. Other prominent officials were reasonably sure that the yield of their States could be traced to specific areas and that, hence, it was not a movement of general proportions. Another feature of the exodus seemed to indicate that the movement was semi-perpetual, inasmuch as departing Negroes were replaced by incomers, who, in turn, were continually succeeded, until many of those who first left had returned to their original domicile.

Philadelphia Blames Exodus in School Rise

New Arrivals of Better Class Than Those Who Came in Past Years

Philadelphia, Pa., July 13.—The Armstrong association of Philadelphia in an effort to discover the extent of the migration to Philadelphia made inquiry through the schools, churches, real estate dealers and other sources which in any way came in touch with the newcomers.

The schools provided the best index of the trend. Out of 18 schools where there is a large attendance of our children 14 show increased enrollment of newcomers. The increase since September in one school equaled nearly 10 per cent of the total number of pupils, while in another school the increase of pupils arriving since September equals over 7 per cent of the total school attendance. Nine of the 18 schools reported a total increase of children from the South since the beginning of the present school term of 497; five reported an unusual increase but gave no figures; four reported no increase.

The numerical increase reported doubtless would be larger if definite reports could have been obtained from Germantown, Tioga and Northwest Philadelphia.

On the basis of a previous investigation by the Armstrong association it was estimated that for every two children five adults could be counted. This would mean that for the neighborhoods of the 497 children the total population, including children, which has migrated to Philedalphia since September 1, 1922, is about 1,750. Of course the number in the three missing districts would add to the total.

The following information gathered from scattered but reliable sources confirms the conclusions of the figures obtained from the public schools, namely, that a migration of considerable size has started.

A large operator in real estate living in West Philadelphia near 40th and Market Sts., said: "There have come to my office within the last few months more than 200 persons direct from the South." Another real estate dealer living in South Philadelphia, near 19th and Wharton Sts., said: "Quite a large number of newcomers have shown up here in my immediate neighborhood and I have discovered the same thing in other sections where my business carries me. The housing shortage is increasing the number of lodgers and roomers owing to increased migration over the last two years."

A minister in Tioga reports numbers of families coming from the South. These are not the ordinary type of shiftless or floating Southerners, but are of the more thrifty and responsible class. This is corroborated by a physician who says that within the last two months his practice has increased 25 per cent among the newcomers who were not accustomed to Northern winters and who are above the average in intelligence and thrift of those who came during the former migration movement.

NEGRO MIGRATION NEARS HALF-MILLION MARK DURING YEAR

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State.	Population.	No. of Migrants.	% of Total Migrants.
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NEGROES AFRAID TO MOVE SOUTH

Agitators Said to Have Intimidated Passengers

Chicago, Dec. 9.—Special trains of the Illinois Central railroad, which were to have carried 500 families of negroes to Mississippi today, were disbanded this evening when, according to reports, the negroes were intimidated and told that confinement and punishment awaited them on their return by unknown agitators. As a result only 30 families departed from here.

Officials of the railroad said that a representative of a group of cotton growers' associations had been in Chicago and secured about 500 negro families to go to Mississippi to work in the cotton fields.

Unknown persons, it was said, threatened him with violence if he did not cease his efforts to take the negroes South, and, it was said, ordered him to leave the city.

Further reports emanating from the Illinois Central station here were to the effect that a group of agitators circulated among the several hundred negro families waiting for the trains to take them South and told them that the doors to the coaches would be locked immediately after the train pulled out of the station and would not be reopened until they arrived at their destination. It was also said by the agitators that there was a guard in each coach armed with a blacksnake whip. Officials of the Illinois Central railroad declared that there were over 300 families at the depot this afternoon but that they gradually disappeared until but 30 remained. These, they said, departed on one of the road's regular trains.

Negroes migrating North number

Migration Still Menaces the Economical Welfare of the South, but the White Man Makes No Effort to Check It

Atlanta Independent, Atlanta, Ga.,

9-6-23

Migration is still the absorbing topic among both black and white folk, and is still a cancer in the body politic, striking vitally at the economic growth of our section, and threatens permanently the agricultural wealth of the South.

Migration is not only threatening the white man's interest economically, but is striking deadly at the root of the Negro's social and religious development in the South. In fact, it is menacingly disorganizing every phase of southern life. As a result of its ravages, our agricultural growth is stunted, production cut 50 per cent, and the Negro's social, fraternal and church life lagely destroyed.

There has not been and is no let-up in the number of Negroes migrating to the north, east and west from the South. Every train leaving our section is loaded with migrants hunting a freer country where life is safe and economic conditions are better. They are not moving as a result of agitation and inducements held out by migration agents, but the movement seems to be a spontaneous uprising. While it is without organization, it is more effective than if men had undertaken to organize a general movement to clear the Negro population from the South to the north, east and west.

The Negro in the South is largely idle, wages poor, housing conditions bad, life menaced by mob violence, and he lives in dreadful fear of Ku Kluxism and its kindred organizations.

The Negro has not much hope, and thousands of them board the trains with their belongings, children and all, and buy tickets to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York and elsewhere, and trust God for a job when they get to their destination—arguing to themselves and neighbors that it could not be worse than it is here—and possibly we can go to bed up there with a reasonable hope that mobs, night riders or floggers will not pounce down upon us in the night and expel us from the community. Possibly we can find a place where we can breathe an air of freedom unmolested; where we can make a living wage; where we can ride in decent cars; get better elevator and street car service, and not be molested with rough, brutal street car conductors and elevator boys. Possibly we can find a city where zoning laws and segregation do not drive its black folk to the woods—where sanitary conditions, street passages and police service protect all the people—and that the color of a man's skin does not determine whether he shall have lights in the streets, sewerages in his yard, police protection, water on his premises, parks and other recreation facilities for the health and outing of his children.

Some time ago the white man was interested in the causes of migration. Or, he pretended to be anxious to find out the causes underlying the movement. The Negroes of the state had a state-wide conference—gathering from 103 counties more than three hundred representatives from every walk of life. This conference issued a bulletin addressed to the white people of the state in general and the legislature in particular—a copy of which was placed on the desk of every member of the General Assembly; every statehouse officer was provided with a copy of this address, every club, sheriff, chief of police, mayor and law-enforcing officer in the state was furnished a copy free, setting out the condition of the Negro, his attitude, his loyalty to the South, his love of country, his desire to stay here, and pointed out definitely and specifically the remedies necessary to stop migration and to expel unrest from the minds of the black people.

We pointed out the poor housing conditions, inadequate educational facilities, mob violence, contract labor law, a lack of police protection, and stated that unless these conditions were remedied the Negro would seek a section where these advantages, the common heritage of every American, were afforded him.

The conference pointed out the difficulty and unfairness of trying to run a democracy without the consent of all the people. With these facts in hand, and with our case made out so completely that no white voice, by press or otherwise, was raised against it. And, admitting the justness of our cause, the white man is still recreant and has made no effort whatever to correct the evils complained of, which were pointed out in black and white.

1st—Instead of proposing a remedy to relieve the situation, the legislature adjourned without appropriating one dollar for the better education of the Negro. They met our complaint by appropriating $800,000 to the higher education of the white man and $25,000 for the Negro.

2nd—By appropriating for the conduct of twelve agricultural and mechanical schools for the whites, at a cost of $180,000 a year, and not one cent for the Negro.

3rd—By increasing lawlessness—by increasing the number of Negroes lynched, whipped, flogged and terrorized.

4th—By extending unfair and unconstitutional zoning and segregation laws or regulations in the cities and taking from the Negro such territory as he might develop for better housing conditions for his race.

5th—By increasing his tax burdens without giving him any relief in the way of representation or more adequate educational, housing or economic betterment.

6th—By shutting every door of opportunity in his face to work with his hands—by continually narrowing his field for making a living by placing white men at the jobs that have been considered the Negro's rightful occupation for fifty years.

7th—By reducing his wages below a living level and lessening his opportunities to make meat and bread at the reduced daily wage.

8th—By continuing to enforce the labor contract law under the cruel and ignorant overseer system in which Negroes are reduced to peons.

(Signed) BENJAMIN JEFFERSON DAVIS. Editor.

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between 300 to 600 a week on the Illinois Central, one official said, and added that extra sections to trains from the South are being used twice a week to accommodate them. A labor agent from Clarksdale, Miss., by the name of Harding was said to have made arrangements with the railroad to haul the negroes back South. He was credited with the statement that most of the negroes were willing to return to the South and said he was at a loss to understand what forces were behind the propaganda that frightened them into remaining here or who had threatened him. Railroad officials also declared that the road was making arrangements for several special trains for those who, it is said, were to return South to work in the cotton fields.

KANSAS CITY, MO. TIMES
OCTOBER 29, 1923

THE NEGRO IN SEARCH OF A NEW HOME.

Perhaps a dozen causes have been assigned for negro migration from the South; but a new one seems to be advanced by Dr. W. A. C. Hughes, in charge of negro work for the Methodist Episcopal church board of home missions. Dr. Hughes believes it is the negro wife and mother of the South who is urging members of the race north with the hope of finding better living conditions for herself and children.

The idea is plausible and no doubt is founded upon facts established by investigation. But it is hardly to be considered as the sole, or even as a dominating, cause of the migration, especially if account is taken of Dr. Hughes's additional contention that the negro woman is actuated in her move by fear of oppression or persecution of her husband, children and herself. Other observers have found the source of the movement to be primarily economic, due to ravages of the boll weevil in the cotton belt and the lure of higher wages in other sections. These have noted, too, that treatment of the negro in the South is better than in former years and that if oppression of the race were the main cause of the migration, the movement ought to have been at its height a generation ago.

But, whatever the cause or causes of the migration, it is quite true, as Dr. Hughes says, that important duties lie with the churches and other agencies in cities of the North and West to which the negroes have come. It is the duty of these agencies to see that the migrants are housed, properly fed and given employment. Only when he has these vital needs supplied, either through his own efforts or those of others, can the negro realize his hopes of better conditions, which led him from his original home.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

MIGRATION OF NEGROES AND HOW TO CURB IT

Fifty-five years ago the state of Mississippi was calling a state convention to discuss matters pertaining to the Negro's condition in that state and in the nation. Last week the Natural Rural Industrial Association, through the State Chamber of Commerce of Mississippi, held a state-wide convention of Negroes in that state to discuss the causes of unrest and to suggest means of curbing the Negro exodus from the state.

Singularly related to that 1868 convention are the causes underlying the present one. If the convention in 1868 had acted in good faith, or if the white population of the state had given to the Negroes during all these subsequent years those de facto rights which were formally pledged by the 1868 convention, there would have been no need of this convention recently in session. Then, it was the rights of the Negro as a citizen; today, whatever else may be said in explanation, however it may be sought by some to becloud the issue, the essential element in the situation, the determining factor in the equation of Negro unrest **is simply that of Negro enfranchisement in Mississippi and the South.**

The Exodus of Negroes from Mississippi and the South is a natural normal human reflection and indictment of the total Southern social order—the ideals of that order no less than the customs and institutions and persons through which these find expression. Such is the explanation of every exodus in human history; why is it necessary to seek a different and strained interpretation of this movement of Negroes who are required to make brick in these southern brickyards without the straw of incentives and permissives to manhood adventure and estate.

One does not have to go far afield to ascertain the specific reasons why Negroes are leaving Mississippi. Mississippi Negroes gave those reasons succinctly a few weeks ago; the statement was carried in these columns. And more; read the grewsome history of the state in her attitude toward the Negro and on humanitarian questions for more than three quarters of a century. Study the utterances and note the deeds of her statesmen whose careers have been bent chiefly on subordination of their Negro population, first as slaves to the whites, later as their industrial serfs, and from the historic temper of its dominant group one can readily realize what is the cause of Negro unrest in Mississippi. And outsiders have never known the WHOLE story. Then why does Mississippi want to curb the exodus of Negroes from her borders? Is it because she wants to give them here an open field and a fair chance for development into the character of men God ordained them to be; or is it not because the state knows that its economic and industrial fortunes have hitherto rested upon the broad, bronzed back of its Negro citizenship, and will be dependent thereon for years to come.

And so Mississippi frantically assembles her colored citizens and calls upon Negro ministers and teachers to lend to the convention their presence and to cause their moral influence to be exerted to the end that Mississippi may hold her Negro population. But have the white leaders in the South not yet learned that Negro preachers and teachers are not as influential as formerly in the Negro group. That such a stage of weakened confidence was imminent, Negro leaders have kept telling the south for more than a decade. Particularly true it is that the exodus reveals on part of the group a natural impulse for relief that has not waited for orderly direction at the hands of ministers and teachers. Some of this class have betrayed the Negro by their unworthiness and have forfeited the right to our group confidence. They have sought personal favor and pelf from their white neighbors, a mere mess of pottage, at the expense of those rights that are dear to the group. Such a Negro is dangerous to society, misleading those who listen to his evil advices. And they have made leadership of the right kind a more critical and exacting task. If the Negro ministers and teachers who were in convention last week at Jackson, Mississippi, give any uncertain sound not canvassing frankly the whole situation and courageously appealing for and insisting on every safeguard that belongs to their group, at the same time upholding every legitimate interest of a righteous social order, they will and should be repudiated by right thinking people everywhere and their counsel will add confusion rather than help in the solution of the problem of Negro unrest.

Henry Grady, prematurely deceased protagonist of the New South, said in his immortal speech years ago in New York city: "Faith will be kept with the Negro in the future if the South holds her reason and integrity." Reason and integrity—these are the twin potencies that must be appealed to in this crisis in the life of the state and the south.

The recent conference at Jackson, Mississippi, is pitched on the plane of economics and industrialism. And this will be its failure. The Rural Industrial Association cannot curb the exodus, however much it might temporarily relieve industrial tension in the Negro's condition in the south. **The trouble underlying this sectional unrest does not rest here primarily. It is deeper by far.** Only a blind or wilful superficiality would seek the remedy here. **The south must come to a reasonable position in its treatment and thinking of the Negro.** She must cease thinking of the Negro as a mere industrial group existing merely for her selfish convenience and exploitation. That is the same old slave regime idea modified and modernized. Nor, moreover, even with exploitation absent, will any race group as a unit, in a free democratic state, accept the social status of being the servant class of another group under the harrowing taunts of inherent inferiority within the same body politic; which continues to be the essential, unchanging conception of the white south as to the Negro's relation to the southern social order. The south's typical position is—develop as he may, acquire what he may, "let down his buckets" as deep as he may, be related to the human brotherhood and divine Fatherhood as he may—the Negro must ever be kept subservient, oppressed, despoiled, and endure the grinding process that would insure his inferiority. Strange that the reason of the south, invoked by Grady, does not boldly disclose the fact that neither fraud nor force can keep the Negro in such a condition permanently. It is an evident paradox of human thinking to expect that 10,000,000 human beings under any skin-color, can be exposed for a period of fifty years to the educational processes of contact with the best cultural social institutions of this vigorous young republic, and still submit to be held in a state of practical serfdom. That desire is father to the dream of an empire of cast and color which reason cannot defend or force maintain in the face of an advancing civilization.

If the south will pay the price (and some day she must) it must be through the humanitarian and political method. White clergy and teachers who, a half century ago were teaching the old conception of the Negro by scriptural and scientific argument, must invoke the same arguments with equal adroitness and skill to teach new, adequate and ultimate conceptions (displacing completely the old) of the dignity and value of Negro personality as being, before God, identical with total personality. They must be rebaptised with a spiritual passion for humanity and justice.

Southern state legislatures and General Assemblies must be reconvened; oppressive legal measures and statutes already existing,

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

MIGRATION OF NEGROES AND HOW TO CURB IT

Fifty-five years ago the state of Mississippi was calling a state convention to discuss matters pertaining to the Negro's condition in that state and in the nation. Last week the Natural Rural Industrial Association, through the State Chamber of Commerce of Mississippi, held a state-wide convention of Negroes in that state to discuss the causes of unrest and to suggest means of curbing the Negro exodus from the state.

Singularly related to that 1868 convention are the causes underlying the present one. If the convention in 1868 had acted in good faith, or if the white population of the state had given to the Negroes during all these subsequent years those de facto rights which were formally pledged by the 1868 convention, there would have been no need of this convention recently in session. Then, it was the rights of the Negro as a citizen; today, whatever else may be said in explanation, however it may be sought by some to becloud the issue, the essential element in the situation, the determining factor in the equation of Negro unrest **is simply that of Negro enfranchisement in Mississippi and the South.**

The Exodus of Negroes from Mississippi and the South is a natural normal human reflection and indictment of the total Southern social order—the ideals of that order no less than the customs and institutions and persons through which these find expression. Such is the explanation of every exodus in human history; why is it necessary to seek a different and strained interpretation of this movement of Negroes who are required to make brick in these southern brickyards without the straw of incentives and permissives to manhood adventure and estate.

One does not have to go far afield to ascertain the specific reasons why Negroes are leaving Mississippi. Mississippi Negroes gave those reasons succinctly a few weeks ago; the statement was carried in these columns. And more; read the grewsome history of the state in her attitude toward the Negro and on humanitarian questions for more than three quarters of a century. Study the utterances and note the deeds of her statesmen whose careers have been bent chiefly on subordination of their Negro population, first as slaves to the whites, later as their industrial serfs, and from the historic temper of its dominant group one can readily realize what is the cause of Negro unrest in Mississippi. And outsiders have never known the WHOLE story. Then why does Mississippi want to curb the exodus of Negroes from her borders? Is it because she wants to give them here an open field and a fair chance for development into the character of men God ordained them to be; or is it not because the state knows that its economic and industrial fortunes have hitherto rested upon the broad, bronzed back of its Negro citizenship, and will be dependent thereon for years to come.

And so Mississippi frantically assembles her colored citizens and calls upon Negro ministers and teachers to lend to the convention their presence and to cause their moral influence to be exerted to the end that Mississippi may hold her Negro population. But have the white leaders in the South not yet learned that Negro preachers and teachers are not as influential as formerly in the Negro group. That such a stage of weakened confidence was imminent, Negro leaders have kept telling the south for more than a decade. Particularly true it is that the exodus reveals on part of the group a natural impulse for relief that has not waited for orderly direction at the hands of ministers and teachers. Some of this class have betrayed the Negro by their unworthiness and have forfeited the right to our group confidence. They have sought personal favor and pelf from their white neighbors, a mere mess of pottage, at the expense of those rights that are dear to the group. Such a Negro is dangerous to society, misleading those who listen to his evil advices. And they have made leadership of the right kind a more critical and exacting task. If the Negro ministers and teachers who were in convention last week at Jackson, Mississippi, give any uncertain sound not canvassing frankly the whole situation and courageously appealing for and insisting on every safeguard that belongs to their group, at the same time upholding every legitimate interest of a righteous social order, they will and should be repudiated by right thinking people everywhere and their counsel will add confusion rather than help in the solution of the problem of Negro unrest.

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designed to keep the Negro in semi-slavery and subjection to a self-perpetuating white ruling class, must be rescinded, all subterfuges and menaces supporting the pseudo citizenship estate of the Negro in the South must be repudiated and repealed, and the Negro guaranteed the ballot vouchsafed to every citizen of the Federal government; the Negro must be alloted his ratio of representation in the government under which he lives; in short the Negro must be **assimilated** in the American body politic in every state in the south. The group **cannot** remain an **imperium in imperio.**

We do not know what the recent Mississippi convention did. We have heard that one or two states have been contemplating legal prohibitions to the exodus. Be this as it may. We say here emphatically that if the south would curb the exodus and allay the rising tide of color, she will be advantaged in her purpose by no Pharoh-to-the-Red Sea pursuit, or fugitive slave law enactment. "There's a Divinity that shapes our ends." We are not escaping slaves; or serfs stealthily stealing away from economic oppression; or even a unit of industrials per se under divine ordination to serve any section or class except as we severally and individually elect; we are free American citizens with full prerogatives of locomotion and as we grow up to those larger world conceptions of citizenship, we will become more restive and resolute to seek an outlet for our citizenship enjoyment, in these climes where the skies are blue and where the atmosphere braces and builds.

SPENCER IND. FARM LIFE
JUNE. 1923

Negroes Come North

Complaint comes from many parts of the South that colored laborers are being lured from their jobs by recruiting agents from the northern industries. There will not be any very great shortage in farm labor in Dixie this season, on account of the movement, but the southern farmers see it as a possible menace in the future. Suppose, they say, the demand for common workmen continues and increases in the North, will not our cotton fields be stripped of hands within a few years? The problem is a part of our immigration question. Heretofore the steel mills and other great industries have been keeping up their labor supply from Europe, but under the new law, limiting the number of aliens that may enter this country, the big employers must look in another direction for their help. And they are looking toward the South. If the industrial boom continues the question may become serious. The negro naturally considers what seems to be his own interest. He will be tempted to come North when the dollar calls him, even if the advantage he gains is only an illusory one. Our southern friends will have to exercise a good deal of patience and wisdom if the colored man, who has always been something of a social and political problem, now becomes an economic problem as well. And the negro, who

not want to be considered a problem at all, might very well ask himself if he will be any happier, or even any richer in the long run, by looking for a new job in the North.

WATERTOWN N Y STANDARD
MAY 16, 1923

NEGROES COME NORTH

The South declares that when the North becomes better acquainted with the Southern negro through the present migration less encouragement will be given the movement.

Restriction of immigration has resulted in a northward movement of negroes. Economic conditions alone do not motivate them, although the fact that work is plentiful for colored laborers makes possible realization of a dream long held by many Southern negroes.

Negroes in certain Southern states feel they do not get fair treatment. They do not ask social equality, but they do ask some change be made in a condition of affairs that spends $20 for the education of each white child to $1 for the education of each colored child. Negro farmers declare that they are reduced to a state bordering on peonage through financial control over their farms secured by white merchants. The negro gets into debt at the store and thereafter all he earns goes to the merchant. The colored farmer is kept in a state of extreme poverty. Often he cannot read and the books are all kept by the merchants, a system that does not benefit the farmer in a section where he is looked upon as nothing more than a work machine. Appeals to local officials usually fall on deaf ears.

The South criticizes the North for taking negro workers. On the basis of past conditions the exodus does mean a serious loss to the South. But the South itself has furnished the cause for the movement.

Better classes of white residents of the South deplore the unfair treatment of the negro. Perhaps the other classes, important in business, who could not be touched by justice will be brought to give the negro a square deal through economic pressure.

Certainly negroes are moving into the North in large numbers, taking up common labor. In a few cities race difficulty has followed, but in most instances the colored residents have minded their own business and adapted themselves to their new surroundings, and often, prosperity.

JOPLIN MO. GLOBE
APRIL 29, 1923

NEGROES MOVING NORTH.

Southern cotton growing states are worrying over the exodus of negroes to the north. Governor Russell of Mississippi estimates 10 to 15 per cent of the negroes of his state have left in the past year, possibly for good. Julian McCurry of the executive department of Georgia says the exodus of negro labor from southern farms is appalling. Governor Parker of Louisiana declares more than 55,000 negro laborers have left Louisiana and Mississippi since last November.

One explanation for this movement is encouraging rather than otherwise. It is believed the negroes are becoming convinced that better opportunities for education are to be had for them in the north. Better education for any class of its people always presages good fortune for a nation.

But the shortage of farm labor in the south is going to affect every user of cotton goods in the next year or two. It will mean reduced production, and that will mean higher prices. But a goodly share of the negroes, when they meet with difficulties in the north, will sing "Dixie" and hurry back to where they came from. In the long run the movement likely will have no other effect than to give a better educational average to the nation, and to change the minds of some who are insistent on immigration laws that forbid entrance into this country of desirable aliens.

NO DECREASE IS SEEN IN NEGRO MIGRATION

Columbus Enquirer

According to figures given out at the state department of commerce and labor, on Friday, Georgia negroes are still migrating to the north, with no indication of a let-up in this movement. About 1,500 a week are now leaving the state, says the report.

Approximately 200,000 colored people left the state between Puly, 1922, and July, 1923, it was said. Agents of the department have been keeping a careful check on all outgoing trains and these figures are declared "very conservative." Lack of employment, with high wages offered in the north and east, are the chief causes assigned by the department for this condition, with the damage done by the boll weevil to Georgia's agricultural situation a large contributing factor.

"The ultimate result of the negro farm laborer leaving the state will be a decided improvement in the farming conditions and life of the state," one of the officials said, "after the farmers have adjusted themselves to the absence of negro labor, the state will be much better off.

10-13-23

"I do not expect many of the negroes to return in the near future," this official continued. "If the supply of white laborers, composed of foreigners, increases in the north a large number of negroes will be thrown out of employment. Georgia farmers now are in a good position to handle their crops. The danger they will encounter will be during the next planting season, when the migration might hinder preparation of the crop."

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Spartanburg, S.C.
Herald
MAR 30 1923

ADVICE TO THE COLORED RACE

May negroes are leaving the south for the north and it will not be long before they will find they have made a grave mistake in many instances. It is natural for all of us both white and colored to want to better our condition, but we should not be too hasty, in doing so, less we make a great mistake, before it is too late. As a northern man I want to give you some facts, you perhaps are thinking of going up north, east or west, it matters very little. I know New England as well as any man, the best part of my life was spent there. It is a COLD climate, freezing most of the time from November to May, and very little work can be done out of doors, it takes a vigorous man or woman to stand the regors of a cold climate. It seems that the colored people who are going north or colonizing they go to Boston, Pittsburg, Chicago, Detroit, or Philadelphia, as a rule, and these cities now have more colored people than there are jobs for, with the result that they become objects of charity. Charity is a cold relation, and who has to depend on it is certainly unfortunate. Now these are the facts, I have told the colored people.

1st. you may be contemplating going to the above sections and you should know that you are going into a climate that you know very little about, it is freezing cold from October to May, and the people of the South who have lived here should notice that the northern people begin to move out of that part of the country as soon as cold weather starts and they come south in anything that will bring them from a Pullman to a Flivver. Why they want to get away from the cold weather, that some folks seem to want to get into is very plain to me, they don't like it!

2nd. The centers that the colored people want to go to are crowded with the scum of Europe, Italians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Polanders, Slovacks, Portuguese, Turks, and a host of others, who do not speak the English language do not mix or associate in any manner with Americans, they keep to themselves, they have got the best jobs and are giving the laboring man something to do when he seeks employment. The women go out as servants.

3rd. Before you go be sure you got a job, got money enough to live until you get one, and got money enough to get back if you are not suited. The employment agencies of the north are telling the people in circulars that they will find them jobs and send them tickets to come, of course they get a commission for every one they get, and the man or woman who goes on that promise finds the job is not suited, he to it, or it to him, then he or she is in a fix, *can't get back home*. I personally have talked to many in my section and they would be glad to go back home if they could. Now this is my advice to you all. If you want to better your condition you be sure you are going to do so before you go anywhere. Don't jump out of the frying pan into the fire, or you may be sorry when it is too late. Now this is the advice I give all of my friends and I am giving it to anyone who I think needs it.

GEO. A. WILBUR.

Plan To Replace Negroes With White Families

Preston News Service.

CLARKSDALE, Miss., May 30.—Oscar Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce, stated last Tuesday morning that a labor survey of the county is being made to determine to what extent the county has lost labor. 6-1-23

It has been determined already that the greater percentage of labor that has migrated has been from the towns and not from the plantations in Coachoma county, so that the labor situation is not so serious here and in other parts of the Delta as it is in other southern states. Active steps are being taken through the chamber of commerce to replace the Negroes who have left the plantations with white families and questionaires are being mailed to all planters asking their attitude and on what terms they will rent or lease to or otherwise employ white farmers.

Plans are being shaped for a publicity campaign and the finance committee is holding meetings every day to determine on how the publicity campaign will be financed. The farm development bureau will also cooperate in this effort it is understood.

Johnston says, "With regard to the Negroes, however, who have gone north, many are more than anxious to return, even though they make more money. I have a number of letters from all parts of the North from Negroes asking if they return what are the chances for getting old jobs back. One Negro called me up over long distance telephone from Chicago to see if he could get his old job back. He said that he was making big money there, but it took all he made to pay rent and for over two months he was unable to get a place to live. He had to keep his family in a box car."

Negro Schools Losing Students, Sutton Reveals

Exodus to North Blamed for Decrease of 1,000 in Month.

While enrollments in the white public schools of Atlanta are registering tremendous increases, there has been an alarming decrease in negro schools of the city, due principally to the exodus of negro families to northern states, it was revealed by Superintendent Willis A. Sutton, in checking over enrollments Saturday.

"The situation in Atlanta is becoming extremely noticeable," declared Mr. Sutton. "Within the last 30 days there have been at least 1,000 negroes migrating from Atlanta to cities in northern states. Evidence of this fact is the decrease in enrollment in the negro public schools of the city. Classes that a month ago consisted of 45 and 50 negro children were reduced to 25 and 30 students at the close of the term."

SOUTH SAYS NO, NORTH SAYS YES ABOUT MIGRATION

Whites Disagree on Benefits; Treat 'Em Right, North Suggests to Dixie

The migration of laborers from the South brings interesting expressions of opinion both from the South and from the North. Generally the white North, as seen in newspapers, thinks the exodus a pretty good thing for all concerned; the white South, viewed from the same angle, is practically unanimous in declaring it to be bad for the South, the Race and the North.

Two editorials, one from the Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union, the other from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, are reprinted herewith for the contrast in opinion they offer.

The southern editor writes:

"Negroes are going away to the North under inducements that they would do well to look into.

"The labor question is a serious one all over the country.

"Scarcity of labor has little to do with price. In prosperous times in the past foreigners came here and did much rough work. If business became slack they went back home.

"Purely American labor is constantly employed.

High Wage Lure

"The Negroes are being induced to go to the North now under the promise of high wages and fine living conditions. They are being shown houses wherein they will live. They are also being told what they will get. If they will look at these houses carefully and compare them with Memphis houses they will find that they will have to get twice as much as promised in order to pay rent.

"Rents are higher in Chicago, Detroit and other northern cities than in Memphis. Even if the Negroes get the wages they are promised it will take all for them to live. If work becomes slack, and it will, they will be the first to lose their jobs. Landlords don't wait on you in the North—you either pay or get out; neither do doctors, undertakers nor anybody else.

"Of course, the Negroes have a right to go wherever they want to.

"By and large they have done mighty well down here. Now and then they have been exploited, but so have white people, and in the North they will be exploited as white people have been.

"Opportunity is better for the Negro in the South than in the North. We know two or three Negroes in the St. Francis basin near Memphis who own over a thousand acres of land. They are out of debt. They are making money. They have money in the banks. Their white neighbors are proud to see them getting along.

"There are a hundred Negro men in Memphis right now who 25 years ago did not have a thousand dollars; now they are worth from $20,000 to $200,000. In the last three or four years a number of Negroes lost their fortunes, but if they will look into it they will find that their white neighbor lost his.

No Dives in Memphis

"There are no dives any more in Memphis where white people exploit Negroes, where they ruin their body and their souls. There are hundreds of such places in the North.

"A decent, God-fearing Negro in the South will find a better chance for his children here than he will in the North.

"Where in any other place in the United States does the Negro get a better break than he does in Memphis? Where is there a better chance for him anywhere else than there is in this Memphis territory?

"Here and there Negroes have been robbed and they have been exploited. This business is stopping. It does not pay in the long run. The next place, the Negro is becoming more intelligent, but, more than all, a majority of the white people in any community frown on such a procedure.

"The Commercial Appeal during its long history has never attempted to deceive Negroes. It does not take much stock in the old sentiment about the old mammies and old uncles. It has never condoned a lynching and never will; the lynching of a white man and the lynching of a Negro are violations of the law, and when any group of men start out to do something that is unlawful they do a harm to the republic which, if persisted in, will destroy it. The Commercial Appeal believes that a Negro under the law should have his rights, he should have the property that he earns. Down here we believe that he is coming into these things.

"We do not want to cajole the Negroes, we are not attempting to persuade them, we are just laying down a few facts and the most sensible of their own people will tell them that these facts are the truth. Ask Fuller, ask Griggs, ask Isaiah Montgomery, the wise old man of the Delta; ask Booth, the lawyer."

Northern Editor's Opinion

The opinion of the northern editor of the Rochester Times-Union is somewhat of an answer to the foregoing:

"Northward migration of Negroes, temporarily checked by the period of industrial depression, has recently been resumed upon a large scale.

"One reason for this has been decrease in the supply of foreign labor through the immigration restriction laws. Statistics gathered by the department of agriculture show that Georgia has lost 13 per cent of its Negro farm population, Alabama and Arkansas 3½ per cent, South Carolina 8 per cent.

"This loss, coming at a time when the South is trying under the stimulus of high prices to raise a big cotton crop, is presenting a serious problem. No way has yet been found for dispensing with a large amount of hand labor in cotton growing, especially at picking time.

North Is Better

"That there is race prejudice at the North as well as in the South cannot be denied. This is especially evident when demand for housing brings Negroes into sections previously occupied by whites. Yet on the whole the Negro gets fairer treatment at the North. He is free from that oppression and abuse by unscrupulous whites which the better class in the South have too often failed to restrain.

"If handicapped by the color of his skin the Negro is still an American, bred to the ways of this country and much more adaptable than some of the less desirable groups of white immigrants. Progress made by the Colored

race in America, particularly since the abolition of slavery, is most encouraging when compared with the native African or even the Negroes of Jamaica.

"It will be a good thing for the South to be forced to bid for Negro labor, suppress mob violence and intimidation and give Colored children better opportunities for schooling.

"Rich in natural resources, with a climate and rainfall adapted to growing abundant crops of all sorts, including a near monopoly of commercial cotton, the great need of the South is to raise the scale of living and educational level of its workers, both white and black."

THE DANGER SIGNALS.

On this page is a communication from Rev. Dr. W. D. Crawford, one of the ablest and most conservative of the colored divines in the south, that is worthy the perusal of every man and woman in Georgia. It breathes the right spirit with regard to the present migration of the people of his race, and the right spirit as to the way the negro should be treated in the south.

In only one respect is he wrong. "From such survey as I have been able to make," he writes, they (the negroes who migrate to the north) "are profiting financially and educationally, but otherwise they are losing most heavily."

Are they "profiting financially and educationally?"

The scale of wages is perhaps higher—and when the proper service is rendered to justify it they possibly ought to be higher in the south—but it must not be overlooked that living expenses are higher. The demands for money to meet the necessities, under living environs to which they are unaccustomed, are greater. The opportunities to spend money for those things which are not necessities are greater, and more alluring. Do they save any more? It has not been the experience of those who have gone, hundreds of them having to appeal to their relatives or friends, and in many cases to their old white employers in the south, in order to get money to bring them back.

"Educationally?" It may so look on paper, but does it work out? What is education? The privilege of attending a mixed school? Such opportunities are rare even in the north, and the better element of negroes rebel at such a privilege, instead of rejoicing at it. Georgia is not doing for the education of either the white or the colored children what she ought and what she must and will do in this new awakening of co-operation and duty, but for the negro in the congested industrial centers of the north, and he is entirely right as to the great handicaps to health and hygiene that those conditions present.

If the better class of colored people of the south would listen to such wholesome advice as that given by men capable of leadership, such as Dr. Crawford, and hundreds of others among the race, they would go slow in listening to the glib talk and conscienceless promises of the emigration agents whose only concern is the per capita fee.

BIDDING FOR NEGRO LABOR.

Rather belatedly the Manufacturers' Association of Georgia calls upon the people of Georgia and of the South in general to do everything possible to check the Negro migration from South to North. What methods are to be used to induce the Negroes to remain the manufacturers state only vaguely. If any injustice is being done to the Negro it is to be eliminated. Where living conditions are discovered to be bad they should, the manufacturers suggest be improved.

If the Negro received full justice with his neighbors in the South and if his living conditions were equal to anything obtainable in the North he would doubtless stay where he is and save traveling expenses. But he has been known to get very much less than full justice in Georgia, and the record of lynchings in that state is not reassuring. It is doubtful if the Negro in the North is so much "a stranger in a foreign land," as the manufacturers put it, that economic and social inducements have no appeal for him north of Mason and Dixon's line. Since the Immigration Law has practically cut off the supply of cheap workmen from Europe, the South and the North are indirect competiion for Negro labor and the South is losing.

No doubt the South will offer sufficient incentives to keep the Negroes if labor becomes scarce and valuable. Lynching may disappear and living conditions in Negro quarters undergo a sudden change for the better. But unless this happens quickly, the South will have lost enough man-power to threaten an economic revolu-

HOW TO CHECK NEGRO MIGRATION.

Most of the comments about the migration northward of the Southern negroes have dealt with its economic aspects. The lure of high wages, with better living conditions, has been held to be the principal cause of the movement. Now comes a voice from the South to protest that, although economics play their part, the principal reason for the exodus of negroes from the South is that they are not fairly treated there. This is the burden of an editorial in The Enquirer-Sun of Columbus, Ga., which quotes liberally from The Albany (Ga.) Herald. The Columbus editor says of the negro:

He does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him homes think that any sort of shack is good enough for the negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the negro fails to receive the proper attention.

These points were touched upon by Robert R. Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute, in an article printed in The Times on May 6. It is significant that papers such as The Columbus Enquirer-Sun and The Albany (Ga.) Herald are willing to deal frankly with them, and openly to blame the Ku Klux Klan and those who masquerade as Klansmen for their share of the responsibility. As the editor of The Albany Herald puts it, no people like to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror which drives people to flee from it. In an effort to stem the exodus Southern papers in recent months have been printing stories about the evil effects of the Northern climate on the negroes, and have endeavored to show that the negro is not understood in the North, and is certain to suffer brutal hardships. Emotional appeals, such as that an extra output of coffins was necessary in the North to dispose of the negroes who died of disease, have also been tried. Not content with this, the Georgia Commissioner of Commerce and Labor has written to The Columbus Enquirer-Sun, and presumably to other Georgia papers, asking that advertisements for labor concerns outside of the State be refused. It is hoped thus to deprive negroes of the opportunity of learning where, outside of Georgia, there is a market for their labor.

The true policy, as the editor of The Enquirer-Sun points out, lies in a concerted move on the part of the business leaders of Georgia and other Southern States to see that the negro receives better treatment. Lawlessness of the kind that has been too common in the past must be stopped. Greater efforts must be given to protecting the negro in his rights and to helping him improve his material conditions. The South wants the negro and, given equality of treatment, the negro prefers the South. When the white men in the South begin to appreciate the part that they have played in furthering the exodus it is likely that they will be able partly to check it. To attempt to stop it by legislation, however, or by terrorization, or by depriving the negroes of the opportunities of learning where their labor is in demand, is to fail to strike at the fundamental causes.

DELUDED NEGROES ARE RETURNING TO SOUTH

Disillusioned by Suffering in North, Head for Mexico.

SCENE IN EAST ST. LOUIS

Herded Like Sheep in Patched Tents, Ill Fed, With Disease Beginning to Ravage Ranks, Lure of High Wages Becomes a Deception.

BY R. J. GATES.

WASHINGTON, May 13.—Word has been received here of a back home movement on the part of some of the negroes who recently migrated from the delta of Mississippi on the promise of exorbitant wages in northern and eastern industrial plants.

It seems that hundreds of these deluded negroes who were shipped to East St. Louis have become panicky in their disillusionment and are flocking back to their abandoned home in Dixie.

A cotton planter from Clarksdale, Miss., who arrived in Washington last night reports that several days ago two coaches filled with negroes from the delta left East St. Louis in the back home rush. As this particular train pulled out of the station, he said, many belated men and women scrambled frantically but futilely to get aboard.

An eye-witness to this scene related it to the Clarksdale planter in the Pullman attached to a Washington-bound train. This witness gave a graphic description of the wretchedness of hundreds of negroes from the southern plantations, who had been herded like so many cattle in miserably patched tents near East St. Louis. Many of them, he said, were actually suffering from lack of food and were in a state of general demoralization. Some he described as having fallen ill because of over-crowding, lack of even elementary sanitary facilities and sufficient food of the cheapest kind.

Epidemic Is Certain.

If these conditions, he said, are permitted to continue an epidemic is sure to develop, and in that event the presence of so many men, women and children herded together like sheep, soon will become a menace to the community in which they are temporarily quartered.

It is a known fact that most of the industrial centers of the north and east are without adequate houses for taking care of additional large bodies of workmen. This home shortage has existed since the first year of the World War, and it will not be controverted that there has been very little activity in the construction of small houses in the last five or six years. It is equally well known that most of the building that has been projected since the armistice did not include the smaller and cheaper houses, but was restricted almost exclusively to apartments for occupancy by families able to pay the higher rentals.

Southern farmers who have filed protests against the enticement of negro tenants and farm laborers from that section call attention to the dire consequences of an inevitable nation-wide scope as a result of the reckless stripping of the agricultural states of the south of their labor. The south, they say, cannot be thus deprived of its labor without entailing serious economic losses that will adversely affect the rest of the country.

Greatly increased cost of necessary foodstuffs, it is claimed, will tread on the heels of materially reduced farm production and the south will not be the only sufferer from this unnatural state of affairs, but the industrial centers will feel the pinch even in a more distressing degree, and the thousands of negroes for employment in factories and mills, who have been inveigled into migrating to northern and eastern states will of necessity bear the brunt of this inevitable burden of misery.

Fabulous Wages Profitless.

Seemingly fabulous day wages will be profitless and comfortless in the face of living costs increased out of all proportion to the day's pay. Another fact that should be weighed is that the inflated wages now offered by some industrial plants are in the nature of things temporary, for it is known that these higher wages are held out to enable these industries to catch up with production delayed by the general business paralysis that gripped the entire country the first two years succeeding the signing of the armistice. Wherefore it is the consensus of those who understand the situation in its more vital phases that the negro who has steady employment and a home amid surroundings which are congenial to him, both by tradition and habits of life, had better let well enough alone and not be tempted by a labor agent's painted rainbow of promises whose every elements are unsubstantial and fleeting.

Labor — 1923

Migration Movement.

A BIG PROBLEM.

On this page are several communications bearing on the migration of the negroes from the south, and the correlating problems of farm labor and agricultural development, particularly as applied to Georgia.

Of especial interest is the communication bearing on the migration of negroes and its effect upon farm labor by J. T. Holleman, president of the Southern Mortgage company, who is perhaps as familiar with the economic conditions of farmers as any man in the state.

He believes the negro exodus question, the boll weevil menace and all of the many economic ills that crowd upon the rural sections, will be solved if Canadian and northwestern farmers, or good white farmers from any other states, are brought into Georgia to occupy the thousands of idle and tenant farms that are now unproductive, and thus to a marked degree obstructing the farm progress of the state.

There is no argument as to the correctness of this position. There are over 200,000 tenant farmers in Georgia, and in 1922 35 per cent of them changed—either moved from one place to another, or left the rural communities and drifted to the cities. Such an unrest, even if the economic principle of tenancy could be defended, is compelled to retard farm progress, and to seriously disturb the labor balances of the rural communities.

Georgia needs not only to invite the white farmer of other states to come into the state, but to systematically inaugurate a campaign to that end, and to offer legitimate but attractive inducements, statutory and otherwise, for them to come.

And the time to make such a strike is now, when the agricultural conditions are necessarily undergoing readjustments due to the boll weevil.

Heretofore farmers from Canada and from the northwest have not been attracted to the state because they regarded it as almost wholly a cotton, or one-crop, state, and they knew nothing about the production of cotton.

That Georgia is proving, by example, that it can meet and surpass opportunities in other states for the production of live stock, and particularly dairy products, and other money crops, should be conveyed intelligently and convincingly to the white farmers of other states, so that they may know that the advantages of climate are supplemented by commercial farm opportunities second to no section on the North American continent.

In Wisconsin, where the per capita farm wealth is at the top, the opportunities for successful dairying are not half so good as in Georgia, for there the milch cows are necessarily kept in feed barns almost six months in the year. That necessity is obviated in Georgia, and there is not a red hill in the state that cannot be converted into as fine a perennial pasture as any like area in Wisconsin. That is not merely a statement, but can be proven by less than two hours' ride from Atlanta. At Covington the Lunsford pastures are the most remarkable demonstrations of the possibilities in that respect to be found in the south. These pastures were at one time making one-fourth of a bale of cotton to the acre at best. Today they produce $50 in beef cattle alone annually to the acre, and without one dollar of expense for labor or cultivation. The pastures are simply harvesting, for their owner, wealth from the seeds of opportunity that were intelligently sown. The same opportunities present themselves in every county in the state.

Again, lands in Georgia can be acquired at much smaller costs than in most other states. There are one million farmers from the United States in Canada—men who paid large prices for their lands in order to grow wheat seven months in the year, and spend the proceeds on purchased fuel to keep from freezing the other five months.

What Georgia needs is to systematically tell the northwestern farmer just what opportunities, the year around, there are here, and then help him get here, and get satisfactorily and successfully established. It must be done by group action, and by forceful and resourceful endeavor, and not merely by hit-or-miss methods that get no where.

Mr. Holleman's suggestions ought to be heeded. They will go far toward relieving many of the present troubles, and among them the problem of the negro migration.

The Georgia association, and its system of balanced agriculture, is working along this line. It needs every encouragement. Wilkes county, through the Washington Kiwanis club, is preparing to go after the white farmer from other states, and make it worth his while to move to Wilkes and to enter actively into the productivity of that county. Just such movements, properly organized and financed, should be undertaken by every rural county in the state.

As to the negro migration, Dr. D. D. Crawford, secretary general of the Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia, hits the nail on the head in a communication on this page: "There is no race problem except in the mind of the politicians," he says; "it is a human problem, and we should approach it with humanity in mind."

Certainly it is a human and not a race problem. There is no race problem in the south. The Georgia negro is not seeking social equality, nor political equality. He is seeking human justice, and the fair treatment that one human deserves to accord another. So long as his labor and his deportment deserve proper compensation to adequately feed and clothe his family, and to live in comfort, he is entitled to it; and he is entitled, in "the game of life, to an equal chance."

The negro is making a mistake to leave the south, as every deep and sincere thinker among them recognizes and counsels.

Due to immigration shortage the industries of the north have lured him with the promises of larger wages, and he has not stopped to count the costs in living, and in meeting all of the essentials which the south supplies in abundance and with little or no costs. He doesn't think of the menace of disease from congestion in summer, and from cold in winter.

These facts ought to be brought clearly to him in the light of reason, and of economic facts, and not as a frothy bid for him to stay in which he has no patience and less confidence.

Treat him fairly and justly, and demand of him, as a human, not as a brute, the same treatment. The result will be a closer understanding, and a better economic condition.

Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee institute, in a letter to the editor of The Manufacturers' Record, which is reproduced on this page, takes the same view, and he very aptly says "this can be worked out without sacrificing the south's highest standards and best traditions."

And both are right!

DEVISE PLANS AGAINST EXODUS OF NEGROES

(Savannah Morning News)

Albany, Ga., May 23rd.—A mass meeting sponsored by a number of the most prominent Negro citizens of this section will be held in Albany Thursday night to consider the Negro exodus. Announced several days ago, interest in the meeting has grown steadily, and it is attracting a good deal of attention.

Both white and colored men will be one the program, though the appeal will be especially to Negroes and those who are undecided between remaining South and going North will be asked to attend and consider certain facts which are to be presented. There will also be an appeal to the white people who are friendly to the Negroes to insist that the latter get a squarer deal here—in courts, in schools, in the care of those sections of towns in which Negroes have their homes, etc.

The prominent Negroes sponsoring the meeting believe the best interests of their race are in the South. They do not believe the Negroes who have gone North to work will be permanently satisfied there, as they will be the first to be thrown out of employment the minute there is a let up of industrial activity and there are more men than there are jobs. They are already hearing from Negroes who are not satisfied with conditions they find in Northern industrial centers, and are desirous of returning to Georgia.

But it is anticipated that in the course of the meeting opportunity will be taken to impress the white friends of the Negro race the fact that a great deal can be done to make the black man's position in the South more tolerable. For Negro leaders do not hesitate to say that it is the promise of fairer treatment North than he gets South that is proving the strongest argument to draw the Negro away from this section.

Thursday night's meeting will be held in the Supreme Circle hall, the property of a Negro fraternal society and one of the largest auditoriums in this part of the state.

Southern Labor Problem

It is an interesting fact that those engaged in the large manufacturing interests of the country are the ones who are complaining most about the shortage of unskilled labor, and demanding that the immigration restriction laws be amended, and that the American Federation of Labor and its groups are against any such letting down of the bars. Judge Elbert H. Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation has found it necessary to modify his demand for more cheap labor because of the drastic criticism of his position, and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, of Howard University has pointed out to Judge Gary that there is plenty of unskilled Afro-American labor in the Southern States which he can draw upon, native to the soil and uncontaminated by the sort of civil and economic heresies that appear to be the weakness of the sort of foreign labor we have been getting of recent years, and which has been giving the country so much trouble by the obtrusion of its radical ideas. The New York *World* has the following to say of the Southern Labor Problem, based upon the steady migration from the South of its unskilled labor:

Some indication of the magnitude of the Negro migration from South to North may be gained from the report of the Department of Agriculture that 13 per cent., or 32,000 of the Negro

farm-hands of Georgia have come North during the last year. The movement is continuous and growing, and though Georgia is losing a much larger proportion of her laborers than any other State, the exodus is not a local or temporary affair. Every Southern community is affected.

From the point of view of the Negro there is every reason for moving North. Farm wages are low everywhere; they are lowest of all in the South. Socially and politically the Negro enjoys much more freedom in the North. Added to these incentives to change are the discontent of returned colored troops with traditional living conditions, the breakdown of the contract-labor system, recent crop failures and general agricultural bankruptcy. On the whole, the wonder is that the Negro did not walk out long ago.

But if the South allows the emigration to proceed it will wake at some not far distant date to discover that there is nobody left to work the plantations. The whole economic structure of the South has rested upon a class of unskilled labor which is rapidly getting out from under. Not socially, economically or politically has the South made it worth while for the Negro to remain.

No, "Not socially, economically or politically has the South made it worth while for the Negro to remain," and "the wonder is that the Negro did not walk out long ago." He did not do so because of two very good reasons: He did not know how and he could not, because local laws and public opinion restrained him from doing so, and so constrain him now in many States, those who would recruit such labor for service outside the State now having to procure a license and pay a fee of some $3,000, as at Savannah. In many districts railroad agents will not sell tickets to colored persons desiring to leave the district. But the World War broke down most of the barriers and opened the way to get out, and it is harder to put up than to keep up such barriers when once they have been thrown down.

The JOURNAL AND GUIDE still maintains that it will be better in the long run for Afro-Americans to remain in the South when conditions have not become too unbearable to do so, and that Southern white people stand in their own light and prejudice their own interests when they do not so treat and safeguard the interests of their workers as to make them feel secure in their lives, property and earnings. The new white population the South is receiving, in replacement of the migrants, will demand a readjustment of the one-sided political domination that has prevailed since 1876, and a radical recasting of the wage and working rules which now give most to the employer and store keeper and little to the wage worker and store customer. This much is written on the wall, and has already begun to bore in and make itself felt.

NEGRO FARMERS REMAIN IN TEXAS; MIGRATION LIGHT

They Go to Cities, But Usually Return; U. S. Survey Shows

The past year has had no appreciable movement of negroes from the cotton sections of Texas to the industrial sections of the North, according to a report given out Monday by H. H. Schutz, agricultural statistician. The report is based on the opinion of several hundred correspondents.

Many negroes have left Texas during the past five years to go to Oklahoma, Kansas and California, the report shows, but recently quite a number have returned.

In spite of the fact that negro farm population has shifted for 20 years, present figures show an increase of 12 per cent in the number of farms operated by negroes. In 1910 the number was 69,918, in 1920 there were 78,784. In the same period there was an increase of 1.7 per cent in the number of farms operated by whites, an increase of 3.6 per cent in those operated by tenants and an increase of 5.7 per cent in those operated by managers. In many cases, Mr. Schutz reports, the movement of whites to towns is more noticeable than the movement of negroes.

"The increase of negroes in the towns and cities has been noticeable in the last few years," the report concludes. "The higher wages obtainable have attracted the more enterprising of the younger generation, but in many instances the migration is only temporary, the negroes returning to the farm after a short experience. Mexicans are replacing the negro in ever increasing numbers in practically all sections of the State. This year, with a promise of a fair price for cotton, there is a noticeable trend of negroes back to the farms."

DR. S. B. INNIS ON THE LABOR PROBLEM

Troy Negro Thinks His People Should Think Before Leaving South

Dr. S. B. Innis, well known colored physicial of Troy, who was in Montgomery yesterday, is deeply interested in the question of negro migration from Alabama and other states of the South.

"While many negroes are leaving Alabama farms, their places in many instances are being filled by others, and in many instances those who take the places of the migratory negroes are more proficient and ambitious as farm laborers," says Dr. Innis.

He believes that notwithstanding the temporary higher level of wages for industrial labor in the north, the negro should be slow to leave the South where he is understood, appreciated and generally at peace with his white friends. He believes that the Southern white man and the negro get on better together than the latter can get on with white men anywhere else, while wages are high in the big industial centers now, he wonders who is going to stand by the negro laborer when hard times come again, and men are let off by the thousands. Somehow, someway, the negro always gets along in hard times down South.

Innis is a student of the labor question. He is official medical examiner for a big Southern negro life insurance company; his work on the state board of health V. D. department is well known, while his answers to Judge Henry Clayton on his naturalization examination some years ago, which received extensive publicity at the time, will long be remembered.

Innis says that the prospect for success among colored farmers in southeast Alabama this year is extremely bright.

LOUISIANA LABOR PROBLEM SERIOUS

State Commissioner Declares Vigilance Committees May Act Against Recruiting Agents.

(BY ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

Baton Rouge, La., May 31.—Vigilance committees sooner or later will take the situation in their own hands if something is not done to curb the activities of labor agents who are sending laborers out of Louisiana in large numbers, F. E. Wood, state commissioner of labor, declared today in a communication to Governor Parker, asking the assistance of the executive in a campaign to drive the agents from the state.

"If nothing is to be accomplished by the efforts of this department through legal channels or for lack of assistance on the part of others," Mr. Wood wrote the governor, "sooner or later somebody will take the 'bull by the horns' and protect themselves against these violators, and this regardless of consequences. Already I hear talk of 'vigilance committees' and the price labor agents will pay."

The commissioners declared the agents were shipping all classes of common and semi-skilled labor, especially negro laborers, from the state in violation of a state law.

INDIANAPOLIS IND NEWS
MAY 19, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION

Negroes resident in southern states have acquired a mobility for labor purposes that they formerly did not have. Service in the world war took thousands overseas, and, thus uprooted from an environment of sunshine and cotton, they learned much of a world outside and its possible opportunities. Industrial production on a large scale that followed the conflict, designed to supply goods, the output of which had been curtailed by war's necessities, aided in completing the colored man's changed economic status. Having once left his traditional home successfully, he was less averse to come north to work in factories at high wages. He saw himself in a new light and he had achieved an adaptability to changed conditions that he previously had not possessed.

Recent months have witnessed a series of complaints from the south that renewed business expansion is taking negroes from farms to manufacturing centers in large numbers. Governor Parker, of Louisiana, says that one railroad has carried away "since November more than 55,000 laborers from the delta lands of Mississippi and Louisiana." The president of the American Cotton Association complains to the department of agriculture that a survey shows thousands of negroes employed in northern industrial plants at a wage far in excess of the southern field worker's average. Georgia says that a representative county in that state has lost one-third of its negro population through emigration to the north.

It is easy to sympathize with the south, or with any section of the country that finds itself facing a dwindling labor supply that it had believed it could count on. Yet the right of any individual to take advantage of what he regards as a better opportunity also must be granted. With the best spirit, it might be suggested that an overabundant supply of cheap and satisfactory labor is not the best thing for any region and that it has not been so for the south. Its presence has not been an incentive to the introduction of labor-saving machinery or the development of more effective methods, especially on farms. Neither has it aided crop diversification, making for employment of a smaller number of workers continually, since the planter felt assured of all the labor needed for cotton, his staple, at planting and picking time, regardless of how large the acreage.

Perhaps the south has been drained too much of its labor supply on plantations, but it has not been the only sufferer from the movement to manufacturing centers, as Indiana and other northern states can testify. If the northern farmer has been better able to meet the condition it is due largely to a greater reliance on machinery and a system of crops that permits the utilization of less man power over a longer period. A more normal balance between manufacturing and agriculture may be expected to come, but the present effects of a depleted farm labor supply carry a lesson in efficient management that should not be missed.

Labor — 1923 II

Migration Movement

years.

Forsyth County.

Cumming, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Not a single negro has resided in Forsyth county in many years, therefore there have been none here to migrate to other sections.

Habersham County.

Clarkesville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There are very few negroes in Habersham county, and, according to all sources of information, none have left here for other sections of the country in the past year.

Towns County.

Hiawasse, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There is not a negro in Towns county, and none have lived here in many years.

Union County.

Blairsville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—In this county we only have about 50 negroes, of all sorts and sizes. None of the race has left us in the past few years. All of them appear to be fully satisfied and contented and are at peace with everybody. They behave themselves, and, as a rule, do just as little work as possible.

Cherokee County.

Canton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Careful investigation discloses the fact that the negro population of this county has increased during the past year. Four or five months ago there was an influx of Washington county negroes to this county.

Lumpkin County.

Dahlonega, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year.

Rabun County.

Clayton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year. Very few live here, but these seem perfectly satisfied.

Banks County.

Homer, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—The exodus from this county has been on the increase for the past 18 months. Most of the negroes say that after the failure of their cotton crop they were unable to secure work in this section and were forced to move to the industrial centers in order to live. Some have blamed the klan for the exodus, but, while little is known here of that organization, it is not believed to be responsible in any way for almost as many of the higher type white people have moved away as negroes and because of boll weevil ravages.

Stephens County

Toccoa, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes have left this section in the past 12 months.

Dawson County.

Dawsonville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have lived in this county in approximately ten

Pickens County.

Jasper, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negro farmers live in this county, and the few who are here are marble workers at Tate and Nelson. None have moved away in recent years, in fact, a large number have moved in from other sections of the state.

Jackson County.

Jefferson, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Approximately 500 negroes have left here in the past year for points in North Carolina, Ohio, Washington, D. C., and Illinois, where they have secured employment on public works and in the industrial centers. Two conditions are blamed for this exodus, the ravages of the boll weevil and the presence of the Ku Klux Klan. According to one local doctor, the negroes became frightened after a parade by the klan several months ago. A vast majority of the people, however, blame the boll weevil. They say the negroes will not use calcium arsenate, and that it is impossible to make cotton without its use. With farming in the county practically at a standstill, the negroes are forced to go elsewhere in search of employment.

Tenth District.

Jefferson County.

Louisville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Not more than 200 negroes have left this county in the past year. Of this number, many have returned. The cause for their departure can be given in two words, "boll weevil," with the consequent poverty on the farms resulting therefrom. The negro population of this county is so large that the number who have gone is very small in proportion to the number left.

Wilkinson County.

Irwinton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only about 30 or 40 negroes have left this county in the past 12 months. Most of these have left because of boll weevil conditions, and $5 a day is the minimum wage in certain Detroit plants. Whenever a negro violates a law, he immediately leaves to avoid the sheriff.

Lincoln County.

Lincolnton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only about 100 negro families have left this county during the past year, and many of those who left have returned, prefering the good treatment accorded them here to conditions in other sections of the county. The reason for the departure was the failure of the cotton crop due to the boll weevil. The lumber industry in the county is booming at the present time, and many negroes from other counties are moving here and finding employment.

Warren County.

Warrenton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes have left this county in the past year, possibly a few more than in other years because of boll weevil conditions. There is no scarcity of negro labor here.

Taliaferro County.

Crawfordsville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—The exodus of negroes from this county during the past year has not been as great as in some other sections, only about 200 having left. Ravages of the boll weevil have made farming conditions here very unfavorable. However, many of those who left are returning, while others have written back trying to make arrangements for farms for this year.

Columbia County.

Appling, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Fully 70 per cent of the negro population of this county have migrated to other sections during the past year, and they still are leaving. Farming no longer is a paying business for them under boll weevil conditions. Promises by labor agents of high wages and "social equality," coming directly after wholesale crop failures, is the cause. The N. A. A. C. P. also is blamed.

Richmond County.

Augusta, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There has been no exodus of negroes from this county, according to Sheriff Tom Plunkett, himself a successful farmer. In fact, many negroes have moved in from other sections.

Hancock County.

Sparta, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—More than 600 negroes have deserted the farms in this county in the past year and have gone to the cities of the north and east, where it has been reported they can make high wages. About 20 per cent of those who leave return if they can get their old places on the farms back again. The exodus here cannot be blamed on anything but the ravages of the boll weevil.

Baldwin County.

Milledgeville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Many negroes have left here in the past five years for points in the north and east. The movement started immediately after the war, and has greatly increased with the ravages of the boll weevil. "Mob violence, K. K. K. scare and injustices are, of course, contributing causes," according to one local physician.

Eleventh District.

Cook County.

Ada., Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 100 negroes have left this county in the past 12 months, according to information obtained from the railroads, schools and churches. Their reason for leaving is that the farmers are in such poor condition they can not afford to pay them, while wages in cities in other sections are reported to be good.

Berrien County.

Nashville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year for other sections of the country.

Echols County.

Statenville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes are leaving this part of the state.

Atkinson County.

Pearson, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—This section has not lost any negroes in the past year.

Bacon County.

Alma, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes live in this county, and as far as can be learned, none of them have left here during the past year.

Lanier County.

Milltown, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only about ten or twelve negro families have moved away from this county in the past year. Some have gone to Florida, some to the north and east, while others have moved to nearby towns. Their sole reason for leaving has been the better demand for labor and the higher wages paid elsewhere.

Camden County.

St. Mary's, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have moved away from this county in the past 12 months. Most of those here own their homes and seem to make a good living and to be contented.

Appling County.

Baxley, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county.

Ware County.

Waycross, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Ware county has a very small negro population in comparison with other counties in central and northern parts of the state, and from information obtained from school and church records, very few of these have left the county during the past year.

Twelfth District.

Houston County.

Fort Valley, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes have left this county in recent months. Conditions are much better than they were a year ago. Tenants on farms in this county made more cotton and received a better price for it in 1922 than in 1921, and having produced a good yield of corn they seem greatly encouraged and are very hopeful over the outlook for 1923.

Laurens County.

Dublin, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Many negroes have left this county in the past 12 months. These negroes are migrating because cotton is the only crop they can produce successfully in the south, and under boll weevil conditions they cannot do that, because it requires more scientific farming than they are capable of doing.

Pulaski County.

Hawkinsville, Ga., February 3.—(Special).—During the past year there has been no noticeable exodus of negroes from this county.

Wheeler County.

Alamo, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—A few of the Wheeler county negroes have left here in recent months, in search of the "pot of gold at the end of the rainbow" described to them by the wiley-tongued labor agents. Most of those who have left are writing back to their white friends for assistance in getting [illegible] to dear old Wheeler county." Some already are back, and the others will be as soon as they can.

Telfair County.

McRae, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left here in the past year. In fact, the turpentine industry has drawn some here from other sections.

LEAVING THE SOUTH:

For the past several months hundreds of our people have been weekly leaving the state for other places mainly east, north and west. They are mostly from the rural districts with some from the towns and cities wherever there has been race friction as happened last fall in Macon. After the Macon trouble the city was depopulated by many hundreds of its colored people. A number from the rural districts have removed to the cities and larger towns of the state where they can receive better protection and school facilities.

The question has been frequently asked "Why are the colored people leaving the South in such large numbers?" Varied reasons have been given, but the main cause is being avoided and those in authority are failing to understand it, or intimate that they do not so understand. The State Commissioner of Labor states that labor agents are the cause of fomenting fear in the minds of the people in the rural districts by posting notices ordering them to depart and leaving insignias of coffins, cross bones and skulls, etc. It is true that notices have been used, but it can not be successfully charged to labor agents. This has, long before the idea of migrating north was conceived, been going on and the various state and local authorities have paid a deaf ear to it. Not only have these things been done, but the people have been illtreated, beaten, mutilated, lynched and burned, and nothing ever done to apprehend the perpetrators. Due credit is given to the recent spasmodic efforts in that direction. Along with the dastardly deeds named above gross advantage has been taken of the ignorant tenants on many of the plantations. These accumulated wrongs of years' duration are the causes of such large numbers of our people leaving for places they know not of, but believing that these new places can be no worse than the ones from which they are leaving. It is about time for the thoughtful white people of the

NEGROES GO NORTH

EUFAULA, ALA., Feb. [illegible]—Thirteen tickets were sold here to negroes going to northern points Thursday, five to Cleveland, O., seven to Johnstown, Pa., and one to Pittsburg, Pa. Now that spring is near at hand many more are said to be planning to go to northern points. Most of those going north are negro men and local housewives are hopeful that at least the "cook lady" and washerwoman will be content with their native heath.

state, and those in authority in both state and local government to understand this fact and take some steps whereby the great wrongs that have been inflicted for years can be stopped, and assurances of proper protection and better school facilities given. These are mainly what the people want, and until they can get proper assurance, they will continue to leave.

A leading Southern daily looks with favor on the exodus, claiming that the South will be able to secure white immigrants in large numbers. In this they will be mistaken. Organized efforts have been made to secure these immigrants, but were not successful because of the lawless reputation of this section. The peasant class among the whites are as aversed to bad treatment as the colored people, and beside that these immigrants can secure better pay for their labor in other sections of the country.

The following recent occurrence in Mitchell county is only a mild sample of what has been going on for years, causing the present migration fever and the adverse feeling of white laborers or farm help coming South: Two big mobs in the last two nights took out people in the Baconton neighborhood in Mitchell county, sixteen miles from Albany.

"The first attack occurred Tuesday night when a party of white men called at the home of Timothy Wilson a Negro, on the Gill Grove pecan place and beat up his wife and children. According to the Negro woman's story the attackers, who were not masked, asked for her husband, and when she informed them that he was not at home, they beat her and the children so severely that they required the services of a physician to dress their wounds. None of the members of the party were recognized.

"Last night a similar party of white men, also unmasked, called on Bob Davis, a white man, at his home on the Jackson Supply Company's place, and gave him a severe beating. Davis also failed to recognize any of his attackers."

MIGRATION SWELLS NORTHERN PAYROLL

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Iron and Steel Industries Leading Bidders for Negro Labor, Says Department of Labor

2-9-23

GEORGIA LOSES MOST

Still Larger Numbers Will Move Northward Next Spring It Is Believed

Washington, D. C., Feb. 6—A movement of Negro unskilled labor from the South to northern industrial centers considered rather remarkable for winter months, was announced today by James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, as the result of an investigation by Phil. H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation in that department. This is the first gesture toward a northern shift of this class of workers that has been noticeable since the War, when the labor famine was met by their inclusion; but the present movement is in no manner widespread or considered general like the previous one.

Payrolls of a number of districts in northern and central western industrial points are being slightly swelled by the employments of these workers who come directly from southern states, with Georgia yielding the greatest number of migrants.

Philadelphia, Pa.; Portmouth, Akron and Youngstown, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wis.; Argo, Ill.; Indiana Harbor, Ind.; and Trenton and Newark, N. J., are specific points into which an appreciable influx of Negro labor has come for absorption into industrial life. A slight increase is noted in Chicago, Ill., New York, N. Y., southern Ohio and Illinois points.

Kansas City, Mo., Camden, N. J., and Detroit, Mich., show no increase in the number of Negro workers; while several districts show a very slight decline in the use of Negro labor.

In general, however, continued migration from the South is indicated, with a slowly increasing absorption of Negro labor by northern industry just as rapidly as its increased output is demanded.

In this connection, the iron and steel industry continues to lead in its demands for Negro labor, with meat-packing, glass, transportation, food production, etc., closely following; and the probability is great that a wider entrance than ever before, so far as specific occupations and types of employment are concerned, will eventually result from this growing movement of labor.

The most significant phase of the movement is that it obtains in face of a reluctance of this labor to drift northward in winter, and the suggestion prevails that the Spring will bring larger numbers, providing the industrial demands prevail.

Colored People Leave Farms in Large Numbers

New York News

2-3-23

White Merchants Fear Business Depression—Say That the Labor of Colored People Is Indispensable

ORANGEBURG, S. C., Feb. 1.—Sometimes our people leave these sections of the South and there is no open objection because there are so many left behind to fill their places. Not so in this "berg." This is a great cotton region for a small place, and most all of the farm tenants and share croppers made practically no cotton this year, but instead they have been making preparations to migrate to the North, and the general exodus began last week.

Most of the men and their families said that they were going to Philadelphia and Cleveland. A small number said that they were bound for New York and Chicago. All of them have sufficient collateral to tide them over until they find employment. The streets on Saturday are deserted and the local merchants are "singing the blues."

A local merchant and farmer here told newspaper men that the matter is becoming very serious. Those people are good workers and better adapted to the farms than we are. He referred to them as "children of the sun," and said that it is expected that most of the farm lands will lay idle next year unless we can procure colored people from other sources.

Although there has been no lynching here, there is, on the contrary, a good bit of prejudice and wages are very low. One man, a six-footer, said that the colored farmers were getting such low prices for their crop that they decided not to make cotton unless in return they receive enough money to support their families. On the other hand, the white planters and merchants are very prosperous and do very little work.

RURAL SOUTH IS FAST LOSING IN POPULATION, AGRONOMIST DECLARES

Commercial Appeal

750,000 Quit Agricultural Fields in Few Years

2-7-23

STATE OF UNREST NOTED

Tennessee Savant Delivers Chief Parley Address.

MAYOR GREETS DELEGATES

Fourteen Sectional Conferences of Triple Convention Get Under Way as Visitors Arrive From Fifteen States to Consider Education and Farm Problems. Many Noted Experts Here From Washington.

TODAY'S PROGRAMME.

General session of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers in the Hotel Chisca auditorium at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. Topic, "Cotton Production Problems."

Conference of executives of universities and agricultural colleges of the south at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

Conference of extension workers from southern states at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. at Hotel Gayoso. General session at 4 p.m.

Judge Robert W. Bingham, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, and W. H. Beal, U. S. department of agriculture, Washington, will deliver addresses at 7:45 p.m., in the Hotel Chisca auditorium.

C. E. Brehm, chairman, will conduct a conference on agricultural extension work at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. at Hotel Gayoso.

Miss Mary E. Cresswell, chairman, will meet with the committee on home demonstration work at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. at Hotel Gayoso.

W. C. Abbott will preside at meetings of the club extension work committee at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. at Hotel Gayoso.

Soil and crops conference, John R. Fain, chairman, at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

Animal husband and live stock conference, E. S. Good, chairman, at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

Extension committee of the agricultural association will meet at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca, J. Phil Campbell, chairman.

Horticultural conference, M. Hull, chairman, meets at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

Entomologists of the cotton states, W. E. Hinds, chairman, will meet at Hotel Chisca at 2 p.m.

The Phytopathological Society, H. W. Barre, chairman, and J. J. Taubenhaus, secretary, will meet at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

A special nitrogen conference will take place in connection with the soil and crops parley at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

E. J. Kile, chairman, will meet with the resident teachers at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

The Dairy Science Association, C. W. Holdaway, chairman, and J. A. Gamble, secretary, will meet at 2 p.m. at Hotel Chisca.

Lure of the metropolis has drained the rural South of 750,000 population within the last few years, according to C. A. Mooers, president of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers and noted Tennessee agronomist, who delivered the annual address yesterday when about 250 delegates assembled in the auditorium of Hotel Chisca.

"Our rural population, which constitutes 75 per cent of the total, is in a state of unrest and of more or less dissatisfaction," he declared. "These things are attributable in part to conditions brought about by the world war, but we must not overlook other active causes."

The speaker explained that cotton, like corn and many other crops, is not a soil improver. On the contrary, it brings about soil impoverishment.

"With a suitable climate and soil, with an adequate supply of labor and a product in demand the world over, yielding more profit to the acre than any or all other crops, and at the same time a crop that could be raised with a few simple implements," he declared, "the logical outcome was not only mass production of cotton and a farm equipment of buildings, implements and work stock suited to little else, but also an equally inflexible commercial and credit system.

Sudden Change Impossible.

"Thus, in the course of generations, the system as a whole becomes so interwoven in the affairs of the people as to render practically impossible any sudden radical change. We may even say that fundamentally the system cannot be changed, for it is the basic things that produces our economic life. It would be false, however, to say that no change is taking place. Three-fourths of a million people, it is estimated, have left the South within the last few years."

Mr. Mooers, who is vice director of the Tennessee experiment station at Knoxville, went on to say that the situation in the cotton states is, in various ways, cast in a radically different mold from that of any other part of the country.

"Cotton," he said, "is the one crop, but cotton farming is no more like corn farming than either fed on the farm to hogs,

Labor—1923 I

Migration Movement

No Alarming Exodus Of Georgia Negroes, State Survey Shows

Reports That Negroes Have Been Leaving for North in Large Numbers Prove Erroneous.

INROADS OF WEEVIL LARGELY RESPONSIBLE

Lawless Activities of Small Irresponsible Element a Contributing Cause, Say Some Correspondents.

Atlanta Constitution 2/4/23

BY JAMES A. HOLLOMON.

The general impression prevails that the negro exodus from the south, and particularly from Georgia, has reached such an alarming state that farm labor conditions are seriously disorganized, and the tendency has become a menace that must be met as one of the economic problems confronting this section. 2/4/23

This opinion is prevailing in the north and east to no small degree by reason of numerous newspaper articles sent out by southern correspondents and seized upon by editorial writers to accentuate an alleged social as well as economic problem in the south: and too frequently with criticisms directed at the south for its alleged "treatment of the negro," the whole question being made to revolve around an alleged wave of mob law existing in this section, etc. Atlanta Ga.

Irresponsible Element.

That there is an irresponsible element in Georgia bringing disrepute upon the state by reason of lawless activities there is no mistake, and the sooner these conditions are met through the strong arm of constituted authority the better for the state, and for its reputation abroad.

In this connection a communication is published in the compilation below from D. D. Crawford, corresponding secretary of the General Missionary Baptist convention, and a negro of intelligence and reputable standing, calling attention to his phase of the situation, and to the further claim that many white people are not showing the interest and cooperation in promoting the welfare of the race that is essential in keeping the negroes satisfied, and in a restful, helpful condition.

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in what this correspondent has written, and it is a situation that certainly cannot be condoned, and demands the serious thought and the active interest of every white citizen who wants to promote the proper kind of industrial relations between the races.

No Alarming Exodus.

That no alarming negro exodus is taking place, however, through this incentive, or through any industrial or economic condition peculiar to Georgia, or to the southeast, is clearly proven by reports to The Constitution from practically every county in the state, these reports having been based upon careful, painstaking and impartial surveys made by its correspondents in the respective county seats.

The Constitution in asking for these surveys and reports upon the same sought only the truth, in the interest of fairness and justice, and primarily for the news value that the truth regarding alleged negro exodus from various sections of the state necessarily must show.

Summarizing the reports it is shown that in the first district, where the colored population is perhaps heavier in proportion to whites than in any other section, only in Burke county, in which the colored population has been far in excess, normally, of the white, has the negro exodus shown up to any appreciable extent.

In the second district Mitchell, Worth and Early have all experienced a more than negligible exodus of negroes, due entirely to the ravages of the boll weevil, and to the inability of farmers to pay wages that measure up to the promises of recruiting agents who have been sent into Georgia from the industrial centers of the north and east.

In the third district, Macon is the only county reporting any serious exodus, due to the small wages paid to farm labor, and to the enticing promises of recruiting agents from the north.

Coweta and Meriwether report more or less heavy exoduses from those counties in the fourth, due to the boll weevil, and the distressing farm conditions caused thereby.

There has been no appreciable exodus from the fifth district.

In the sixth the exodus seems to have been confined largely to Monroe, Spalding, Henry and Lamar counties, and in all cases the farm conditions produced by boll weevil were largely responsible.

The seventh district has had no negro exodus of any consequence, but in the eighth the movement has been more or less general but to no great extent except in Greene.

Gwinnett and Jackson are the only counties in the ninth reporting any appreciable exodus.

In the tenth Columbia, Hancock and Baldwin report small exodus movements, one physician quoted reporting "mob violence, K. K. K. scare and injustices the contributing factors."

In the eleventh—another south Georgia district—practically no negroes have left for other parts; and in the twelfth Laurens is the only county reporting any marked exodus.

The facts as developed by this survey are that there is not the wholesale emigration of negroes from Georgia to other states, as erroneously reported, and many of those who left are returning, and hundreds of others are anxious to do so and will do so when they have saved sufficiently to do so.

Following is an interesting letter from D. D. Crawford:

Unrest Should Be Checked.

"Editor Constitution: Permit me to acquaint you and your readers with a very serious situation. I refer to the migration of our people and its effect upon economic, industrial, intellectual, moral and religious status of Georgia and the south. At the bottom of this vexing question is the spirit of unrest and many circumstances may be named as the cause of it.

"The public may not know that here in Georgia the negro baptists last year lost 61,606 members from their churches through the emigration movement. Many of our rural churches are practically wrecked and lots of rural communities are practically depopulated. Threatening notices have been placed on our church buildings, school houses and lodge halls in various parts of the state which have proven a serious menace to the economic and industrial condition of these communities. In several counties, school authorities are not dealing justly with our people. White farmers are not showing the interest in, giving assistance to, nor co-operating with negro farmers as they have done in the past. Many of those who molest our people escape unpunished, thereby emboldening them to continue and causing our people to despair of hope for protection.

"Somebody in authority in every county, it occurs to me, should call together the best men of both races and let them work out a plan by which to remedy this evil, if possible.

"We love our homes, our farms, our churches, our friends and in our hearts we desire to live in peace where we are. We all, white and black, have been friends and mutually helpful to each other all our lives, and I see no just cause why this condition should not continue.

"D. D. CRAWFORD,
"Corresponding secretary,
"Gen'l Miss'y Baptist Convention."

Following are reports from counties, compiled by congressional districts:

First District.

Candler County.

Metter, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only about eleven negro families left this county last year for other sections. The reason they gave for leaving was the higher cash wages that are being paid in the cities. Only those living on farms have left here.

Liberty County.

Hinesville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county. In fact, no one leaves what local citizens call "the greatest section in the world." All here are perfectly satisfied.

McIntosh County.

Darien, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county recently. During the war many went to Brunswick and other places where they could get high wages, but most of them have returned. Several shrimp canning plants and saw mills have been started here recently, giving employment to a large number of the old population and bringing many new faces to the county. Most of the negroes here own their own homes.

Chatham County.

Savannah, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past 12 months, according to reliable information.

Burke County.

Waynesboro, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Between 4,000 and 5,000 negroes left this county during 1922, according to county authorities and railroad officials. The reasons for this exodus are the promise of high wages in the north and west, financial depression in this county, and the curtailment of the large cotton acreage.

Long County.

Ludowici, Ga., February 3.—(Special).—There has been no change in the negro population here in the past year, except for births and deaths.

Second District.

Mitchell County.

Camilla, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Because of the activity of labor agents, who promise larger wages and "better social conditions," about 300 negroes have left this county in the past twelve months. According to leaders here, the agricultural interests of this county will suffer if this movement is not checked.

Decatur County.

Bainbridge, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes have left this county in the past year and most of those who have left have returned and seem happy to be "home."

Grady County.

Cairo, Ga., February 3.—(Special.) Only seven or eight families have left this county in the past year for north and east, and these were following relatives who left in the movement three or four years ago. A large number have gone to Florida in the past 12 months, but this has been going on for 15 years, and more than 95 per cent of these return after the fruit and vegetable season is over, often bringing new faces with them. As these never leave here until the local crops are completed, this movement does not worry the farmers in this section.

Thomas County.

Thomasville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—While some of the negro population of this county has gone north the past year, there has been no such exodus of them as has been reported from other counties, and the experience of those who listened to the voice of a self-styled labor agent recently will tend to keep them in Georgia for some time. This slick talker fleeced the negroes of more than $1,000 they had given him to purchase their tickets.

Tifton County.

Tifton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.) No negroes have left this county recently.

Worth County.

Sylvester, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 600 negroes, including men, women and children, have moved from this county in the past year. On account of the boll weevil they are unable to make cotton and can scarcely make a living on the farms. On the other hand they are offered very attractive wages in the industrial centers of the north and east. All of the negroes who have left went from the farms.

Early County.

Blakely, Ga., February 3.—(Special).—About 300 negroes have moved away from this county in the past 12 months. Average farm hands in this county receive $18 per month for their services, while negroes home from the northern industrial centers on short vacations say they make $7 per day and up there. The negroes say the migration is only a matter of making a better living.

Third District.

Clay County.

Fort Gaines, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Clay county has suffered from the migration of approximately 100 negroes during 1922. The negroes give as their reasons for leaving, higher wages in other sections, better housing conditions and better school facilities. Others are planning to leave soon.

Macon County.

Oglethorpe, Ga., February 3.—

(Special.)—Approximately 600 negroes have left this county in the past 12 months, according to local sources of information. The negroes themselves give as their reasons for leaving, first, the poor wages paid farm labor, and second, the absence of proper school facilities.

Schley County.

Ellaville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only 55 negroes moved away from this county in 1922. These left because they could get a better price for their labor in the industrial centers.

Webster County.

Preston, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county since the exodus of three or four years ago, and most of those who left at that time have moved back to their old homes on the farms.

Crisp County.

Cordele, Ga., February 3.—(Special).—Only about 150 negroes have left this county in the past year. All of these blame the financial condition caused by boll weevil ravages for their departure.

Dooly County.

Vienna, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—The so-called "negro exodus," in so far as it affects this county, started in 1917, and was caused by reports of higher wages in the north and east. Conservative estimates places the number who have left since 1917 at 600, this departure caused by the bad condition of the farming industry and the low price of farm labor here. The outward movement now is on the decline.

Ben Hill County.

Fitzgerald, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There has been no noticeable migration of negroes from this county. Farm labor has been plentiful and no effort is reported to have been made to have the negroes leave here, either by force or persuasion.

Fourth District.

Coweta County.

Newnan, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 600 negroes have left this section in the past year, usually for Dayton and other Ohio cities. When one negro leaves he usually writes back to his friends who, like himself, are unable to make a cotton crop under boll weevil conditions, telling them of the high wages that are being paid there.

Meriwether County.

Greenville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—At least five hundred negro families have left this county in the last few months for other points. This exodus is occasioned by their inability to raise cotton under boll weevil conditions, and also because of the drought last summer, which caused such a poor crop of corn. This estimate of the number leaving is considered low, as some sections of the county are without any negro labor. One railroad station in the county reports having sold more than 300 tickets to negroes.

Marion County.

Buena Vista, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There has been no exodus of negroes from this county in the past year.

Harris County.

Hamilton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Owing to timber activities here there has been no migration of either whites or blacks reported.

Muscogee County.

Columbus, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—As this is mainly an industrial community, there has been no appreciable migration of negroes from Muscogee in the past 12 months.

Fifth District.

DeKalb County.

Decatur, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Very few negroes have left this county in the past year, except those who left to escape "the sheriff." The only other reason for their departure is that the boll weevil has made living conditions on the farm extremely bad.

Campbell County.

Fairburn, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year. In fact, because of public works, many have moved in from other counties.

Rockdale County.

Conyers, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There has been no noticeable change in the negro population of this county in the past year.

Fulton County.

Several thousand negroes have left Fulton county in the past few months, according to Hal M. Stanley, state commissioner of labor. He added, however, that this exodus of negro labor does not directly affect Atlanta, inasmuch as a large proportion of the negroes were of the "floater" type, coming here from other sections of the state, staying a few days, and then moving on north. On the other hand, the enrollment in the negro schools of the county has increased in the past year, according to information furnished by Agnes Jones, supervisor of negro schools. When the schools closed in June, 1922, the enrollment was 13,341, and on January 1, 1923, it was 15,052. This would seem to indicate that the negro population in Fulton county has increased.

Sixth District.

Monroe County.

Forsyth, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Approximately 500 negroes have left this county in the past 12 months, according to W. M. Hubbard, negro educator, who bases his estimate on reports from churches and schools in the county. He says, "This exodus is caused solely by the demoralized farming condition in this section caused by the boll weevil." A large number of the better element of white men and boys have gone to other sections where wages are better.

Bibb County.

Macon, Ga., February 3.—(Special.) No negroes have been reported as leaving this county in the past year.

Spalding County.

Griffin, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 20 per cent of the negro population of this county has left for other sections in the past year, according to W. T. Bennett, local county agent. The boll weevil caused great loss to the farmers, and the negroes are going where they can get good wages. It has been claimed in certain circles that this exodus is caused by race troubles in the south, but according to all information these claims are entirely unfounded.

Henry County.

McDonough, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 200 negroes, or about one-fourth of the colored population of the county, left here during 1922, according to reports. This exodus is caused by the boll weevil, which cut the cotton production to one-eighth of the normal production of previous years. The negro leaders of the county are alarmed, as they realize that ultimately this migration will prove bad for the negro. The relations between the races here are good, both working together for the best interest of the county.

Lamar County.

Barnesville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Information from all communities in this county indicates that the negro population has decreased 50 per cent in the past two years, the decrease being greater in 1922 than the previous year. The reason for this migration is their inability to make cotton under boll weevil conditions, while, on the other hand, they can make high wages in the cities.

Butts County.

Jackson, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—The so-called negro exodus, so far as Butts county is concerned, is purely an economic question. Last summer and fall when the negroes saw the cotton crop would be short, and that there were no public works to which they might turn to earn food and clothes to take them through the winter months, they went to the industrial centers. Now, having earned money there to get a new start here, they are returning in droves. By cotton planting time, it is predicted by well-informed authorities, practically every negro who left the county will be back on the firing line, ready to grow cotton and do other farm work. Nearly every train brings back more of them. They are, in most cases, returning to their old homes, many of the land owners having reserved a crop for them. Local business men and officers of the law think the negroes should be commended for going where it is possible to earn an honest living for themselves and families instead of joining the ranks of thieves to get a living. Practicaly as many whites as negroes have left. Most of those who still are away are sending back money to aid those who remained here. The gross earning of this group who left home is more than the total crop values of the county for a year.

Seventh District.

Dade County.

Trenton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—There are very few negroes in this county and none are reported to have left in the past year. All seem to be perfectly satisfied.

Polk County.

Cedartown, Ga., February 3.—(Special)—There are no indications of a recent exodus of negroes from Polk county.

Floyd County.

Rome, Ga., February 3.—(Special.) Very few, if any, negroes have left Floyd county in the past year.

Murray County.

Chatsworth, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year. The total negro population is only about 200.

Chattooga County.

Summerville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year.

Whitfield County.

Dalton, Ga., February 3.—(Special)—This county has experienced no noticeable migration of either whites or negroes, those moving in about balancing the number who have left. The negro population here is not excelled anywhere for industry and deportment, and no trouble ever has been experienced here between the races.

Eighth District.

Walton County.

Monroe, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Between 200 and 250 negroes have moved from this county in the past year. The reason for their departure was the havoc wrought by the boll weevil, which caused a scarcity of farm employment, while wages were promised them in northern cities.

Madison County.

Danielsville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Many negroes have left this county in the past year because there is no work for them and nothing for them to eat. The same holds true among the white people. Many of those who remain are on starvation rations because of the ravages of the boll weevil.

Putnam County.

Eatonton, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Approximately 60 per cent of the negro population of this county has moved away in the past 12 months. The negro cannot raise cotton by himself, and boll weevil conditions make it impossible for the white farmers to house, feed and clothe him.

Clarke County.

Athens, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Many negroes have been reported as leaving this county, but in every case the boll weevil is blamed.

Morgan County.

Madison, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About one-fourth of the negro population of this county has moved away in the past year or fifteen months. They have left because there was no work to be found. This county has made two successive crop failures, due to a rainy spring season and the ravages of the boll weevil. Cotton is the money crop here and only about 1,000 bales were made in 1922, as compared with 30,000 to 35,000 in normal years. A great majority of the farms "laid out" last year and the negroes had to leave in search of employment elsewhere.

Greene County.

Greensboro, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 1,000 negroes, counting men, women and children, have left this county during the past year. This migration was forced on them because the cotton crop was cut about 90 per cent by the ravages of the boll weevil. The lumber industry in the county is beginning to boom, restoring normalcy. Many of those who left with the crop failure now are returning to work in this new industry.

Oglethorpe County.

Lexington, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Between 200 and 300 negroes have left this county during the past 12 months. The fact that there is nothing here with which to pay wages is the cause for this migration.

Franklin County.

Carnesville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Only about 200 negroes, of all sizes and ages, have left this county within the past year. The reason for this migration is the boll weevil destroying the cotton crop, while good cash wages are paid elsewhere. As one prominent attorney expressed it: "We have no negro troubles in this county, and, while the majority of the population is made up of whites, we have many negroes. The migration is not a racial question in this county, but purely one that has grown out of the boll weevil. However, the people of this section think that the inter-racial gang in Atlanta and elsewhere over the south is sowing seeds of discontent, which, if permitted to continue, will cause strife between the races."

Hart County.

Hartwell, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Approximately 200 negroes have moved away from this county in the past year, according to information in the hands of Superior Court Judge Walter L. Hodges. The reason for their departure is given as the lack of employment locally and the inducement of high wages in the cities north of here.

Newton County.

Covington, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—About 500 negroes have left this county in the past year. They have gone because neither the land owners nor the merchants are in a position to furnish them with supplies, because of ravages of the boll weevil. The negroes are able to earn good wages in the cities of the north.

Ninth District.

Milton County.

Alpharetta, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county. In fact, some have moved in from middle Georgia, though not in large numbers.

Gwinnett County.

Lawrenceville, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—Between three and four hundred negroes have left this county in the past year. These have left because they could earn better wages elsewhere than is possible on a farm under present conditions.

Fannin County.

Blue Ridge, Ga., February 3.—(Special.)—No negroes have left this county in the past year. The negro population here is not more than 100, and they all appear to be contented.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

NEGRO MIGRATION REMEDIES SHOWN BY RACE LEADERS

Address to Legislature and to White People of Georgia Issued at Conference Held Here.

Declaring that the negroes as a race do not desire to leave Georgia and the south, and asserting that the remedy for the conditions which are causing his present migration to other parts of the country is in the hands of the white man, a state-wide conference of colored leaders Wednesday addressed a communication setting forth their chief grievances, to the legislature and the people of Georgia.

The meeting, which was called by a committee of leading colored citizens of Atlanta and the state, was attended by between five and six hundred of the most thoughtful and leading spirits of the negro race in Georgia.

Bishop J. S. Flipper, of the A. M. E. church, of Atlanta, presided and W. A. Bell, of Atlanta, was elected secretary. Subscriptions of approximately $100 were collected to defray the expenses of printing the address for distribution among the legislators, and for other expenses incident to the gathering.

Condition, Not Theory.

Bishop Flipper, in his opening address, declared that the white man, as well as the negro, in Georgia, is confronted with a condition and not a theory. While declaring that he was opposed to the migration of the negro, believing that Georgia was the greatest state of them all, in which to live, he did believe that the negro ought to have the right to scatter to all parts of the union.

"I do not believe," said Bishop Flipper, "in pleading my case in Chicago, or Detroit or any other northern city, while my judge and jury are in the south." He then asserted that the negro does not ask the passage of any more legislation, or of any special laws for his benefit, but that all he asks is that the laws now on the statute books be fairly enforced.

The negro, if he is to stay in the south, asks only equal protection of life and property and equal justice in the courts, he said. This, asserted Bishop Flipper, he is not given now. "Nevertheless," he said, "the remedy is in the hands of the white man, and he could put it into effect before sunrise if he would."

"Social Equality" Called "Bugaboo."

All speakers at the meeting united in branding "social equality" and "negro supremacy" as bugaboos created by political demagogues for their own selfish ends, and declared that the negro, as a race, had never sought such things. It was stated that 45 per cent. of the population of Georgia is colored, and the reason for the troubles and inequalities of the negro were all laid to the "effort to conduct a democracy with a large proportion of the population barred from politics."

All negroes were urged to exercise their right to vote whenever they could establish such right under the Georgia law.

It was also urged that the legislature pass an anti-lynching law, several speakers stating that they would rather see such a law on the state statutes, than have it passed by the federal government, because they believed it would be better enforced under state rule.

In the address, which was adopted to be sent to the members of the legislature, and which it proposed to put before as many residents of the state as possible, the evils under which the negro says that he is laboring in Georgia, and which are cited as the causes for his migration away from the state, are given as follows:

Causes of Migration.

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for negro children.

Poor accommodations for negroes when traveling.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.

Mob violence.

Educational Facilities.

In connection with the lack of educational facilities for negroes in Georgia, it was pointed out that out of $750,000 spent by the state for higher education, only $15,000 goes to negro institutions. Speakers declared that the young people of the race, whose ambitions drove them to seek higher education, were compelled to leave the state, if they were to secure the training they desired.

It was stated that one of the greatest needs of Georgia today is that of agricultural training schools for negro farmers. "How," asked the speakers, "can the negro farmer practice that diversification of crops which the white man tells us will save him from the poverty of boll-weevil cotton, when he has been trained to raise cotton and nothing else, and when there is no place to which he can go to learn other kinds of farming?"

Address Signed.

The address, which was drawn up by a special committee and then read to the entire meeting and adopted unanimously, was signed by the following:

Rev. R. S. Williams, D.D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D.D., LL.D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D.D., Ph.D., Bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A.M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D.D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Indiana High school, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday School department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

Address to Legislature.

The address in full is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia: Greetings: We, the undersigned representatives of 45 per cent of our state population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously endowed this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our southern states. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our state, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and this condition may continue for a longer period that either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for colored people than our own southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last 50 years may be greatly retarded and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if the conditions to which we are about to refer could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away might return.

On these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy them, if you are willing so to do.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION.

Economic.

Thousands of colored people, as well as white, because of the ravages of the boll weevil on cotton, which is the economic mainstay of the south, are without means of earning a living. This condition would not be so calamitous but for the fact that the colored people do not know and practice diversified farming. No real effort has been made to teach them practical diversification on the farms. The basis of our rural financial operation is built mainly on cotton production. No credit machinery is provided to initiate, propagate and sustain diversified farming.

The financial powers are directing their attention mainly to the solution of the same problem, as it affects the economic condition of the white farmers in the rural communities. The resources that are available are not sufficient to meet the needs of both colored and white farmers, and discrimination has been shown in the distribution of relief.

Better Wages.

We recognize quite thoroughly that it is not possible in an agricultural section like ours, under boll weevil and other unfavorable conditions, for the farmers of Georgia to fully meet the high wages offered by the manufacturing centers in the northern states; that lack of markets for the articles produced and the inadequate marketing system of our section make such wages prohibitive on the part of the Georgia farmer.

We are as thoroughly convinced, however, that it is possible for the Georgia farmer to pay a wage much more nearly commensurate to the labor that he requires, than is now paid; and those who have an intimate knowledge of the scanty means of existence which a large majority of the rural negro population receives from the landlord, are convinced that the high cost of living makes his stay on the farm all but prohibitive.

Poor Housing Conditions.

Another is the poor housing conditions. In our cities, the closely crowded tenements with poor sewerage, streets and lights, make it most uncomfortable for the people who are forced to live there. In our rural communities, the shanties grouped together in quarters on the plantations, without light or paint, or places for privacy, are not only uncomfortable, but are prolific breeders of diseases, immorality and crime, which in turn, have a baneful effect upon the efficiency of the laborers. In our judgment, no wiser investment could be made than that which would provide for our colored communities, homes that would at least be in a measure comfortable, which would in the very nature of things, increase the self-respect of the inmates and greatly improve the character and quality of the services which the landlord would receive.

A third is the method of supervising the farms in many of our rural communities. A very large proportion of the agricultural interest is owned by landlords who live in the cities and small towns, and who leave the care of the farm in the hands of overseers. These overesers, in most cases, have absolutely no interests in these laborers, excepting the amount of work they can extract from them by long hours and hard driving. Many of them are known to lend encouragement to gambling, whisky making, adultery and crooked living in general, as a means of holding his labor on the farm under the threat of the law, if said laborer should choose to withdraw.

What is needed on these farms is not overseers, but captains of industry, who become the leaders of the laborers whom they supervise, and who take an interest in their home life; seeing that they are kept clean and healthy; who are concerned about their religious life, making it possible for them to attend church on Sundays and thus to be lead into higher thinking, rather than allowed to loiter about the plantations and spend the Holy day in riotous living; leaders who would insist upon it, as far as possible, that the laborer should become interested in his own economic welfare, and instructed how to save some of what he earns while times are good, for a rainy day, thereby relieving the landlord of the financial burden that is so commonly felt under the present system of management.

Educationally.

Inadequate provisions for the education of colored children is also a very strong incentive to migration. Although we are 50 years removed from the beginning of the public school system in Georgia, four-fifths of all the public schools for colored are taught in churches and lodge halls, with absolutely no equipment whatever to aid the teachers in imparting the instructions which they are supposed to give. In many of them, there is not a sign of a blackboard, nor a single desk, to say nothing of maps, charts, etc., while the public schools of the white people are equipped with the necessary apparatus essential to modern ideas in education, at the expense of a public school fund. Nine-tenths of these rural colored schools are taught by teachers who have never completed as much as a first rate, eighth grade grammar school course, and who know absolutely nothing of the advantages of a normal school training, such as is necessary to prepare people for the holy task of developing the human mind. The salary of these teachers in many instances is smaller than the wages of the plowhands laboring on the same plantations.

As to high school education, aside from a few teachers' training schools, made possible by the philanthroy of Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, there are less than a dozen junior high schools for colored youths, and only one for a four-year course, while there are more than one hundred for whites.

Although the negro performs 75 per cent of the agricultural labor in our state, there is not a single first-class agricultural school for colored people in Georgia, and only three of any kind, and these receive such small appropriations that improvement upon what they are now doing is practically impossible; while there are twelve for whites, one in each congressional district, aside from the state agricultural college.

We recognize the fact that even the schools for white people are receiving altogether too small an appropriation, that our state university, colleges and technical institutions for whites are themselves suffering immensely from the lack of funds to do the work which is absolutely needed, but we do not consider these facts sufficient grounds for those who have in charge the distribution of the funds appropriated, to divert practically all of the funds for these colleges to those for whites to the almost complete neglect of those for negroes. For instance, out of an appropriation of $750,000 to this higher educational work, $735,000 was appropriated to the whites against $15,000 to the colored. How does this $15,000 for the higher education of colored people in Georgia appear compared to the North Carolina appropriation of $1,250,000; Louisiana, $500,000; Mississippi, $400,000; Texas, $500,000, and Virginia, $750,000?

We also believe, as the records in other states prove, that the public school interest for colored people in Georgia would be greatly enhanced if our state authorities would appoint an upstanding, high-toned, well-prepared colored supervisor, whose office and labors would be under the supervision of our state superintendent of education. Georgia, with her boundless resources, surpassing most of the southern states, cannot honorably plead poverty as an excuse for her failure adequately to care for and nurture the educational interests of any part of her citizens.

Socially.

Accommodations for travel are a constant menace to every self-respecting colored person who boards our passenger trains. It is not unusual to find the coach provided for colored passengers to be at the same time the baggage car, mail car, the butcher's booth and the conductor's desk, where our wives and daughters are frequently subjected to the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered.

Unequal Law Enforcement.

Very few things have contributed more to the present unrest among the colored people and to induce them to seek shelter in other sections than the inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law. Too often he is made to feel that law was designed solely for his punishment, but not for his protection, along with other citizens. His life is too cheap in Georgia. In practically every instance of personal difficulties between a white man and a colored man, the colored man alone must suffer. If he strikes in necessary

defense of himself or habitation is invariably suffers the extreme penalty of the law, if perchance he escapes the fury of the mob. If his life is taken by an individual white man, the coroner's jury invariably denominates it justifiable homicide. If his life is taken by a mob, even in broad daylight, it is always found that he came to his death at the hands of parties unknown. This inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law can be remedied if those empowered with the authority of government would observe the oaths that they have taken to administer the law with justice and impartiality.

Labor Contract Law.

Unskilled colored labor in Georgia has suffered grievously by the operation of the iniquitous contract law. Under the guise of this law, colored laborers have been held in a state of involuntary servitude, for long periods of time, subjected to corporal punishment, murdered with impunity, confined to certain restricted quarters, their down-sitting and uprising being as closely guarded as in the days of legal slavery, from all of which conditions and cruelties he has often been wholly unable to escape.

We urge the repeal of this law in order that heartless landlords may no longer have apparent legal leave and sanction in their trampling upon the constitutional right of the laborer to be rewarded for his honest toil.

Mob Violence.

Our greatest disturbance, however, is the open defiance of our laws in the form of mob violence. The most disturbing menace of all evils which we now suffer is the menace of the mob. No influence has done more to drive colored people away from the state, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our state, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of colored labor here, than the influence of the mob. In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe over night; and unless checked, it is bound to become a cancer to gnaw away the vitals and destroy the usefulness of one of the most richly endowed states of the union.

The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization. This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary, would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us. We desire for ourselves and our children because of our blood sacrifices, our self-denial and our toil for Georgia and our country, to feel that the immortal Declaration of Independence written by the illustrious Thomas Jefferson and others is the foundation upon which Georgia's civilization rests, and that the words set forth by it are really and truly the basis upon which all the people are to work out our future well-being.

Cause.

The cause of most of the trouble to which we have above referred lies in the fundamental error of attempting to run a democracy without all the people. The leaving of 45 per cent of the population of Georgia out of its government affairs, in our judgment, is largely responsible for the one-sided program which the state is operating, and the neglect that the colored people now sustain.

In a democracy, one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours, has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of the ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show that as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the white people among whom we have lived for three centuries. We lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good white people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scarecrow "social equality" and "negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the colored man in the governmental affairs in our state, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the white group to the end that the white man of big business and of big business capacity, may also be eliminated from the politics of the state, and the government left to the mercies of their rapacious ambition. How well they are succeeding, let the laws of the statute books and the conditions of our state government tell.

We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality or desire for negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood this test, let the pens of your own illustrious worthies and the tongue of your own immoral Grady tell.

Record of Patriotism.

We, their sons and daughters, modestly though proudly, boast that we are "Chips off the old block." Our record of patriotism is common knowledge to all, and we only covet a fair chance to serve in the largest possible way, our fellowmen.

It is written that "Man shall not live by bread alone." We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest effort in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be—the best and most beautiful of all the states in the union. If you deny us this, and insist upon it, that we must continue our existence under the injustices which we have so much and so patiently endured, then we are frank to declare that it were better for us, however sacred and enchanting the old home and church ground, however strong the ties that bind us to our good white friends of the south, of whom we know we have by far a larger number than have yet declared themselves in public, to leave these friends with a prayer of God's blessings upon them and to leave these homes, and these churches and whatever little earthly possessions we have accumulated within these years, to the ravages of fate and as a "rendezvous for the owls and the bats," while we go forth empty handed to seek some spot upon this earth, where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," we challenge you and await your answer.

NEGRO HEGIRA SEEKING JUSTICE IN THE NORTH

Firms Employing Laborers Best Proof of Workers' Worth

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—I am a Negro who knows the Negro thoroughly in all phases of life, for I was born in South Carolina and labored fifty years in the "black belt." In my county, Beaufort, there are more than sixteen Negroes to every white. In that district there has never been a riot or a case of midnight assassination of a white person or the outrage of a white woman by a Negro since emancipation.

Therefore I write to thank you sincerely for having given space from time to time to those who are writing *pro* and *con* about the Negro exodus from the South.

Dr. Max Barber's summary of the causes of the Negro exodus published June 10 is self-evident; but if any one doubts it, I beg he investigate.

In your Sunday edition of June 17 Dr. W. R. Watson warns people of Philadelphia against the Negro exodus, saying:

First. "The worst element of the Negro race is coming here."

Second. "As a matter of fact, the North is sitting on a volcano."

Third. "The South considers herself fortunate in getting rid of the Negro element moving North."

Fourth. "That they will be treated just like the whites and that they think more of that treatment than high wages."

Now please permit me to answer the above statements of this ex-Southern doctor. In answer to the first: The element that has come to Philadelphia is the equal of any race in the low strata of labor.

The Negro laborer who is coming here is kindly, industrious, reliable, law-abiding, peaceful and has great interest in the success of the man for whom he is working. If these facts are doubted, ask the Baldwin Locomotive Works about their Negro labor, the Westinghouse Company, the Navy Yard, the shipbuilding yards; ask the contractors, ask the P. R. T., ask the people of the railway systems, ask the restaurants and the business houses; last, but the most important, go into the white homes where Negro servants are employed. The answer will be that 90 per cent of the Negroes are faithful to the trust confided in them. The worst element of the Negro race is not leaving the South. Those who have come are an average of the good, industrious Negro.

The doctor says "the North is sitting on a volcano." Why so? Because a few hopeful, industrious Negroes have come up here?

In a recent number of the Manufacturers' Journal, Mr. Davis, a member of Mr. Harding's Cabinet, says "that in the last fifty years more than 8,000,000 immigrants from Europe who are below the average of American citizenship have come to America." They have infested the large Northern cities. Yet this great Government has assimilated them, controlled them, punished them when necessary and has made good citizens out of most of them. Then why should any of us say that because 100,000 Negroes who are loyal, patriotic, industrious, have come into our midst, they have brought with them a volcano of destruction?

Third. Unless Dr. Watson regards every Negro who breaks away from peonage, or every Negro who seeks a market for his labor, the worst element of the Negro race, he is in error. In addition to the great labor element, there are farm-owning Negroes who have come here and purchased homes all over Philadelphia. There are skilled laborers, mechanics, bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, plumbers, workers in metal, cabinetmakers, business men, builders and contractors, real estate agents, dentists, druggists, doctors and lawyers. The Negroes who have come here are an inestimable asset to this great city instead of a volcano. They are real producers of wealth and are conservative, law-abiding citizens.

There is not a county in any one of the Southern States, where the Negroes are the mainstay of industry, but that the white people are united in doing everything in their power (except giving the Negro a fair deal) to keep the Negro from leaving the South.

Fourth. The cause of the Pilgrim Fathers leaving Europe, the cause of the Dutchman settling New Amsterdam, the cause of Penn landing and settling upon the Delaware, are the prime causes for the Negro leaving the South. He sees an opening for him to stand up as a man, to work and be paid as a man, to live and be protected under the laws as a man. He is here, with his patriotism and his labor, to sell his labor in the best market and to live under the law, knowing that he will be protected by the law, in his property, his manhood rights and free from the fear of "Judge Lynch."

The acts and the worth of the high born are heralded in print and by voice to all mankind; but it is seldom that the mud sill of society, the poor laborer, white and black, ever has a printed page or voice to advertise his true worth.

THOMAS E. MILLER, LL. D.,
Former Member Congress from the Seventh District of South Carolina.
Philadelphia, June 23, 1923.

NASHVILLE TENN. BANNER
APRIL 27, 1923

NEGROES NORTHWARD.

Another exodus of Negroes from Southern fields to Northern factories is taking place. The United States Department of Agriculture has just completed a survey which indicates that the farm labor supply in the cotton states is being rather seriously depleted.

The survey shows that 324,000 persons, including Negro farm workers, their wives and children, have left the farms in the South Atlantic states alone. Georgia is said to have lost 13 per cent of all its Negro farm hands, and practically all of this 32,000 have moved, not only away from the farms but out of the state. South Carolina lost 23,000, which, however, is only 3 per cent of its Negro population. The movement from Alabama and Arkansas was about the same. Louisiana lost only about 1 per cent, while Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Missouri and Oklahoma sustained comparatively slight losses.

Taking the South as a whole, the exodus is not as serious as it seems. The figures do not take into account the Negroes who have gone North, failed to find what they were looking for and came back. The net losses would be considerably smaller if the return movement were considered.

In some of the states further South and East, notably Georgia, the situation is becoming a bit serious. The added seriousness of the situation there is probably almost wholly due to boll weevil depredations. A great many Negro tenants in Georgia and South Carolina have been on starvation for the past year and a half. Their cotton was almost entirely destroyed both last year and the year before.

The seriousness to Georgia lies in this fact: The great bulk of the Piedmont land is thin, produces comparatively little cotton to the acre, and none except Negro tenants will farm it. When they go, those lands will remain uncultivated, at least so far as cotton is concerned. It means, what the Banner has more than once predicted, that the Piedmont must go out of cotton production. And there is a big problem in what will be found to take its place. Two more years of Negro exodus such as Georgia has had during the past twelve months will pretty definitely put that state out of the cotton production.

Even in South Carolina, where only 3 per cent of the Negroes have gone from the farms, a period of a few years will so reduce the supply of farm labor that the whole agricultural system will have to be revamped—unless, of course, additional farm labor comes to the South from other countries, and that is not a likely occurrence.

Tennessee has not lost enough of its Negroes to worry about, and it will pick up probably more than it has lost from the states further South. Good cotton crops were made in this state last year. New lands, particularly in Middle Tennessee, will be planted to cotton this year. For a good while, if not forever, we will not be greatly injured by the boll weevil.

But, even so, Tennessee is face to face with a readjustment of its agricultural system. The coming of cotton as an important crop in the middle section makes that inevitable.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

NASHVILLE T. LUMBERMAN
APRIL 28, 1923

Negro Labor Should Stay in South

ONE OF THE GREATEST social menaces is the officious busy-body, with a warped sense of philanthropy, who spends his time trying to help somebody who doesn't need any help and doesn't want any help. The negroes of the South have suffered especially from the ministrations of these amateur philanthropists, whose vagaries take various directions but who always proceed on the erroneous assumption that the negro in the South is unhappy and oppressed. As a matter of fact, of course, the South is the natural habitat of the negro; and although there are occasional instances of mistreatment by superiors, it may be taken as a general rule that the negro is better off here than he is in the North. His habits are understood here, his deficiencies are tolerated, both whites and blacks understand each other and the status of the two races, and he is never subjected to the terror of the bloody race riots which too frequently flare up where negroes in numbers are thrown in contact with unfamiliar white people.

Now comes one Emmet J. Scott, secretary of the Howard University of Washington, D. C., who has given out to the Associated Press a statement to the effect that large employers of labor in the North need fear no trouble from a labor shortage resulting from restricted immigration as there are eight million negroes in the South available to supply the deficiency "if plans are undertaken on a large and important scale to transport them to the centers where their services are needed." He goes on to say that they "are tied to a one-crop system and oppressed by economic conditions that hinder and prevent their fullest development and the fullest enjoyment of American citizenship." This last fling is, as anyone knows who is familiar with the truth, an entirely gratuitious misstatement of conditions in the South; but, nevertheless, such propaganda has its effect, especially on the impressionable negroes.

Negroes are born train-riders anyhow, and they fall an easy prey to the agent who comes among them with glittering promises of the pot of gold at the Northern end of the rainbow. Our idea is that anyone who comes South with any plans "on a large and important scale to transport them to the centers where their services are needed" should be met with vigorous legislation looking to the prevention of any such wholesale deportation. The South needs its negro labor; it needs them on the farms and in the sawmills and logging operations. Southern employers are accustomed to handling such labor, and do not want them replaced with the foreign labor which is imported into the Northern industrial states. Agitators should be prevented from sowing their seeds of discontent and promoting an exodus of the negroes from this section.

John M. Gibbs, secretary of the North Carolina Pine Association, has promptly taken official notice of Mr. Scott's outburst in the press as above-noted, and has indited to Mr. Scott a pointed letter asking him a few pertinent questions. Mr. Gibbs' action is to be commended, but we predict that he will receive little satisfaction from Mr. Scott, whose letter shows so plainly how little he knows concerning the subject he is attempting to discuss. But maybe Mr. Gibbs' letter might have the effect of causing Mr. Scott really to investigate the matter, and if he makes such an investigation and has the mental capacity to assimilate the facts he may refrain from releasing any more such interviews.

It is unfortunate that there should be such continued efforts to entice the negro away from his natural place in the South. We of the South need him, and he needs us. Fifty years of experience has shown that we can live together side by side, two separate races, in peace, amity and understanding. Why should misguided agitators be permitted to break down a satisfactory social and economic system and substitute for it an impractical and destructive arrangement? By all means let the negro stay in the South where he belongs.

MAY 17 1923

THE WHITE MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Kipling touched close upon immortality when he wrote that matchless poem, "The White Man's Burden." He referred especially to the relations of the races in India and other British possessions, but every word he wrote applies with equal force to the white man in every clime. It applies to the white man and the negro in the South. Here, the race question will never be settled until the white man is aroused to a sense of his responsibility toward the negro, and the negro's welfare.

Were the two races on an equal footing, the responsibility of the white man would be coequal; as the situation stands, the responsibility lies alone upon the white man's shoulders. For the white man has absolute control of the Government, local and State. The negro is free, but he has no voice in the Government under which he lives, and no control over the expenditure of the money he pays in taxes. The white man cannot assume control without also assuming responsibility. That is true, in individual concerns, in private and public business, and in government. The negro in the South is under the absolute control of the white man, therefore, the white man is responsible for the negro's well-being. This is a fact inescapable. We would not have conditions otherwise than as they stand, but this we know, that there will be no settlement of the race question until there comes to the white man a broader vision of his duty and responsibility, and through this a realization that on him, and on his wisdom and sense of justice, the adjustment of the differences between the races depends.

On the present negro exodus, under the head, "Fairness to the Black Man," the Albany Herald says this, which so well expresses our own opinion, that we reproduce it:

It is well enough for those who resent the efforts of labor agents to induce Southern negro laborers to move to the industrial centers of the North not to overlook the fact that one of the most persuasive arguments the agents employ in appealing to prospective emigrants is that "up North you will get a square deal."

It is begging the question to say that the Southern negro who goes North will not get a square deal there. That is unquestionably true, as all but those with very short memories are aware. Many industrious negroes who have gone North have found that it is true, but those who have not gone are still undeceived.

But it is a fact that the promise of fairer treatment in another section of the country than he receives in the South is what entices the average colored emigrant away from his home and friends. It is not alone the promise of higher wages than influences him. He knows it will cost him very much more to live in a Northern industrial community than it costs in the South. He knows also that wages are steadily rising in the South, owing to the growing demand for labor, and that his earning capacity in this section will be greater in the years ahead than it has ever been.

But the promise of fair treatment in all things appeals to the colored man in the South. Let no Southern white man dodge the issue by contending that the negro always gets a square deal here. He doesn't, and he knows it. And his white neighbor knows it. It is well enough to look these things square in the face, and for the negro's real friends in the South to be more insistent that he get justice always; that he receive fair reward for his labor; that he be given better schools for his chlidren; that his sections of the towns and cities be kept cleaner, and that his living conditions generally be improved.

A great many more industrious negroes are preferring to remain in the South than join the northward movement. They are making a wise choice which they will not regret. But let the white man in the South, who fixes all standards in this section, see to it that the colored man and his family who are thus deliberately choosing to remain in the section where their fathers were born and raised get the square deal that's due them.

It is not simply fairness to the negro that demands these things. It is fairness also to the white man. As he is the arbiter of all Southern standards; as he is master in the South; as he is to decree what shall and shall not be in government, in business, in industry, in education, in civic righteousness and commercial progress, let it never be said that he denied his responsibility and shirked his plain duty.

For the white people of the South can never be fair to themselves if they are unfair to the negro.

Inviting the Migrant to Stay Home

The movement of migrants from the Southern States and the shortage in farm and other labor caused by it is not only beginning to be felt acutely by employers but is waking them to a realization that something must be done. All sorts of makeshifts are being resorted to in order to discourage the migrants from leaving. Down in the Mississippi Valley States many voices are being lifted up, some of them strange in their changed attitude, among them the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, the most important daily newspaper in the Southwest and one of the most outspoken in its opposition to any policy favorable to the full manhood and citizen rights of the Afro-American people. In a recent issue it carries a leading editorial on the migrant question, in which among other things it says:

"A decent, God-fearing Negro in the south will find a better chance for his children here than he will in the north.

"Where in any other place in the United States does the Negro get a better break than he does in Memphis? Where is there a better chance for him anywhere else than there is in this Memphis territory?

"Here and there Negroes have been robbed and they have been exploited. This business is stopping. It does not pay in the long run. The next place, the Negro is becoming more intelligent, but, more than all, a majority of the white people in any community frown on such a procedure.

"The COMMERCIAL APPEAL during its long history has never attempted to deceive Negroes. It does not take much stock in the old sentiment about the old mammies and old uncles. It has never condoned a lynching and never will; the lynching of a white man and the lynching of a Negro are violations of the law, and when any group of men start out to do something that is unlawful they do a harm to the republic which, if persisted in, will destroy it. The COMMERCIAL APPEAL believes that a Negro under the law should have his rights, he should have the property that he earns. Down here we believe that he is coming into these things."

This is a real "Strut, Miss Lizzie" argument, coming from the *Commercial Appeal*. In an article in the same paper Mr. Scott Bond, of Arkansas, just across the line from Memphis, the most successful farmer and speculator in land and cotton we have, says:

"The right of a citizen to go where he pleases, and come when he likes, or to follow the avocation of his choice is not questioned.

"This southland should be a very paradise, and would be if all the people of all the races would get together in a harmonious movement to make it so. No class can go up without in a measure elevating all other classes. Nor can any class be held down without requiring much of the power of the dominant class to do the holding; thus augmenting the loss to all.

"We are going to get what we want by being better farmers, better mechanics, better laborers, better merchants, better preachers, better doctors, better teachers, in short, being better in every way than at any time in the past.

"The man who wins victory in the face of discouragement, who wrings his triumphs from the hands of adversity is the man who will be remembered when the quitter is forgotten.

"Let's go to it with a will and prove by our steady progress that the Negro should not leave the land that he has helped to clear and make habitable."

Rev. Ad Wimbs, editor of the *Cotton Farmer*, at Scott, Boliver county, Miss., an Afro-American thinker of light and leading, in a strong article on the migrant movement, directs attention to the fact that when several years ago a concerted movement was made to supplant black for white labor in the South, Southern employers stood by our people and resisted the movement successfully, and he concludes his article with the following:

"Where a man has good credit and the chance to make a living, he had better be careful as to how he listens to and heeds the siren songs of the industrial interests. After all there are no pockets in shrouds. Our people as a whole are cotton and corn raisers and ill adapted to the axacting life of the steel mills, coal mines, blast furnaces and such like and the strenuous life incident to the grind of the large cities. The average man that remains on the cotton farms in the long run will be the better off. Better look well before you leap."

Pleading with the migrants not to leave the South, or to return after they have done so, is an entirely new thing under the sun and it should produce good results, even though the movement may not be stayed.

ONE NEGRO'S "MIGRATION."

New Orleans Times-Picayune.

The current negro migration gives point and timeliness to the story of an earlier, one-man migration, related by the Columbia, S. C., State. Thirteen years ago one Charlie Hubbard, a South Carolina negro farmer, got the "movin' fever." Seeking counsel of a white friend, he was advised to stay in South Carolina, but to look about for a bit of cheap land which he might buy on easy terms and go to farming for himself. Charlie, wiser than his generation, took the advice. He found a badly run-down farm in another part of the state, bought it "cheap" and "on time" and went to work.

A writer on the Columbia paper, hearing the story of this migration, visited Charlie's farm the other day. He found a comfortable farm house screened and piped for water, half a dozen solidly built barns and storehouses, a fine collection of farm implements, well cared for, Jersey cows, full-blooded hogs, a cane mill, abundant supplies of syrup, and four bales of 1921 cotton, still unsold. Wire fences enclosed the fields. In brief, during the thirteen years elapsed since his migration, Charlie has paid out his land, provided a better than average farm equipment and is "sitting pretty." Incidentally he has "raised" thirteen children—and only one of these has caught the northward "migration" fever.

How many of the negroes of Charlie's type lured northward by the prevailing fever, will do as well as he has done? Charlie may have been exceptionally dowered in the way of illigence and common sense; but opportunities such as he had the wit to seize and the grit to improve offer to the industrious, decent negro far more abundantly in the South than in the North.

The "Emperor Jones" Exodus.

They are coming out of marsh lands and out of hill country, from sunkissed fields of waving green and white, from valleys alongside the great river whose mystery stirs their primitive imaginations, from cool retreats deep set in niches of primeval nature, where the nights are vocal with a thousand heard and dreamed of voices—they, simple children as they are, are coming forth to go they hardly know where. From afar they have heard a strange call of magic wonder. In their minds there is a vague alluring picture of great cities with all their myriad comforts but half imagined, of fabulous wealth and small labor, of peace and honors, and of a la flowing with milk and honey, painted there by the crafty hand designing exploiters. And toward that voice with that entrancing ima upon their brain these children are setting forth upon what will be for the majority of them but a sad adventure.

For all there has been a great deal of advancement and progress over the equatorial primitiveness of their ancestors. Out of thousands of years of life close to nature and to nature's creatures in their elemental beings these children have come into the glory of a civilization that was building for ages, while the only concern of their race was to take life from its primeval surroundings. Small wonder, then, that a simple faith and fluttered imagination should be the heritage of the transplanted members of the race, and small wonder that there could happen what happened in Arkansas the other day. The sight that is pictured from our neighboring state of the hundreds of negroes waiting on the railroad platform for the conveyance that was to bear them to the rainbow's end is one that is familiarly significant in this day of northward hegiras.

There they were, with their red bandana bags, their paper suit cases and their longing looks into the distance for the train that never came. They had paid all the way from $2 to $10 for a passage into the promised land. Some did not care where they were going. All they desired was a ride away somewhere into the distance and strangeness. All day they waited. Then, when the shades of night began to creep over the scene, they betook themselves along their several paths back to the familiar places where the breezes could whisper of the wonderland and every creature of field or forest would speak a tongue they could interpret in their various ways.

Beyond a ride and a change, it can hardly be said they were disappointed. In real truth, they are the lucky rather than the unlucky ones of the new exodus. The real unfortunates are the "Emperors Jones," who are fleeing through the jungles of civilization with every known and imagined terror in pursuit. No one has expressed better than Eugene O'Neill the nameless fears and agonies that beset the African nature when in strange lands and amidst unusual surroundings. Those who have gone can still hear the familiar drums beating in their ears. Around and around in the tropical darkness they will stumble and stagger, going much but getting nowhere. Cold and hunger, disappointment and misunderstanding, loneliness and regret in terrorizing shapes will look out at them from office building windows, as from mythical tree limbs, and from the density of crowded centers will come weird and terrorizing noises.

But on they will go, just as the self-anointed emperor went, doubling on their own tracks in a great circle until at the end they drop at about the very spot where they began. Then and not until then, will the familiar drums cease to beat.

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement

THE TREND OF THE NEGRO NORTH.

Savannah Journal
4-7-23

The history of the State of Georgia might be wrapped in a little ball and that ball labelled, "Savannah." For it is hereabout that the most thrilling scenes enacted in colonial days had birth. It was here that the "good roads" project was first begun. To reach with some degree of comfort the Old Midway Church, a highway was built that led out from the vicinity of Lincoln street and terminated at or near the historic old church. It is needless to recount other important incidents which laid the bases of the history and the prosperity of the state and of Savannah of today, for every school child is well acquainted with these things and with the characters whose fertile minds evolved these movements of history and progress.

But why this reference, may be asked. The answer is that the Savannah Morning News, one of the most conservatve and constructive of great southern dailies has led off in a course of argument with relation to and in connection with a very, very vital subject, one that touches the very foundation of industrial life of the city and the state and it comes forth with a reasonable argument. In one of its issues of the week, it discusses the question of immigration, taking as a theme the agents who are active in carrying laborers away from the city. It says that in spite of increased wakes offered by factories and the like they are unable to secure labor sufficient to keep these industries going. It furthter states that if this practice is kept up it will become necessary that the city lecy prohibitory license in order to prevent the constant and incessant drain upon the labor supply of th city. Other cities and the entire state will be forced, finally, to talk and to act in like manner.

Of course, the Morning News did not say that it did not want the colored labor to go. It was not necessary. It tacidly admitted it however, when it spoke of offers of increased pay. It is a dull diplomat who is not able to say things without actually "saying the thing." One need not always shoot directly at the object he intends to kill; so the editor shot or threatened to shoot at the agent to break the trend. It is plainy a case of—

"All in a row, bend the bow,
Shoot at the pigeon and kill the crow."

Somehow, we are inclined to favor the position taken by the Morning News. We do not care to have so many of our people go away from the land of their nativity. It seems to us, evil forbodes it. It strikes us that if there ever comes a flood of emigrants and the labor supply at the North becomes greater than the demand, the whole question will dwindle down to one of personal selection and in our mind, it is not by far a mooted question as to which class of laborers will be selected. A throw-down then for the Negro will mean terrible disaster and an increased death rate; a change of base and the consequent inconviences and privation contingent thereto.

On the other hand, the South ought to awake to the urgent need of changed conditions. It should think just as the Savannah Mornnig News has thought and should act just as that great paper states the large interests of the city have acted. There should be called a great labor convention and all of the employers of the state should unite and fix a living wage scale; should agree to make the farms of the state safe places to live upon. They should vote to increase the school appropriations and institute a fight for better living conditions for tenants. The South with these changes wuold indeed be the place for the Negro and no force on earth could carry him away.

There is ample unworked territory here and the earth smiles a sunny welcome to labor. Here, one has only to scratch the bosom of mother earth and she smiles back abundant returns in commodities for the effort. The rippling streams laugh a pleasant melody the year around as they wind along their narrow ways. They never wear a coat of ice and flowers grow almost perpetually upon their banks. Here the rustci tunes of swain and lasses send adrift on the breezes the richest rhythms of vocal sounds which serve as morning mattens and prelude to repose. The South is indeed, a hallowed spot if it were possible to remove a blot that brings down criticism upon it and upon this great and glorious nation or ours.

LEADERS CANNOT KEEP LABOR FROM COMING TO THE NORTH

Mayors Of Mississippi Towns Appeal To Colored Ministers In Vain

SCOTT WRITES STEEL HEAD

Says South Can Spare 8,000,000 To Stop Labor Shortage

Meridian, Miss., April 26.—Reaction seems to be setting in on the white farmers of this section who have been robbing colored farmers for the past fifty years. In every city and town the Mayor and leading white men are appealing to ministers and leaders of our group to stem the tide of the exodus which is now in full swing. The appeal seems to be falling on deaf ears as far as our group is concerned, and the whites are getting desperate. Negroes are packing up their belongings day and night and railroads are forced to add additional cars to the regular trains in order to accommodate them.

A white farmer in Essequenna County is said to have offered his farm hands their pay at the end of each day if they would not leave him. This offer failed to halt the colored brothers who seemed to be bent on draining the South of its colored labor.

As a result of the exodus to the North, more than one half of the farm land and cane in this section is idle and unless labor is secured the South is sure to go into bankruptcy.

The "State" commenting on the situation, says that "it is generally accepted as a fact that at the present time the whites outnumber the Negroes in South Carolina. This condition has not existed heretofore in perhaps a century. It was brought about largely by the migration of the Negro from the state."

The reports all tell of a shortage of common and farm labor, with some points asserting that often help cannot be obtained at any price.

Scott Writes Steel Head

Washington, D. C., April 20.—Eight million Negroes in the South are available to supply any labor deficiency in the industrial regions of the country. Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Howard University, so said in a telegram sent to E. H. Gary, white, of the United States Steel Corporation.

These Negroes, the telegram said, are in a position to remedy conditions Mr. Gary had asserted were due to the Restrictive Immigration law, if plans are undertaken on a large scale to transfer them to the centers where their services are needed.

"They are tied to a one crop system and oppressed by economic conditions that hinder and prevent their fullest development in the enjoyment of the fullest American citizenship," the "Telegram" said. "They possess strong bodies, and have a real patriotic attachment to American institutions.

"It seems unnecessary to look t foreign shores to supply any labo shortage that may exist in Ameri can industries when there is such a large and sympathetic group within reach."

N Y C POST
APRIL 25, 1923

5,000 Negro Laborers Migrate From North Carolina

RALEIGH, N. C., April 26.—Migration of more than 5,000 unskilled negro laborers to Richmond and Baltimore, from North Carolina during the past week has necessifated the shutting down of more than fifty highway construction projects, according to a statement to-day by State Highway Commission officials.

Promises of practically double the usual wage scale here for common labor by employment agents have induced the negroes to migrate, it was said.

APRIL 24, 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

Some indication of the magnitude of the Negro migration from South to North may be gained from the report of the Department of Agriculture that 13 per cent., or 32,000, of the Negro farm-hands of Georgia have come North during the last year. The movement is continuous and growing, and though Georgia is losing a much larger proportion of her laborers than any other State, the exodus is not a local or temporary affair. Every Southern community is affected.

From the point of view of the Negro there is every reason for moving North. Farm wages are low everywhere; they are lowest of all in the South. Socially and politically the Negro enjoys much more freedom in the North. Added to these incentives to change are the discontent of returned colored troops with traditional living conditions, the breakdown of the contract-labor system, recent crop failures and general agricultural bankruptcy. On the whole, the wonder is that the Negro did not walk out long ago.

But if the South allows the emigration to proceed it will wake at some not far distant date to discover that there is nobody left to work the plantations. The whole economic structure of the South has rested upon a class of unskilled labor which is rapidly getting out from under. Not socially, economically or politically has the South made it worth while for the Negro to remain.

SAVANNAH GA. Press.

MAR 9 1923

NEGROES GOING NORTH.

THE tendency of Southern negroes to go North in answer to the representations of labor agents is unfortunate. It is bad for the negro himself. He does not know what he is going to confront. The adverse conditions under which the negro lives and works in the North; his susceptibility to tuberculosis and the diseases of a dangerous climate, have developed a high death rate there. The negro was born in a warm climate and thrives better under conditions down here. He will encounter the excessive cost of living and the

racial antagonism which is more pronounced there, because he goes among people who do not understand him, who make no allowances for him and are not sympathetic with him. The courts in the North have no sympathy for offenders of any kind, and, whatever may be said about the South, the people understand the negro and are inclined to be light on many of his offenses.

One of the speakers at the Board of Trade dinner in Savannah the other night related the story that a negro in the North was accosted by an officer of the law who harshly asked him, "Where did you get that chicken?"

The colored man answered that such a thing couldn't occur where he came from. No Southern gentleman ever asked a negro where he "got that chicken."

If the colored people believe that there is no antagonism at the North, he has only to read the Northern papers to be convinced to the contrary. The so-called "Ku-Klux Klan," which is paraded as a bogey to the Southern negro, flourishes in the large cities of the North and West. There are said to be 75,000 in the city of New York alone. There are plenty of them in Chicago, and if this is the reason for an exodus it is very evident that there are just as many dangers and discomforts in the North. Colored leaders are making a great mistake if they are encouraging their people to follow the advice of labor agents, who, in some places, we learn, have obtained legal licenses and are working openly in soliciting labor for other States.

The Savannah Press does not conceal the fact that this loss of labor is a particular menace to city and country in the South. It seriously affects our agriculture and other business interests. Factory and farm will feel the loss of this element. White citizens are aware of the fact that the negro is a valuable asset to the community and State. As such he will see that they are fairly treated and that they will share in the growth of this section. A part of the public taxation is devoted to public schools and the educators in schools and industrial colleges will realize that they are serving their people best, white and colored alike, if they overtake the misrepresentations which have been made to induce the negroes to leave the country where they were born and reared, where they have grown and prospered, for another section where the traditions are harder and more unpromising.

[illegible] Ga. News

MAR 29 1923

NORTH UNKIND TO NEGROES.

For those who keep themselves well informed it is not surprising that the death rate among negroes in Northern cities should be greater than in the Southern cities. For generations the negro has lived in the South, and before that in a country where frost did not bother him; to transplant him suddenly to a country where the winter months are long and severe is to put a tax upon him that nature has not fitted him for—and the result is to be expected. Nature made him a child of the sun, made him like warmth, and the North with its rigorous winters is not kind to him. The death rate among negroes in Northern cities has been proved to be greater than in Southern cities; the negro has a better chance of long life in the South than in the North. Tuberculosis is his greatest enemy in the colder climate.

There has been much said recently about negroes going from Southern states to the North in the hope of finding better living conditions, higher wages and easier work. There should be no misunderstanding on the part of the colored race of the conditions that obtain in the large cities of the North. Living costs are higher. Treatment by the white population need not be expected to be cordial; the East St. Louis and Chicago riots are too fresh in the public memory for anybody to be mistaken on that point. Friendliness between the races in such places is not going to be found; the competition is economic; the negro is "the last man to be hired and the first man to be fired" in the Northern factory. The white man will not permit him to compete for jobs there—he gets what is left over only; and when there is no left over job he finds himself stranded in a strange land, with the possibility of facing the next winter without money and without a job.

Let him understand that the greatest industrial expansion is coming in the South, that his chance of self-support is better here, that his chance of long life is better here, in the place where nature has fitted him to live.

[illegible] Herald

APR 21 1923

T. [illegible] RO LABOR PROBLEM

The [illegible] egro problem, which was chiefly [illegible] ical, and became a problem solely through the activities of partisan politicians and vindictive meddlers, is no longer a consequential problem, it has practically solved itself, but it has been succeeded by another problem, which which chiefly affects labor conditions in this section.

Owing in great measure to immigration restriction, nothern industrialists have invaded a new field in search of cheap labor. For years, they have fattened off of the labor of foreign immigrants. They have grown immensely wealthy through this instrumentality, and now that the supply has been cut off, they are stripping this section of its chief source of labor, which if permitted to continue without interruption, and with no means of repletion will impoverish us.

This problem is two-fold: First, we must make some effort to put an end to the efforts of labor agents who have been taking the negroes away from this section, and do something to keep the negroes here; second, we must look around for some method of replenishing our labor supply. For there is no doubt of the fact that under present conditions, our labor supply is short. This will be realized more and more as time goes on.

The industries and agriculture of this section cannot be developed without an adequate labor supply. The fact that the supply we had, has been and is being depleted should cause the people of the South to ponder on the situation, face the problem squarely and go to work to find the solution.

N. Y. C POST

APRIL 24 1923

Negro Migration Northward

If a report issued by the Agricultural Department is accurate, the exodus of negroes northward during the last year almost rivals the movement of the years 1915-16. Our last census revealed an increase for the decade of 440,000 in the number of Southern born negroes living in the North. The best authorities compute that 250,000 went North in the two years named. It was a great silent movement, without leadership or even self-consciousness, which caught at the South like an infection and sucked whole communities away by the nearest railroad. Every one thought it an incident of the war which could not be repeated. Yet Washington now reports for the lower South a comparable migration. Georgia, the State worst hit, is said to have lost 32,000 of her negro farm population, South Carolina 22,750, Alabama more than 20,000, and Arkansas, 15,000. These figures would be swelled if we knew how many negroes had left the towns. The border States and North Carolina have thus far escaped the new movement.

The three main causes are precisely those which operated half a dozen years ago—the boll weevil, the recruiting agents and attractive offers of Northern industries, and the growing resentment of unfair treatment in the South. The Columbia (S. C.) *State*, which declares that for the first time in a century South Carolina has a preponderance of white population, gives emphasis to the first factor. Communities where the boll weevil is worst have lost the most emigrants. Judge Gary's recent statement, blaming immigration restrictions for the labor shortage, elicited from Emmett J. Scott of Howard University a telegram saying that 8,000,000 negroes in the South furnished a reservoir of potential mill labor. The negroes hear of the urban opportunities

Negroes Deserve Consideration.

(From Greenville (S. C.) News).

The Negro leaders of the South are as much, if not more, interested in the so-called exodus of colored people as are the white people. Naturally they are in better position than white people to understand why the Negroes are leaving the South, and any suggestions which come from reputable members of the Negro race is deserving of consideration by all good citizens. Therefore, the series of resolutions recently adopted by representatives of 1,000 colored homes of Greenville will receive the attention and consideration of the white population of the city.

New York Age 7/7/23

The Negroes state that as much has been said by the press and public speakers about the exodus and that as "the remedies which have been suggested to alleviate the underlying cause of the conditions that cause this unrest have been unheeded", they respectfully ask consideration of some suggestions they make. They suggest that the condition of their schools be looked into by those in position to help; that improvement of their streets be looked after, and that at least good sidewalks be built to their schools; that the police show less aggressiveness in arresting members of their race, calling attention to a recent case where a Negro was unmercifully clubbed without apparent just cause; and that the wage question be looked into, claiming that it is almost impossible for the average Negro to earn an honest living under present conditions. They consider the better school advantages offered colored people in the North as one of the main reasons for the exodus.

These suggestions and requests are reasonable, should be looked into, and if the Negroes are receiving unjust treatment in any of the instances, some measures should be put in operation to help them. The decent Negroes are not looking for anything like social equality. They know that will never be, and they do not expect it or want it. They do, however, desire just treatment before the law and in other ways, and no one should begrudge them that. They are entitled to it and it will make them better citizens. The more good citizens a community has the better the community becomes. We must not overlook the fact that we cannot mistreat the Negro without at the same time do an injustice to ourselves, while on the other hand, when we help him we are helping ourselves as well. This is only the selfish viewpoint of it, without taking into consideration any altruistic motive. Either is sufficient to cause us to give the Negro proper consideration.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

AUG 13 1923

SAYS NEGROES PREFER SOUTH

Member of Race Gives His Reasons for Exodus.

Says Employment at Living Wages Will Bring Many Back to Dixie.

At this time when there is much discussion concerning the exodus of negroes from the south, a communication printed in the Atlanta Constitution yesterday, from a former Georgia negro, now located in Cincinnati, is of interest. He declares that the negroes are not satisfied in the north and that many of them would return if paid living wages. He also blames moneylenders for dissatisfaction among the negroes in the agricultural sections. His communication follows:

Editor Constitution: I notice in reading your paper that a great deal is being said about the negro leaving Georgia.

I was a citizen of Georgia for several years and would be now if I had employment at living wages, which I could not find in Georgia.

Although conditions here are not what suit me, neither do I find congenial friends like in the south. I must work for a living, and as I have three children, we all have to work here, for rents are high, as well as every thing else, and wages are just as little to men who have business experience as they can hire you for, and they think you will be compelled to continue working as you can not save enough to last long while hunting something better.

The negro is in demand because they can use him shoveling dirt or rolling a wheelbarrow or carrying a hod, and his wages are from 50 cents to 80 cents an hour, generally working nine hours a day. His wife also is in demand and she receives the modest sum of $3.50 and her dinner, together with her car fare paid both ways, for doing the family washing of a family of three or four people.

But the negro from the south is not satisfied here. He likes to make the money and have a good living and many no doubt are glad to have the white merchants call them "Mr." Jones or "Mrs." Brown instead of Bill or Sambo, but very few of them want their bodies buried north of the Ohio. They receive fair treatment here, and get their pay regularly.

Passing laws to keep the negro there don't think will help, but if the south will furnish him employment at living wages he will stay and a great many who are north will come back.

Little tightwad loan sharks in the smaller towns of Georgia are doing more harm to Georgia than all the labor agents. They are not willing to loan money to buy cattle, hogs or sufficient for a man to exist while raising a crop, but they will squeeze a poor borrower to the limit on a 100 per cent. basis if they can.

The negro who has been forced to raise cotton has tired of the boll weevil eating up his crop and, with nothing to do, he pulls out for the place where work is offered.

Georgia, with all its opportunities, has made very little effort to locate white people or to help those who are satisfied to live there through hard times.

If one-half the noise wasted about trying to force the negro to stay there were spent in finding suitable employment for him at living wages he would be satisfied, but he is not going to work for $10 a month, a bushel of meal and fifteen pounds of dry salt meat when he can make $4 to $5 a day, even though he pays $25 to $30 a month house rent and meets higher living expenses.

The white people do not want the negro here except those people who are bent on making money. As negroes begin to rent in a district they gradually crowd the whites to hunt another location or pay higher rents. The northern negro generally does not want him either, because he looks on him as ignorant, yet he soon mixes in if he has been used to work. They don't lay off two or three days a week from work here, if they do, they lose their jobs.

J. G. McCUE,
2982 Gilbert avenue, Cincinnati, O.

LIES OF WRITER SEEK TO KEEP RACE BOUND TO SOUTH

A special writer for the Chicago Tribune goes out of his way to spread propaganda designed to keep men of our Race out of the steel mills. He takes an unknown person named Washington and puts into his mouth all the complaints which are calculated to make possible migrants to Pennsylvania change their minds. We grant today that if Race men can work in the steel mills of the United Steel plants in Alabama then they can work in them in Pennsylvania. The work is no harder there than anywhere else. You can have your choice between sun up to sun down labor in the sawmills and cotton fields for 50 cents and a $1 a day in the South and $6 to $10 a day in the North, where you are free to spend your money like a man after you earn it. And where your life is at least safe from night riders.

We urge Race men and women not to fear the hard work of the North. Now is the time to get a strangle hold on the jobs which the foreigner has held so long and out of which have come rich and powerful leaders of America. What they have one you can do. Work hard long hours if necessary. Work regularly. Hold your job. Never mind the other fellow. He can get a job while you are thinking about it. This is your chance. Better be a slave to a steel furnace of your own free will than be a slave to poor man-killing, lazy southern whites, who have lived your sweat for generations.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1923

NEGRO MIGRANTS SAY SOUTHERNERS FORCE THEM OUT

Passing Through St. Louis, Tell Stories of Race Prejudice Driving Them North.

By LESTER A. WALTON

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 29.—St. Louis is the gateway to the North for migrants from Arkansas, Oklahoma, and to a considerable degree those hailing from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee. During the month of July approximately 4,492 Negroes passed through this city. It is conservatively estimated that fully 87,000 with a predilection for taking up permanent residence in the North will have entered St. Louis during 1923.

Thirteen Southern trains come into the Union Station daily. Every one gives unmistakeable evidence that there is a Negro exodus. From 150 to 300 migrants pass through the station gates each day excepting Sunday, when the number averages 100. On Sunday, July 8, there alighted from incoming trains 486. Records for September however show that the evodus is on the wane.

Many Prefer St. Louis.

Leaving Hot Springs, Ark., on Saturday evening, it fell my lot to observe an early Sunday morning crush when my train pulled into Union Station at 7.30. The spacious midway was alive with Negroes waiting to greet relatives and friends from the Southeast. The spectacle at first was suggestive of scenes enacted in Mississippi or Alabama instead of in the railroad terminus of the great metropolis of the Southwest.

Some of the migrants, I learned had planned to make St. Louis their home, but the majority were hieing themselves to Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. Thirty per cent. of those using this city as a northern gateway choose St. Louis as the future home of their adoption.

The first traveller with whom I talked was a man from Mississippi. He was fleeing from intolerable conditions, he said, and was desirous of settling where there were better school facilities for his children.

Another migrant from Mississippi, sixty years old, was going to his son in the suburbs of St. Louis. He had been trying to make a livelihood for twenty years on the crop-sharing bysis. For ten years he has been unable to effect a settlement with the landowner, I was told. "In 1919 I had a wonderful cotton crop, but did not get a dime. Had I demanded a settlement it would have been worth my life," he declared.

Urged to Quit Texas.

Three young men from Texas, graduates of the public schools of San Antonio, were employed in the shops during last year's railroad strike. In recent months workmen who quit their jobs have been returning in large numbers, many of whom objected to the presence of Negroes. The treatment to which the three were subjected was such they complained to the bosses. Fearing the championing of their cause would raise a race issue, letters were given them to railroad shops in Flint, Mich., and other Northern centres, together with the suggestion that they quit Texas.

My previous interviews with migrants had been in the heart of the South when their hopes were high and hearts light in anticipation of going into a section of the country where race prejudice was not on a rampage. Talking with them on the threshold of what has been pictured by them the "promised land," one finds no divergence in reasons advanced for leaving the South.

LONGS FOR DIXIE

Old Negro Tires of North, Wires for Ticket.

Savannah, Ga., September 22.—(Special.) — "Am oroke. Want to come home, please send for me," that is the message received today by Lee Roy Lovenstein, prominent business man here, from Tom Brown, a faithful negro who was for a long time in his employ, but who went north some months ago. The first cold touch accentuated the former Savannah negro's longing for Dixie. Mr. Lovenstein wired him a ticket to be delivered to him at the Savannah line docks in New York.

SEP 16 1923

THE NEGRO COMES BACK
(Wilmington Dispatch)

With the first evidence of winter still in the distance so far as these particular parts are concerned, like the migratory bird, the news commences to trickle in over the wires that the negro has started back home. If his time of visitation were in the winter we should say that his period of hibernation is over and that he was coming home to feed. Just the reverse of that is true, however. He has been away feeding, and saving it is to be hoped, during the summer months and now comes back to hibernate for the winter on his native heath. All of which isn't so bad, for he likes a mild climate and has shown more sense than is usually given him credit for in seeking the cooler regions of the north for the summer and returning southward for winter.

The negro never would have left the south if there had been plenty of work and at fair prices for him to do. The Dispatch would like to see him stay at home where he belongs, and where we believe he will always fare better season in and season out, but we cannot support the contention that he ought to stay here and work where there is no work to do.

But we ought to welcome the negro back home; provide him with every possible opportunity to find employment at decent wages, encourage him to be thrifty here and save at home as he has learned to do abroad; instill in him the desire for better living conditions, better home life and a keener desire to help build up and maintain the progress which is now rapidly sweeping over the south.

FULL PAGE ADS URGE NEGROES TO STAY SOUTH.

The Dallas Express
8-25-23

(By A. N. P.)

New Orleans, La., Aug. 24.—Full page advertisements are appearing in the Daily States, supposedly written by a Colored man, asking the Negroes to remain in the South where they are assured of good treatment and wages and pointing out supposedly future conditions which might result if the Colored man migrated to the north. These advertisements are designed to influence the Negroes to remain in the South, where conditions are pitiful in the extreme, both

as regards living conditions and wages, in order that the southern manufacturer and planter can obtain his services for practically nothing. The Negro is not organized in the south, and woe betides a laborer organizer, whether A. F. of L. or industrial unionism who endeavors to show the Colored man wherein he can benefit himself by joining a labor union and demanding rights. "The Negro will remain in the south if the jim-crow laws are repealed, the right to vote given and the bill of civil rights enforced. If the Negro is an asset and a necessity to the south, then he should have all the privileges of the white man," said a leader here.

SEP 27 1923

OLD SOUTH UNDERGOING MANY CHANGES DUE TO EXODUS OF NEGROES

Jackson, Miss. — The old south is changing. Negro migration, if it continues at its present rate, means the disintegration of the "solid south". This is a prevalent view among leading planters, business men and close observers in Mississippi, which has the greatest density of all the states, 52 per cent of its population being black—in the Yazoo delta it runs as high as 80 per cent colored.

The ancient plantation system is on its way, getting ready to vanish, as has the frontier cowboy in the west The negro, like the white, is becoming urbanized. The trend from the cotton fields to the small southern cities. thence from these communities to the industrial centers of the north. One feature of the present wave is that it draws directly from farm to northern mill. Mississippi had a decline of 75,000 in its negro population from 1910 to 1920, but it registered an urban negro increase of 3 1-2 per cent. In the last three years it has lost at least 40,000 negroes. The boll weevil has broken sections three-fourths of the old cotton land is now lying idle —and the industrial vacuum of the north has pulled the agricultural workers in masses. With them have gone many negro professional and business men, preachers, lawyers, doctors, barbers, merchants, undertakers, etc.

Old Attachments Broken

"The old attachments, in the main have been broken," said the foremost authority on the race question in the delta the other day. "The old anchorage is gone."

The Natchez region, for example, was one where ever since slave days the relation between the two races were ideal. A dozen years ago the boll weevil appeared and the planters could not cope with it; negro famlies by economic necessity were impelled to abandon homes where they had lived for generations; the old life was disrupted.

"The old reliable" type of negro is fast disappearing. And the banjo now exists only in the sentimental ballad and the minstrel show—for a week we have driven through the cotton regions and the only music from the cabins has been from phonographs and pianos, relics of the peak period, Despite the crop failure the field hands all seem happy and gay, smiling and laughing as ever, but the banjo went out when the flivver came in.'"

Migration From Mississippi

Meanwhile Mississippi is scouting for white immigrants, north, west and south, and is trying to combat migration of the more stable negroes by better school facilities. In 1920 the state had 161,000 negro families, which was a decrease of 3,500 in 10 years, and in the last three years the decrease is set 15,000 at the lowest. Of the negro farmers 137,000 are tenants and 35,000 are farm owners. Commercial organizations are preparing campaigns to attract white settlers from the debt laden exclusive wheat regions of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas and from the Scandinavian countries if possible.

"It means the shifting of the race problem to the north. The belief is growing that within a decade or two the blacks will be pretty well diffused throughout the country. In 1860 over 92 per cent of the negro population was in the south and in 1910 89 per cent was still in the south. Then came the industrializing migration and in 1920 the south had 85 per cent of the negroes. If dispersion keeps up 20 or 30 years from now half the negroes may be in the north.

GEORGIA HARDEST HIT

Georgia has been hardest hit by the exodus of negroes from the south to the north. Much study is being given by leaders of both races to the causes of the migration and what can be done to stem the rush to the "promised land" overflowing with 16-cents-a-quart milk and 10-cents-a-spoon of honey.

Several estimates of the exodus have been made; none of them agree. A government bureau some months ago reported 32,000 had migrated northward from Georgia in the last year. The state college agriculture recently reported that in six months 100,00 persons had left Georgia farms, of which 90,000 were negroes, and that 11,840 farms had been abandoned. Not all these went north—there has been much shifting of population within the state itself—but it appears that to this shift from 40,000 to 50,000 farmers, mainly negroes, went north, about 35,000 moving through Chicago as a distributing point.

A resume of migration has also been given by the State Bankers' Association and by the City Club, estimating that 80,000 have left Georgia since January 1, that the number will reach 100,000 by Christmas, that 46,-674 farm houses are vacant and 56,-524 plows are idle.

The loss to Georgia is set down at $27,000,000 and the exodus, some say is causing more or less than Sherman's march to the sea. Of course not all these 55,000 plows are idle because of the migration. The boll weevil has been the great cause of abandoned farms and the hard straits to which cotton growing has been put has been a principal cause of the migration.

JUL 20 1923

NEGROES IN NORTH AND EAST HAVING HARD TIME.

Savannah Press.

During the past few weeks several letters have been received at the city hall from hospital and charitable organizations in Northern and Eastern cities seeking funds to ship back home Savannah negroes who had migrated to those parts, and who are now penniless. The city has no funds for such purposes.

These and other reports from the East and North indicate that the negroes are not finding the land one flowing with milk and honey.

Unskilled negro labor is a drug on the market in Detroit, and negroes who are migrating there from the South are meeting with grievous disappointment, not only as regards employment, but in the way of finding means of subsistence, according to telegrams received from the department of public welfare of Detroit. Housing conditions are very bad, says a telegram from T. E. Dolan, general superintendent of the department, and if the period of unemployment continues unskilled negro laborers will be in dire straits.

Similar situations exist in Philadelphia, and in St. Louis, according to telegrams received from non-sectarian, non-partisan charitable organizations like the associated charities of this city.

The telegrams were received in answer to wire inquiry from the Georgia Manufacturers' Association, asking for information concerning employment and housing conditions for Southern negroes who are migrating to various industrial centers in the North, East and Middle West.

Raleigh, N. C., Times

SEP 21 1923

STATE'S RATIO OF MIGRATION NORTH LOWEST IN SOUTH

So Commissioner Shipman Finds Out At Toronto

Commissioner M. L. Shipman, of the North Carolina Department of Labor and Printing, commenting on the eleventh annual convention of the International Association of Public Employment Services, which he attended recently at Toronto, Canada, said that it was brought out in discussions at the convention that 338,856 negroes had migrated to the north from the southern states since December 1, 1922.

Approximately 250,000 negro laborers of the migratory type already were in the north, they having remained there after the end of the World War, which was responsible for their migration, according to information made public at the convention and reported here by Mr. Shipman.

The Commissioner of Labor and Printing said he ascertained from a discussion with representatives from northern states that the percentage of negro labor from North Carolina is smaller in the north than the percentage of any other southern state. He accounted for this with the statement that North Carolina offers greater opportunity for the advancement of the negro race than some of her sister states. Mr. Shipman said he told the convention that the better class of negro labor in North Carolina had for some time been engaged in building highways, installing water and sewer systems and in construction work of various kinds and that comparatively few willing workers of any character were idle in North Carolina.

He said he was convinced that the negro is not a welcome visitor in the north, declaring that many of the big corporations use him for purely commercial purposes and that society generally resents his presence.

The Toronto meeting, Mr. Shipman reported, was largely attended by representatives from the States, the Canadian provinces and by high officials of the British government. Subjects vital to the solution of unemployment, international in scope, were discussed by prominent labor officials from all the countries represented.

The subject of negro migration to the north was touched upon by many speakers, reported Mr. Shipman, who said he was called on to answer many questions concerning the effects of the migration on the south, he being the only representative at the convention from the southern states.

Besides reporting on employment conditions in North Carolina Mr. Shipman served on the nominating committee which recommended the election of E. J. Henning, assistant secretary to the secretary of labor of the United States, as president of the association, and Francis I. Jones, director general of the United States Employment Service, a member of the association's executive committee. Chicago was selected as the meeting place for the 1924 convention. Mr. Shipman reported.

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian

OCT - 1 1923

Butts Co. Negroes Return From North

JACKSON, Ga., Oct. 1.—According to officers who keep a close tab on the situation, a large number of Butts County negroes who went North the past spring are coming back home. That they are here to stay, is the way many of the negroes express it.

The only attractive features found in the North is high wages, members of the race state. The living conditions are not good, and always there is a feeling that they are not among their friends, they say.

All who have returned home have been given employment. Many are helping with the harvesting of cotton and other crops, and still others are employed at public work.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

No Decrease Is Seen In Negro Migration

According to figures given out at the state department of commerce and labor, on Friday, Georgia Negroes are still migrating to the North, with no indication of a let-up in this movement. About 1,500 a week are now leaving the state, says the report.

Approximately 200,000 colored people left the state between July, 1922, and July 1923, it was said. Agents of the department have been keeping a careful check on all outgoing trains and these figures are declared "very conservative." Lack of employment, with high wages offered in the North and East, are the chief causes assigned by the department for this condition, with the damage done by the boll weevil to Georgia's agricultural situation a large contributing factor. 10-18-23

"The ultimate result of the Negro farm laborer leaving the state will be a decided improvement in the farming conditions and life of the state," one of the officials said 'after the farmers have adjusted themselves to the absence of Negro labor, the state will be much better off.

"I do not expect many of the Negroes to return in the near future," this official continued. "If the supply of white laborers, composed of foreigners, increases in the North a large number of Negroes will be thrown out of employment. Georgia farmers are now in a good position to handle their crops. The danger they will encounter will be during the next planting season, when the migration might hinder preparation of the crops."—Atlanta Constitution.

Negro's Dreams Shattered.

For many years Chicago has professed serious concern for the welfare of negroes. Windy City propaganda has been disseminated throughout the south so effectively that many negroes have been persuaded that Chicago is the black man's paradise.

The unsophisticated darky on a southern plantation is an imaginative creature. Writers like Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page won fame by using the printed page as a reflector of legendary lore that had its genesis in the brain of the colored man.

The uneducated negro is prone to believe only those things he wants to believe, the things that appeal to him.

For this reason, one member of his race who has prospered in a big city can return to the rural scenes of his nativity and cause more unrest and raise more false hopes in the breasts of his former associates than can be overcome by a hundred negroes who have drunk the bitter dregs from the cup of experience and come back to warn their friends against the wiles of schemers.

A news dispatch from Chicago tells us what is happening to the negro up there. Landlords are charging them double and treble the rentals white tenants paid for the same premises. This puts prices beyond the purse of the whites, who move into other localities, already overcrowded. Thus rents are raised all along the line.

In order to meet the high rentals, the negroes are forced to live three to five families in a flat, and in addition take in roomers and boarders, and make their own repairs.

A beautiful brand of hospitality is this. It proves that Chicago's welcome to the negro is on a parity with the spider's invitation to the fly.

Seventy-five per cent of the negroes who are persuaded to leave the south for the north return with shattered dreams, empty purses and sometimes broken bodies. Of the 25 per cent who never come back, a few succeed and the majority die. 8/2/23

In proportion to the colored population, more negroes establish themselves and acquire a competence in southern cities than in towns north of the Ohio River. And more of them live in comfort on the farms of the south than in the cities.

If the unsophisticated negroes will not listen to the intellectuals of their race, it would profit them to give their imagination full play and cultivate the belief that the Mason and Dixon line is the jumping-off place of the North American continent.

GRADUAL RETURN OF NEGROES SOUTH SEEN

As predicted some months ago by the Manufacturers Record, there are many signs pointing to a gradual drifting back into the South of Southern Negroes who migrated North and East during the past few months. Reports from some industrial centers show that the Negroes have not been welcomed by the older citizens of those communities. At one point in Pennsylvania city officials have ordered all Negroes who have not been residents for seven years to move along. Their presence has caused much ill feeling and outbreaks between whites and blacks. Then, too, cold weather is approaching and much of this class of Negro labor, carefree and improvident, is turning longing eyes toward the Sunny South. Many in the beginning had no intention whatever of remaining long away from "home;" they have spent all they made and have no money to pay for railroad fare. They have felt the first attack of Old Winter and when these attacks become more frequent and with greater severity, the Manufacturers Record predicts thousands of Southern Negroes, if they have been industrious enough and have had the foresight to lay by a little money, will be moving South.

When they begin to return to the South in large numbers this winter, many sections will face another problem. These Negro workers left the South at a time when their services were in most demand on the farms. They will come back at a time when the press of farm work is over. They know from experience that if they remain North during the winter they will have no one to look to for food and shelter should they be laid off. Industrial and other employers in the North and East are not in the habit of feeding and caring for discharged help. But these returning Negroes in many instances will be a burden to the South this winter. They will come back to their old haunts and most of them will be entirely dependent upon their relatives and the white people, and if they are from the country districts, dependent upon Southern farmers. As they left the Southern farmer in the lurch when they were needed most, their reception may possibly not be so cordial as in years gone by.

Let us hope that the Negroes who migrated North last spring and who are returning to the South will have learned such a lesson that they will come back determined to show their worthiness to their employers and be better able by reason of their experience to appreciate their opportunities in the South. —Manufacturers Record.

TEXAS INVESTIGATES NEGRO LABOR IN NORTH

Wants to Know If They Are Being Badly Treated.

(By the Associated Press.)

AUSTIN, Texas, Oct. 18.—A nation-wide investigation of conditions of laborers that have migrated from southern states to northern states and other sections of the country is proposed by Joseph S. Myers, state labor commissioner, according to Mr. Myers' announcement of today. Commissioner Myers is at present working out details of the investigation plans.

Reports have come to the state commissioner of mistreatment of laborers transported to other sections from Texas, Myers stated. Other reports are that promises made the laborers to induce them to go to other states have not been carried out in many cases. 10-17-23

"The time is coming when Texas and other southern states will need laborers, rather than have a surplus as at present," Commissioner Myers said. "If the reports of mistreatment and unfavorable conditions in other sections are correct the laborers should be informed of these facts so as to prevent them from moving out of this section with proper forethought."

To make the investigation Mr. Myers will probably make an extended tour of industrial centers of the north and east, he said. While there he will gather information from laborers who have moved to those sections. Data concerning wages, hours of work, conditions of work, living conditions and other details will be compiled.

The state department has collected statistics showing that more than 40,000 Texas laborers, chiefly Mexicans, have migrated to northern and eastern states during the present year. The workmen have gone to other fields on inducements of higher pay and better labor and living conditions. Shipments went to New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado California and as far away as Alaska, Mr. Myers stated.

DARK TIDE TURNS BACK TO SOUTH

Negro Migration North Thing Of Past Thinks A Mr. Pierson Of Columbia, S. C.

Columbia, Oct. 2.—Negro migrations North are a thing of the past and the majority of the black men will return South in the near future. Such is the opinion of Frank A. Pierson, secretary of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce, who has recently returned from New York.

And he cites facts to support his opinion. The Seaboard Railway midnight train from New York on which Mr. Pierson was a passenger, carried with it three extra coaches, each of them was filled with Negroes on their way back tothe land of cotton. From information derived from the conductor, it was learned that approximately one-half of the Negro passengers were on their way to Atlanta and the remainder bound for Columbia. 10-17-23

"I discussed the Negro migration problem with a number of New York business men," Mr. Pierson said. "and I was informed by all of them that the best place for the black men is in the South. New York does not want the Negroes, they told me, they do not need them for the simple reason that they can not find anything for them to do. Again, there is not any available housing space for the Negroes.

"The Negroes will never be satisfied with the North. It is too cold for them. Once in the congested city they have no idea of how or where to start. The Northern Negro does not take very readily to the

black man from the South. They are not satisfied up there, because things are so much different from what they are accustomed.

"In conversing with several of the Negroes who have returned to South Carolina, I was informed that the blacks were not very well satisfied with the Northern climate. One told me that he was treated all right in New York, but no wthat winter was coming on, he thought it best to return where the sun was a little brighter. One informed me that he had been worked too hard."

SEP 27 1923

'PLEASE SEND FOR ME' HE WIRES FROM NORTH

Savannah, Ga., September 27.—Leave home in haste and repent at leisure appears to be the experience of a number of negroes who have left Savannah and surrounding sections for the north with the idea of bettering themselves.

An example of it is found in the case of Tom Brown, a negro employed by Leroy Lovenstein. He was the fifth negro empliyed by Mr. Lovenstein who gave up his job and went to New York. Yesterday his former employer received a telegram reading "Am broke. Want to come home. Please send for me."

It is blieved that many negroes who go north with a rose-colored view of what they are going to find there are disappointed of their hopes. All of them, however, do not have friends to wire their return fare when they go" broke", Tom Brown will probably be a happy man when his feet touch Georgia soil once more and a wiser one.

Negroes Return to South.

Monroe, La.,—Planters, and manufacturers of North Louisiana and South Arkansas say negroes are returning from Northern cities. The return to the homeland is not so great as the large exodus of the race from the cotton fields and the industrial plants last spring. The return of the negroes at this time has created a new problem for employers, as planters are not greatly in need of labor.

TAMPA FLA. Tribune

JUL 25 1923

NEGROES NOT WANTED

A staff correspondent of the Detroit News, writing from Lansing, says the influx of negroes into Michigan from the South has become so great that the State Department of Labor and Industry and the Department of Agriculture have found it advisable to file a report with the State Administrative Board making recommendations for meeting the urgent situation.

The departments complain that Michigan is receiving more than its share of the negro migration, which ought to convince these migrating negroes that they are not wanted. The recommendations made are that a survey be had to determine the number of negroes in the state and their social and financial condition, to locate sections of agricultural lands upon which the negroes may settle, and—here s the significant point—to "discourage further migration north through co-operation with Southern states."

In other words, Michigan has more negroes than it wants—which is probably the case with other northern states. We have always been taught that, when one goes to a place to which he is not invited and where he is not wanted, he doesn't have a pleasant time. It follows that the negro, being unwelcome, will soon become offensive to his new-found Northern neighbors. When he becomes offensive, he will be mistreated.; Then will come race trouble.

The Michigan boards further report that the negroes are being attracted there by propaganda based on extravagant claims about highly paid jobs in automobile factories awaiting them or rich farm lands to be had for the asking. Land companies have been organized in the South, they say, to encourage negroes to go north. They do not add that these companies are Northern concerns. One company told the negroes that, if they don't like farming or automobile factory work, they can make $100 a day trapping muskrats.

Most of the land being sold these negroes is totally unfit for farming, the report says. "Also, Southern negroes are not used to Northern crops and methods. With this combination, there can be only one result—failure and the obligation of the state to care for these people."

Another trouble cited by the Michigan report is the resentment of the negro citizens of that state against the newcomers. "They see their standing in the communities won through adaptation to conditions jeopardized by newcomers who do not know conditions and have been induced to come North through false promises."

So, the Southern negro who goes North will soon find himself not only obnoxious to the whites but objectionable to his own race.

The Tribune wonders how many Florida negroes have been induced to go to Michigan to make $100 a day "trapping muskrats?"

CHICAGO ILL. TRIBUNE

SEPTEMBER 12, 1923

BLACK MIGRATION MAY MAKE MYTH OF "SOLID SOUTH"

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Jackson, Miss., Sept. 11.—[Special.]—The old south is changing. Negro migration, if it continues at its present rate, means the disintegration of the "solid south." This is a prevalent view among leading planters, business men, and close observers in Mississippi, which has the greatest Negro density of all the states—52 per cent of its population being black. In the Yazoo delta it runs as high as 80 per cent.

The ancient plantation system is on its way, getting ready to vanish as has the frontier cowboy west. The Negro, like the white, is becoming urbanized. The trend is from the cotton fields to the small southern cities, thence to the industrial centers of the north. One feature of the present wave is that it draws directly from farm to northern mill. Mississippi had a decline of 75,000 in its Negro population from 1910 to 1920, but it registered an urban Negro increase of 3½ per cent. In the last three years it has lost at least 40,000 Negroes.

Boll Weevil a Factor.

The boll weevil has broken up whole communities, in some sections three-fourths of the old cotton land is now lying idle, and the industrial vacuum north has pulled the agricultural workers in masses. With them have gone many Negro professional and business men, preachers, lawyers, doctors, barbers, merchants, undertakers, and politicians.

"The old local attachments, in the main, have been broken," said the foremost authority on the race question in the delta the other day. "The old anchorage is gone."

The Natchez region, for example, was one where ever since slavery days the relations between the two races were ideal. A dozen years ago, when the boll weevil appeared, the planters could not cope with it; Negro families by economic necessity were impelled to abandon homes where they had lived for generations; the old life was disrupted.

"Ole Reliable" Disappearing.

The "ole reliable" type of Negro is fast disappearing. And the banjo now exists only in the sentimental ballad and the minstrel show For a week we have driven through the cotton regions and the only music from the cabins has been from phonographs and pianos. Despite the crop failure, the field hands all seem happy and gay as ever, but the banjo went out when the flivver came in.

"The south is the Negro's natural abiding place," said one colored leader in a delta town, "but the old roots have been torn up. It is southern climate against northern opportunities."

Meanwhile Mississippi is scouting for white migrants, north, west, and south, and is trying to combat migration of the more stable Negroes by better school facilities. In 1920 the state had 161,000 Negro farmers which was a decrease of 3,500 in ten years, and in the last three years, the decrease is set at 15,000 at the lowest. Of the Negro farmers, 137,000 are tenants and 23,000 are farm owners with land and buildings valued at $55,000,000.

Seek Wheat Farmers.

Commercial organizations are preparing campaigns to attract white settlers from the debt laden exclusive wheat regions of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas and from the Scandinavian countries if possible.

"To industrialize the Negro," said one authority here, "means that the old solidarity of the south will vanish. Reorganization of our agriculture will be a disintegrating factor. The Negro is a fine worker so long as he is under a white boss. Leave him alone and he naturally shirks. In its place it is a great race, happy, loyal, contented, tractable, the best servants in the world, but shiftless, notional, and inefficient in agriculture under the old plantation system of share cropping.

"I am not speaking of the educated Negro. Industrialize him and he will do the common labor, under a boss, to perfection, excelling, I dare say, most of the European groups on which the northern mills have relied.

Shifting Race Problem.

It means the shifting of the race problem to the north. The belief is growing that within a decade or two the blacks will be pretty well diffused."

AUG 19 1923

GEORGIA NEGRO TELLS OF CONDITION IN NORTH

Ed White, a former Americus negro, has returned to Georgia after a visit to a number of northern cities.

That the colored people of Georgia who have been leaving home in recent months for the east and north are making a serious mistake and one that many have realized, is the opinion expressed by Ed, who is now in the employ of the Bibb Company at Macon.

Ed visited several eastern cities, and he found by personal investigation that as many as six colored men are living in one room in a Philadelphia boarding house, and that the same room is doing double, six more men occupying it in the day time, and all paying high rent. He was charged $2 for the privilege of taking a bath at this place.

He found that houses that can be rented in Macon for $10 a month bring as much as $40 and $45 per month in the east, that provisions of all sorts are high and that living conditions are anything but desirable.

Ed says he does not know what the colored people are going to do in these eastern cities this winter. He thinks they will die by the thousands. As far as Ed is concerned, he says he would not live away from Georgia. It is his belief that many of the negroes will come back home just as soon as they can save up railraod fare.

Other reports of a like nature have come back to Georgia, and it is quite apparent that the negroes who have left the south have been badly fooled.

Montgomery Advertiser

NEGROES LEAVING CITY

Exodus Follows Spread of Threatening Letter in Indiana.

SOUTHBEND, IND., Sept. 11.—Between 1,000 and 1,500 negroes are reported to have left the city in the last 24 hours, following the receipt of a threatening letter by a well known member of thte negro community here. Although no violence has followed the receipt of the letter, many of the negro residents, it is said left for fear that their safety it in danger

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

AS TO NEGRO EMIGRATION.

On this page is a communication from Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, president of Oglethorpe university, relative to the negro emigration problem, that is worthy of most careful reading and thought.

The Constitution does not agree with Dr. Jacobs in all his conclusions, and we are particularly of the opinion that the south is the best place for the negro. It is best for the whites that he remain here.

We agree with Dr. Jacobs that the negro is entitled to fair treatment. Public sentiment should demand that he receive it.

There can be no doubt, however, that the question of the negro leaving the south in such large numbers is not an altogether one-sided one.

Dr. Jacobs takes a different, and perhaps an equally logical, view of the situation—and in some respects a broader view—than most of the southern men of either race who have thus far expressed themselves in the public prints.

For instance, he believes, and argues his points quite convincingly, that the negro exodus from the south to the north and west is not without its compensating benefits to the south, to the southern white farm population, to the economic and political equilibrium of the nation and to the negro himself.

His course of reasoning is thoroughly connected, and is based upon the following conclusions—

First—That the negro is primarily a laborer, thus fits into industry; and by going north to meet present demands he not only receives higher wages than are obtainable in the south, with better school and housing conditions, but that through the process of a quota leaving the south those who remain in the south thus automatically get their own economic conditions improved; that is to say, that the wages in the south begin to advance to more nearly strike a balance, and that living conditions are improved as congestion is relieved, and the real worth of the negro as a laborer is thus more keenly appreciated.

This argument is undoubtedly along sound economic lines. So long as the negro should remain an unchangeable fixity in the south just so long would there be no impelling incentive for remedying those economic conditions of which he has a right, in some ways, to complain.

Second—That the white labor of the south is advantaged by the exodus.

Removing the overlapping competition of negro labor; at least bringing it down to a more balanced basis, must necessarily improve the demand for, and thus the condition of, southern white labor, and particularly on the farms.

One of the crying needs of the hour is more inviting rural conditions—more attractive community life—and around this revolves the social as well as the economic condition of the white farm hand, and the tendency toward which public thought is coming, that of supplanting tenancy with farm ownership, and automatically higher estimates of citizenship.

There can be no doubt that the thinning out of the negro surplus in many of the rural sections of Georgia will have a heartening and an uplifting influence upon the provident whites who are left.

Poverty may block progress, but it does not necessarily destroy ambition; and the enlargement of a horizon of usefulness is the greatest known incentive to ambition.

There is sound truth in Dr. Jacobs' conclusion that so long as the white people of Georgia look upon the farm work as a work for the negro hired hand to do so long will Georgia farmers be below the average of the best farmers of other agricultural states where all farm labor is white, and where it is inviting and inspiring to be employed in the great industry of agriculture.

Third—The political effect of an equitable distribution of the negro throughout the states of the union, thus removing the "problem" from any state or section.

Dr. Jacobs argues that this will be a decided advantage to the negro, because the tension between the races will never be over until he ceases to be a problem, and this can never be until he ceases to be a predominant or even a dominating factor in population in any state or section.

He takes the position that as soon as the natural increase of the negro is no greater than or less than that of the white man in the south the whole attitude of the races to one another will change to that of helpfulness, and the negro will be able to attain a hold and a place in American life as a citizen that is denied him under present conditions.

Dr. Jacobs' conclusion, as to this feature of his argument, is that if the negro should be evenly distributed over the United States he would not amount to more than 10 per cent of the population of any state, thereby he would cease to be a problem and become a citizen of the United States with rights and privileges unabridged.

The fourth and last point which Dr. Jacobs makes is perhaps the most vital, and that is that white farmers from northern Europe and from the great northwest, so provident and so powerful in the building of that great section of this country, can never be attracted to the south, with all of its superior advantages, until the negro has ceased to be a problem in the south, and until he ceases to be a predominating competitor to frugal white farm labor reared and trained in a section unaccustomed to the negro.

These are all thoughts of appeal, and Dr. Jacobs' discussion will no doubt create widespread interest and comment.

The southern white man, as a whole, has always been the negro's best friend, but there is no mistaking the fact that the human disposition "to let well enough alone" has retarded southern agriculture, evolved a certain degree of lethargy and obstructed that spirit of quickened thrift on the farms that have made the per capita wealth of the farming states of the white belt a great deal higher than in Georgia, or any other southern state, even North Carolina.

At any rate Dr. Jacobs' very able paper is food for deep and serious thought.

THE JUNE MIGRATION FROM SAVANNAH

It was stated early this week by local authorities that approximately 1,100 Negroes have left Savannah so far this month for the north. This matter has, apparently, given the city some concern and it was stated at the time this assertion was made that some effort should be made to stem this unusual outgoing of Negroes to other points of the country. It is interesting to note the attitude which is assumed by many toward this large exodus of Negroes and the voicing of much opposition to it.

There is no question as to the large number of Negroes leaving Savannah, and the end of this exodus does not yet seem to be in sight. Race relations in this city are about as cordial here, in fact, more so, than in any city, probably, in the south, and yet this fact does not deter hundreds of Negroes from leaving here every week. The reason for their going, therefore, cannot be from illtreatment, but purely from an economic necessity.

Conditions in Savannah are such, all other opinions to the contrary notwithstanding, that there are thousands of Negro men whose weekly wage is such that they not only cannot lay anything aside for the proverbial rainy day, but it is so low that they can hardly meet their expenses. Add to this class the scores who are absolutely unable to get employment, except at starvation wages, and you have a condition of affairs which is very conducive in forcing men into other sections which are offering a living wage. On the wharves, in the building trades and in other lines there are scores of men who are unable to get a full week's work. Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that upward of 200 Negroes have left here each week for the past five weeks? They have got to work and in working they as everybody else are anxious to get ahead and as the wages here do not, in general, give them the opportunity of doing this they are leaving for those parts where work is more plentiful and wages more alluring.

It is interesting in this connection to note the amount of importance which some of the local authorities give to a local labor employment agency which is sending men to Baden, N. C. The number of men which this agency has sent away since it began business about three months ago at a cost of $3500 for its license, is almost negligible when you consider the vast number of Negroes who have left here. This agency has shipped approximately six hundred men, a mere pittance in comparison to the several thousands who have left here. It is not due to any labor agents in our midst that most of these men have left, but it is due to personal contact through letters to those left here from friends in the great industrial centers of the north, telling of the high wages and great industrial opportunities that are to be found there.

It would not be human for those who are barely making an existence here and elsewhere in the south, and those out of employment, to refuse to embrace any opportunity to better their condition by going north. We believe with others, that for the vast majority of Negroes, the southland is the best place for them but under existing circumstances if they are not able to find profitable work in the southland, then they would not be doing themselves, and those dependent upon them, justice in passing up opportunities elsewhere.

The railroads may refuse to accept prepaid tickets for Negroes leaving the south and various communities in the south may deny labor agents to ply their trade, but there is scarcely a possibility of the United States mails being undelivered and this is the method by which practically nine-tenths of the Negroes who are leaving the south are becoming acquainted with the labor needs of other sections. Until there is more work in Savannah at more attractive wages, hundreds of Negroes are going to make their get-away every month.

NEGROES QUIT CAROLINA

No. Tenants On 270 Farms Around Spartansburg

Spartansburg, S. C.—Eighteen hundred Negroes have left Spartanburg county since November 1, 1922, according to a survey just completed by Ernest Carnes, farm demonstration agent, and 270 farms are without tenants as a result. These Negroes have gone to Northern cities as the result of promises of better wages and living conditions.

At the request of Anderson county authorities, Spartanburg police today arrested A. B. Bath, Burlington, N. C., white man, on a charge of soliciting labor in Anderson county without a license. He was taken to Anderson for trial.

N. Y. CITY WALL ST. JOURNAL
JULY 10, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION DISTURBS GEORGIA

Large Plantations Lying Idle for Lack of Workers—Negro Drawn Away by Higher Wages

CHATTANOOGA—Although emigration of negroes from cities of east Tennessee is less, that from farm regions of middle and southern Georgia continues unabated, and agriculture all through the cotton belt is confronted with a serious problem.

At least one out of four negro cabins formerly occupied by tenants on large plantations in central Georgia is vacant, and the land is lying idle.

Out of one county in middle Georgia an average of 50 to 100 negroes leave every week. For long stretches the country has been inhabited almost entirely by blacks. Rarely is a white man seen plowing in the fields. In the past they have worked from early to late but have tilled the land unintelligently, and every year it is poorer. Negro exodus from this region is very serious.

Plantation owners are making feeble efforts to secure white immigrants from other sections, but without success.

With two successive bad crop years plantation owners are unable or unwilling to make advances to negroes as formerly. The negro is leaving largely because of economic reasons. He receives a wage of only $1.25 a day through middle Georgia. He does complain, however, of the disposition to throw him into the chain gang for comparatively trivial offenses.

Land owners of central Georgia, faced with certainty of another incursion of the weevil, and with further absence of adequate labor, are sawing up much timber, for which they are receiving good prices. Fruit farmers also are doing well, and those sections, in which diversification of crops has been practised are in better shape than those which still cling to the one crop system.

While this condition of agricultural labor shortage is generally true in the industrial communities emigration has practically ceased. Influx into the cities of former farm hands has given them a considerably larger net colored population than before, although the number of skilled workmen is reduced. This influx of unskilled workers has brought with it a social problem, which cities like Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville have not hitherto had in such a severe form. Petty thieving and serious crimes have increased. In Chattanooga the educated colored people have banded together to educate new arrivals and to make them understand their obligations.

BERKELEY CAL GAZETTE
MAY 14, 1923

DESERTING SOUTHERN FARMS.

Just as the South begins to feel the vigor of a big economic revival, its prosperity is threatened again by the migration of its negro labor. Negroes are moving north as they did during the war boom, and for the same reasons—higher wages, more personal freedom and the quest of adventure. Georgia, which has suffered most from this exodus, has lost almost one farm hand out of every seven during the past year.

It is the southern farms that suffer most; the industrial sections can hold their labor better because they are able to pay better wages than the farms. It is not likely that the migration can be stopped until the Southern farmers, in common with the farmers of the whole country, are enabled to get their full share of national prosperity. Negroes are more patient of privation than whites, but they will not stay in an occupation or a community where they seem doomed to remain poor in spite of all their efforts.

The North, of course, can use all that negro labor to advantage. The South, however, needs it more than the North does. And on the whole, it is probably better for the negroes themselves to remain in the South. There they are better adjusted climatically and temperamentally. While they may make less money, they need less. Life on a plantation is far more healthful than life in a crowded negro quarter in a Northern industrial city. And the Southern whites probably understand the negro better and treat him with more real friendliness than do the Northern whites.

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
JUNE 9, 1923

His View of the Negro Migration.

A. O. Murphy, of Barnesville, Ga., writing in The Atlanta Journal, takes the view that the negro migration is no cause for great alarm. In fact he sees in it a movement for the benefit of the South. His communication has attracted a great deal of attention. The Chronicle gives it as an interesting contribution to the negro migration discussion:

"I am not at all alarmed by the exodus of negro labor from the south to the north. On the contrary, I can see in the movement a blessing in disguise. Nor do I believe that the development of the agricultural interests of the south is dependent upon negro labor; in fact, I believe that our heretofore absolute dependence upon negro labor has retarded that development of our agricultural resources which we have hoped for. Negro labor did not develop the agricultural interests of the north and west, where they produce as much on one acre as fe do on ten. Last year I traveled very extensively through the richest agricultural section of Michigan and I did not find a single negro on the farms, yet every acre was in cultivation and producing abundant crops. The truth is we have depended too much on the negro and worked too little ourselves. The consequences are our lands have washed away and depreciated in productivity. This movement of the negro to the north is going to force the white man to go to work and improve his methods of farming, which, backed by education, will redeem the agricultural interests of the south from the thoughtless slipshod methods which have characterized the industry heretofore.

"The time has come when it requires brains as well as brawn to farm. The old style negro farming is a thing of the past. The negro is not equal to the emergency and never will be. Improved machinery and business methods under the direction of a higher class of farmers will soon make us bless the day that brought about his revolution.

"There is no human agency which can stop this movement of negro labor from the fields of the south to the industries of the north, and we had as well forget it and go to work to meet the situation and adjust ourselves to the new conditions. There are thousands of thrifty white farmers in the northwest who are anxious to come south where they can work twelve months in the year. A few thousand of such scattered throughout Georgia would revolutionize the farming interests of our state and make two blades of grass grow where only one grows now. We need to build up our rural communities by bringing in white farmers and thereby making country life as attractive and pleasant as that in the towns. One thrifty, intelligent white family brought into our midst is worth a dozen of a thriftless race that has never developed any section north or south. Man did not bring the boll weevil here nor can he stop this exodus of the negro from the south, but he can adjust himself and make this movement a great blessing."

NEGROES WHO FLOCKED NORTH TURN BACK

N.Y. Times. 10-21-23

SIGNS of a strong Southern trek of negroes who migrated North by the thousands during the Spring and Summer are apparent, and the Southern planter and employer is receiving the prodigal with open arms, hoping that his experiences will prove a lesson and make him loath to succumb to the lure of the big pay envelope next year. One movement is from Chicago and other Lake Michigan cities, where a recent estimate of investigators showed that there were on Oct. 1 about 17,000 negroes, men and women, in the ranks of the unemployed.

The Illinois Central Railroad, through R. J. Carmichael, its Assistant General Passenger Agent at Memphis, has initiated an energetic campaign to return a large part of these negroes to their homes. He sent out questionnaires to most of the large planters and labor users of the Delta region, asking how many men or women they could use, and has had a highly encouraging response. In one instance, that of the Mississippi Delta and Pine Land Company, a thousand negro workers were requested. Hundreds of other calls have come in through the questionnaires, and the railroad official is filling them in order of receipt. Eight special trains were arranged to bring the thousand negroes to the Salisbury plantations; and ten other trains will be needed to bring back the 1,200 other negroes asked for by other planters and factories.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

THE NEGROES TREATMENT IN THE NORTH

Montgomery Advertiser

The exodus of thousands of Southern negroes to the industrial centers of the North is a shifting of population, that necessarily involves many social changes. The Southern man who has seen the ignorant colored laborers leave an environment with which they and their fathers were familiar have wondered, about the treatment accorded these light hearted people in the Northern towns.

9-12-23

Much has been said and written in discussion of the sociological change has been in the nature of propaganda, the professional friend of the negro, who makes such organizations as the society for the Advancement of the colored race has noisily contended that the negro was going North because he was mistreated in the South. The Southern man knows that this is not so. He knows that the negro went to the factory towns of the North, went because he could make as much money in a day as he could on a cotton farm in the South in a week. He is naturally interested in the treatment of the members of this child like race in their new Northern environment. He is astonished to learn that the Mayor of Norristown, Pa., issued an edict of expulsion to all negroes who had not lived seven years in Norristown. In other words negroes who had not lived in that city for a term of seven years had to pick up their belongings and move on to some other place. They may have been industrious workmen and they may have attended to their own business but by a sweeping edict from the mayor's office they were ordered to leave their home and take up their residence in some other town. The negro may not have been satisfied for that he did not get all his civil rights in the South, but he was permitted to live and do his work, even in sections of the South where race prejudice was most prevalent.

Of course there were race disorders that preceded this summary action by the mayor. But they were not of such a nature that negroes should be forbidden to live or have work in any town North or South. The Philadelphia Public Ledger has this comment to make on this sensational aspect of the race question:

> Apart from the obvious illegality of such a step, it should be recognized that this is a cowardly and short-sighted way of dealing with a profoundly important and delicate social problem. The migration from the South imposes a serious obligation upon the communities in the North receiving this sudden influx of population—one that is not going to be met by any such rough-and-ready expedient as compelling the migrants to "Mome on." Many of them have come in direct response to a demand for labor. Given humane treatment and housing, they are, as a rule, proving industrious and capable additions to our labor supply. That there is and has been friction is natural, but the duty of civic officials should be to discover the causes and to remove them, not merely to remove the newcomers. Unless the unexpected occurs, these migrants are going to be assimilated, and the process will call for patience, large vision and toleration.

CHICAGO [illegible] TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 20, 1923

CHICAGO NEGROES TREBLE NUMBER WITHIN 13 YEARS

Jobs and Schools Bring Migrants to City.

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Chicago now has more Negroes than Baltimore or New Orleans. Migration from the south has more than trebled the colored population in the city within the last twelve or thirteen years. In 1910 Negroes in Chicago numbered 44,000. In 1920 they had grown to 109,458. In 1923 they number at a conservative estimate between 135,000 and 150,000. Some put the figure at 200,000, but this seem to be an exaggeration, much like the wartime guesses of Negro increase, which were considerably deflated when the census returns came in.

All spring and summer long the migrants have been streaming into Chicago, which is the great distributing point for industrial centers as far east as Cleveland and the rubber towns of Ohio.

Unlike preceding waves of migration, the bulk of the Negroes coming north in 1923 have been sent for by friends and relatives, so social workers say. In many instances funds for the journey have been sent south, and in the great majority of cases the newcomers this year have been met at the train by relatives or acquaintances, who generally have rounded up a prospective job for the migrant.

Migration Here Ebbs.

Of late weeks the movement has been falling off, due to growing difficulty of landing jobs. When unemployment starts, the Negro in general, being the last man taken on the job, is the first laid off. Some leading social agents say it will probably be a hard winter for many of the migrants who are not snuggled up close to permanent employment.

For the most part the incoming colored labor has been absorbed by the steel and iron mills, by cement plants, coke ovens, stockyards, railroads, and highway construction camps; almost any line, in fact, where common labor has been scarce. The automobile cities of Michigan have taken thousands and so have the rubber factories of Ohio and the industries of Indiana.

Schools Are Attraction.

A large proportion of the migrants at present consist of families. Better schools in the northern cities have been an important drawing factor. With the common laborers, also, has come an influx of Negro business and professional men, trade following the migration. The sheer growth of colored population in Chicago from 44,000 to 150,000, naturally has brought in many colored trades people and professional men, preachers, doctors, and lawyers.

Similarly other northern cities have registered a large Negro increase. New York in twelve years has doubled its colored population. So has Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh region has had a great influx. So has Cleveland, which in ten years saw its Negroes increase from 8,400 to 35,000. Detroit now has more than 50,000 Negroes, nearly ten times as many as it had in 1910.

Women migrants, generally speaking, are not going into domestic employment. Instead, they are increasing in the industries. In Chicago many of them are now in the needle work trades. Numbers are in factories making lamp shades, while in the laundries they are extensively employed. Many work as charwomen and cleaners, waitresses, cooks, milliners, and dressmakers, but at the employment offices comparatively few seek positions as domestics.

A racial map of Chicago would show that the south side colored belt, a few years ago bounded by Twelfth street, Wentworth avenue, Indiana avenue, and straggling south to Fifty-fifth street, has now spread east to Lake Park avenue, taking in Michigan and Grand avenues, and has extended south to Sixty-ninth street. There are growing colonies on the north and west sides.

Where Negroes Have Village.

The Hull house district is being rapidly taken over by Negroes, while near Blue Island is the colony known as Robbins, which has Negroes in all the village offices.

Not all the Negroes live in hovels or in the poorer sections. Along Michigan, Indiana, and Grand avenues, one finds many blocks of fine residences, perfect in their appointments. But for the great majority of the migrants the housing conditions they find in Chicago are little better than they left in the south, owing to the congestion, although they get paved streets and sanitary plumbing. Surroundings are better, but on many streets of the south side the Negroes are crowded in as tightly as they are in Atlanta or Montgomery or Mobile.

DAVENPORT IA DEMOCRAT
AUGUST 16, 1923

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH AND NORTH.

The migration of Negroes from the South to the North has gone on in the last year or two to an extent that leads one Southern newspaper to say that the mule, down there, will now have to learn to understand the white man's language. Another editor responds that there's no cause for worry, as profanity sounds alike in all languages.

The situation for the South is more serious than that, however. If the colored population continues to leave, the white population will have to work—and that is a consummation never devoutly to be wished by the Southern "cracker."

The migration means a readjustment in the cotton fields, for the Negroes were the dependence of the cotton raiser. Mechanical cotton pickers are being developed that ere long will probably do the job and make so much cheap hand labor unnecessary.

Already the South is realizing that the right way to offset the movement away of the colored population is to raise the standard of living which was available to the colored people there. In most instances they have been accustomed to living on a scale that is little better than what the economists term a "bare subsistence level." Their houses are tumble-down affairs that are often inadequate even as shelters. Their food is of the poorest sort, with little or no variety—the same old things day in and day out. Their clothing is limited to makeshift garments and they rarely know what it means to possess anything that is not second-hand.

Living under these conditions, the Southern Negroes receive letters telling them how their friends and relatives live in the North and they think they are hearing fairy stories or tales of a veritable promised land. And they have the faith of children and all true believers, so they set out to get their share of the good things of life. Sometimes they find that their dreams come true. Not infrequently they are soon heartsick for the old home, and the probability is that when they find that there is a better living chance in the South they will many of them return to their old stamping ground.

An Article That Provokes Thought

Norfolk Journal & Guide

From The Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News

In the Atlantic Monthly for September, E. T. H. Shaffer writes on "The Negro Migration" thoughtfully and interestingly. "Certainly bygone conditions will never return," says he, "and so it is fair to assume that the movement which we see is but a beginning. There may be temporary breaks and pauses but the tide has set."

9-13-23

His reasoning is based on the assumption that within two years half a million Negroes have transferred themselves from the south to other sections, and he seeks to explain the relative tranquility of the south in the presence of a movement that threatens to strip it of a fourth of its available labor supply within a decade. The premise is of doubtful validity. The statistics on which the size of the movement is computed are at best approximations, subject to the same sort of exaggeration that makes every man worth $200,000 or more a millionaire in the popular estimation. Nevertheless, even if the figure of half a million is scored down heavily the fact remains that the movement is a large one, and no intelligent effort to explain it is devoid of interest. It is also a fact that, except in comparatively rare instances, the south has regarded the movement with a singular lack of excitement. Mr. Shaffer accounts for the movement and for the south's calm as it proceeds by the startling hypothesis that the south is just about through with the Negro anyhow.

Norfolk, Va.

Mr. Shaffer adds:

"In the older south the Negro found an ideal home and congenial occupation. Cotton brought him to America; an so long as the large cotton-plantations existed, he was content to jog along in a shiftless servile status but a step removed from actual bondage. But there is no place for such a class either in the new scientific warfare required to grow cotton under boll-weevil conditions or in the intensive struggle which it takes to bring to success a modern diversified farm."

If that is the case, there is no longer any sufficient reason why the Negro should stay, and still less reason for the south to attempt to detain him. Indeed this writer inclines to the view that the white south may be justified in regarding the movement with a certain complacency.

"Inquiring into the possible effects upon the south of the migration," says Mr. Shaffer. "I can see no eventual injury. The Negro has never played any part in southern industrialism; the old system of cotton-growing, where he seems to have been essential, will soon be as dead as indigo culture on the coasts of Carolina; in those new methods of scientific and intensive farming which constitute the one hope of the agricultural south he has shown neither willingness nor aptitude to assume a share. Should his exodus continue to the point where his numbers show a marked decrease, the results may be a beneficial influx of white immigration intothe southern states—something that has not occured for a century."

A good many southerners have long been convinced that a temporary labor shortage might well be endured by the south if it resulted eventually in relieving the pressure of race problems. A good many will follow Mr. Shaffer still further, into his ingenious argument that the Negro alone has profited by the Negro's presence in America during the lase 200 years. That appears strained; we are willing to grant to the Daily News to be somewhat that the Negro has profited more than the white man, but to say that he alone has profited is putting it a bit strong.

Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH AUG 18 1923

CLIPPINGS TELL HOW NEGROES ARE FARING IN EASTERN CITY

Housing Evil in Buffalo Is Acute Articles in Newspaper Declare

A letter from Mrs. William Wood, Jr., of Buffalo, N. Y., former Mrs. B. Sanders Walker, of Macon, which she enclosed two newspap clippings from the Buffalo Expres has been received and tells a sto that might serve as a warning to t many negroes in this section who a planning to migrate to the North.

Enough houses to furnish livin quarters for the negro migrants ar not available in the city of Buffal and for those that are occupied b negroes rentals out of proportion t the worth of the houses are charge The immediate need of 300 homes i pointed out in one of the newspap clippings. Negroes are arriving i Buffalo from the South, on an averag of 500 every week.

Housing Evil Acute

The article in part is as follows:

The housing evil of the negroes in Buffalo is so acute that if immediate measures are not taken, Buffalo may expect a congestion comparable only to the lower East Side of New York.

As the negro population is increasing weekly the problem of finding shelter for all becomes more accentuated. It is no uncommon thing to find eight persons living in three small rooms. Large families are often separated due to the inability to find enough rooms in one house compatible with the family earnings. When the family contains but three or four members boarders are sought whose contributions help pay the rent.

Not only is it almost impossible to find sufficient rooms, but the rentals asked are out of proportion to the value of the house. But shelter must be had. That some of the shacks and shanties rented to the negroes for homes are not fit for hibitation was attested yesterday by Sanitary Inspector Millar, who covers the negro district. Four houses were condemned yesterday in Arsenal place, he reported.

Another factor in the housing situation today is the discrimination manifest against the negroes.

If complaints to the health department are made, the usual procedure followed is to send a form letter to the landlord who either ignores the letter or threatens the occupants with instant eviction if the action is repeated. When a repair is made, such as papering the walls, or installing a toilet or both, the rent is increased. Only when conditions have become intolerable is any action taken. Condemnation of the building is the final chapter written in the history of decrepit houses built many years ago.

Difficult Problem Faced

The second clipping, an editorial that appeared Aug. 7, pointing out that the city is facing a difficult problem in housing the negroes arriving in such great numbers is, in part, as follows:

Attention has been directed in the news columns of the Express to the plight of negro newcomers to the city. The buildings which many of them are compelled to rent are not fit for human habitation and it is believed that in numerous instances the rents they are compelled to pay are exorbitant. Conditions for the majority are hardly improved by the condemnation of ancient structures in the vicinity of William Street and Michigan Avenue, although in no case that has come to notice were the city authorities too hasty in ordering a building to be razed. Once, at least, the order to vacate came too late—the rotten walls collapsed before the family got out.

It is not to Buffalo's credit that the negroes must pay so dearly for inadequate, unsanitary quarters, because it is not fair treatment of a group who contribute much to the industrial activity of the community. The problem of their housing, it is true, is more difficult because of race prejudice, but it is not a problem impossible of solution. Are there civic or welfare organizations, which could help to ameliorate conditions? Or might not the larger employers of negro help organize a company which would build homes that could be rented to negroes at rates within their means, or assist the negro company which has been struggling with the problem?

Negroes Are Numerous

In her letter Mrs. Wood said, "I think there are more negroes here than in Macon, especially in the Lackawana section. Some of them look very tired after the long gruelling shift and some looked homesick to me—that may have been imagination on my part.

"Mr. Wood stopped the car one night and talked to a couple of typical farm negroes. One said that he intended living up here as he could not make a living in the South; said that most of the negroes coming here preferred staying in the South, if they could make as much as $2.50 a day.

"The other negro said he was going home before it snowed; said lots of them felt the same way. . . . Both negroes were from Georgia."

About Intersectional Migrations

"The negro migration is not the whole story," says the Toledo Blade. "Southern white men and women are migrating, too. An attentive ear can catch the soft syllables of Southern speech in almost any Northern community of size," the Blade tells us, and continues: "The North is now, and ought to be permanently, the better for these new citizens. They are of the purest of that stock we speak of as American. Beneath the easygoing customs of the Southern whites, more traditional than native, is a surprising alertness. Change of climate seems to make it more apparent. The South has retained the old family allegiance while it has been breaking down in the North. We have gained nothing to take its place and if the Southerner can reintroduce it, he will have made himself all the more welcome."

The Blade discusses no new movement in alluding to the migration f Southern whites. It has been going on for more than a generaon. All the important cities of the Lake States as well as of the iddle and New England States have their large and influential Southonies, and all the Southern States have contributed generously to this movement of Southern whites. It is gratifying, too, to obtain from such an eminent authority as the Blade testimony that they are welcome and recognized as desirable, for, though the Southern whites have their faults, along with people of all other sections, they possess lovable and admirable qualities that entitle them to generous consideration in their new homes.

Houston Post

Now that the Blade has mentioned the matter, The Post can go further and speak with equal appreciation of the incoming tide of Northern people who now constitute so large and desirable an element of Southern population. They, too, have brought desirable characteristics which have been of great benefit to the South's native population. Their fine business acumen has aided no little in developing such splendid cities as have grown up in the South during the past thirty years. Thus if our migrating sons and daughters have sought opportunities in the great North, so have we been compensated richly by the splendid men and women who have come from the North to take their places.

Houston, Texas

These counter movements have been a blessing to the whole country and have done more than anything else to eradicate sectionalism. Texas and Houston have room for many Northern people—not only room, but a welcome. The impulse they have given to all that improves and enriches a people is of inestimable consequence to us, and as they prosper amongst us, they are teaching us how to prosper. In the contact, we find that they are good people and they find that we are not so bad as others who do not know us well think we are.

The Southern people have been harshly criticised at times by Northern politicians and publicists, and many times unjustly. We mention the circumstance only as a predicate for the statement that the Southern white people, from Virginia to Texas, are always willing to leave their case in the hands of their fellow citizens who formerly lived in the North, knowing that they will be just and intelligent in their judgment.

9-11-23

The nation has no surer guaranty of perpetuity than this interchange of population by the sections and the consequent growing consciousness of the unity of the people in all the essentials of nationality. It is not what the people of one section do or are that make the nation great, but what the people of all sections do and are. Speaking for Texas, we can say to Ohio and all the North, come down and share our vast empire with us. And if Ohio and the North are not inclined to reciprocate the invitation, we are not to be abashed; we shall proceed with our invasion and take them.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement,

N Y CITY WALL ST JOURNAL
APRIL 26, 1923

EXODUS OF NEGRO LABOR CAUSES ALARM

Georgia Plantations Short of Hands—Big Losses in Other Southern States—Attracted by More Pay

Extent of the exodus of negro labor from farms and plantations to cities, reports of which have alarmed both north and south, is difficult to determine. From available data, however, it seems most pronounced in south Atlantic and gulf states.

In a statement to The Wall Street Journal Governor Lee M. Russell of Mississippi says:

"It is true that we have quite a considerable exodus of both negroes and white people from this state. However, this is the shifting population. They go to the cities and towns as a rule in other states. But, when negroes go north and stay awhile in the cold climate a large number drift back to Mississippi plantations.

"Our climate is so attractive to this class especially and our work is so easy for the average person, because it requires little or no skill, that we have a great country for the poor people. But school advantages and those modern things in the life of today are very attractive even to this class of people.

"While I could not answer as to how these propositions affects the entire south, I should say that 10 to 15% of the negroes have left Mississippi within the last twelve or fifteen months, possibly for good."

Julian B. McCurry of the executive department of Georgia, says:

"The exodus of negro labor from southern farms is appalling. They are leaving the farms in great multitudes, and the extent to which they are vacating our farms assures, beyond any discussion, the impracticability of a nodmal crop being made in Georgia, even if it had not been for the devastating influence of the boll weevil, which alone, in itself, necessarily is curtailing the production of cotton. And the above-mentioned state of affairs of course means that foodstuffs and other kindred products of the farm will necessarily be greatly reduced.

"It is estimated that in Morgan County alone (cited as a representative part of our state), with normal population three to one black, that only about one-third of this population of the colored race now remains. In normal times this county produces 40,000 bales of cotton. In 1922 it produced less than 1,000. The advent of the boll weevil and the disadvantages of combating this pest, and the deflation in values of farm products, and the lack of money, has driven the negroes largely to public works in the cities, where ready cash is available.

"Farmers of the south are not disheartened under these trying conditions but are making ready to use all available energy in raising cotton this year, but not cotton alone, for they have been taught a lesson. Before cotton, which has always been a surplus crop with the good farmer, they are going to raise their foodstuffs at home."

Governor John M. Parker, of Louisiana, says:

"Boll weevil, short crops, the uncertainty of returns to tenants, with the low prices of the past eighteen months have caused an immense number of field laborers to leave the south. This applies especially to the younger and more vigorous men who have been exploited by labor agents, promised much higher pay and easier conditions.

"Labor is short everywhere throughout the cotton belt and throughout agricultural sections, and the tendency of both the white and negro is to move away from the farm to the city.

"A railroad man advised me a few days ago that his line alone had carried away, since last November, more than 55,000 laborers from the Delta lands of Mississippi and Louisiana."

Negro Churchmen Make Pathetic Plea For White Aid In Checking Negro Exodus

Atlanta Constitution
2-14-23

Many prominent negro leaders on their way to the bishop's council of the A. M. E. church, at Columbia, S. C., which meets next Thursday, assembled yesterday morning at Big Bethel church, and The Constitution was handed the following report, adopted by the meeting, as an expression of its views:

The committee's report follows:

Editor Constitution: We, the A. M. E. ministers, in weekly session in Bethel church, representing 285,000 members, 90,000 Sunday school students and many friends of our denomination, desire to express to you and your great newspaper our good feeling for the work you are doing for us in presenting the situation as regards the way our members, friends and kinspeople are leaving the south and going to the north, east and west.

We have been studying this question most minutely since the movement first began, and have been trying to decide what we could say or do to check it.

These people are giving away the earnings of a lifetime; they are ruining our church membership; they are breaking up our churches to the extent that they often take the pastor with them.

We, as pastors, presiding elders, teachers and bishops, feel the burden of this condition of affairs more than anybody else; and we feel that we would do more to prevent our people from going to other sections of the country than any other set of men, because they are ours by blood and we love them.

We believe that the best people in our section understand this matter, as extracts from your great editorials show, and as the attitude of alarm of State Commissioner of Labor H. M. Stanley attests.

The Constitution has pleaded for years that, while we are separate here from a social standpoint, our interests are common and that the negro should be given a fair chance to make the most of himself and family. You can have no idea how this matter lays on our hearts and how much concerned we are about it. When the masses of the negro people are restless and their leaders cannot, in fact, hold out the promise of hope, you can at once see how soon our mission may come to an end.

You would be surprised to hear the story of some of our presiding elders and pastors from their charges each week. But we are not at all excited; we are not at all discouraged; we could do so much more if we understood each other better.

We pray you with your great newspaper to help us to help our people.. Bishop Flipper correctly advises his race to remain in the south. He says there is sufficient religion among the whitefolk to save the situation, and we believe he is right.

Among those present, who spoke on the resolution, were:

Bishop A. J. Carey, Dr. C. M. Tanner, pastor of the largest church among negroes in Chicago, and formerly of Big Bethel church; Rev. Charles S. Williams, of Indianapolis; N. J. McCracken, Dr. T. J. Scott, Noah Williams, of Chicago; Dr. R. J. Wilson and Dr. Lewis H. Owens.

(Signed): RICHARD D. STINSON,
Atlanta Normal and Industrial Institute;
J. S. FLIPPER,
Bishop A. M. E. Church over Georgia;
W. A. FOUNTAIN,
Bishop A. M. E. Church Louisiana and California;
J. H. M'FARLIN,
Atlanta District;
J. A. HADLEY,
Presiding Elder South Atlanta District;
T. J. LINTON,
Presiding Elder Hawkinsville District;
R. H. SINGLETON,
Pastor Big Bethel Church;
L. A. TOWNSLEY,
Presiding Elder West Atlanta District;
H. D. CANADY,
Presiding Elder Griffin District.
C. A. WINGFIELD,
Americus District;
B. V. THORNTON,
Marietta District;
JOHN HARMON,
Head of $5,000,000 Drive, A. M. E. Church;
J. T. WILKINSON,
Presiding Elder Dalton District;
W. J. WILLIAMS,
Pastor Cosmopolitan Church;
W. A. FOUNTAIN, JR.,
First A. M. E. Church, Athens, Ga.;
R. H. WARD,
Allen Temple Church, Atlanta.

ALBANY N Y TIMES UNION
APRIL 1, 1923

THE SHORT-SIGHTED SOUTH

RENEWAL of Negro migrations from the South is reported. During the war, when industrial labor was scarce, scores of thousands of Negroes left the farms and plantations of their native states and came north to secure the big wages then current. They were encouraged to remove by agents of northern employers. Factory work and a good deal of other kinds would have suffered but for the shifting then done. Immigration had ceased, millions of men were in the Army and there were more jobs than ever before above the Mason and Dixon line, while wages were of the highest. How many of the transplanted Negroes returned home after the armistice never has been disclosed and probably is beyond finding out. But those that did go back did not find conditions more to their liking than they were before. Although the South had complained bitterly against the enticing away of its man-power, essential to the cultivation of its fields, it learned nothing from the experience. And now it is threatened again, for labor conditions "up North" are alluring to the Southern Negroes. There is scarcity and wages are high. It is predicted they will go higher.

The South is dependent on Negro labor for its prosperity. And the Negro born in the South would rather live there than anywhere else. But he wants good treatment. He is entitled to it. Yet it is of record that discriminations which were practiced against him in the past have not been abated. That is why he is leaving, even though it is on the card that this is to be a year of great prosperity to the cotton grower. A large crop of American cotton is needed, surplus stocks of the world being much depleted; they have been reduced about 8,000,000 bales in the last two years. The Negroes who help raise the cotton ought to share in the prospective prosperity, but they have concluded it is useless to hope they will be permitted to do so. They can make more money and get better treatment in the northern states than in the South.

For the welfare of the country the Southern Negro should be encouraged to remain in the section for whose service and his own he is best fitted. But conditions being what they are and the South being indifferent to improvement, which rests with itself, general sympathy will be with the migrating people. May they prosper where they settle!

1200 SOUTHERN NEGROES LOCATED HERE SINCE JAN. 1

Urban League Reports 1500 Have Arrived and 1200 Stayed to Make Their Homes Here.

225 CAME IN LAST SUNDAY

Arrivals Average 100 a Week and Are Expected to Increase — Many Placed in Jobs.

A study of the migration of negroes from the South to St. Louis has been made public by the Urban League, a negro social service organization. The study was compiled by Gordon H. Simpson, executive secretary. About 1500 negroes arrived here from the South since Jan. 1, he found, and about 80 per cent of these, or 1200, took up residence here, the remainder going to Chicago, Gary, Ind.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Pittsburg and other industrial centers.

Those who remained here took homes in East St. Louis, Clayton, Kirkwood, Webster Groves and Kinloch Park, as well as St. Louis proper. The majority of the newcomers are from Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Mississippi and Tennessee. They were arriving at the rate of about 100 a week in the latter part of January, after which the rate increased. Last Sunday morning 225 arrived and the social workers are expecting even more to come as the weather grows warmer. Sunday morning is a favorite time of arrival.

It has been observed that many newcomers are met by friends or relatives and provided with housing and assistance in adapting themselves to city environment. Often there are family reunions, where men had come previously.

Some of the workers arriving had made previous arrangements for employment. The Urban League finds that there is work to be had now by all negro men and wo[illegible] who really want work. During March it placed 184 men and women who had just come from the South.

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
APRIL 23, 1923

THE NEGRO'S EYE ON NORTH STAR.

According to a report of the Department of Agriculture, 32,000 of the negro farm hands of Georgia, or 13 percent of the whole number, have moved North within a year. South Carolina has lost 22,750 and is now said to have an actual white majority in its electorate. Arkansas has lost 15,000, or about 3 percent. Alabama has lost 3½ percent; Florida, 2 percent; Louisiana, about 1 percent. In all these States, lack of labor will keep down acreage planted and crops gathered.

That the planters have gone the limit in trying to prevent this movement northward is indicated by the current Dow Service Building Report. Northern brick manufacturers have struggled to get negro labor to take the place of Slavs, Hungarians and Finns barred out by the immigration laws. "Whole consignments of laborers are arranged for shipment north, but somehow they do not arrive." Why?

Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude Southern man power have been detained when about to entrain with their gangs of laborers for the North, by ostensible process of police power and while a hearing is in progress the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another, and finally the would-be employer returned without help. * * * By way of the "underground," somewhat similar to the famous slavery-day routes, the North is being supplied, but not with the caliber of labor that the employer himself would pick out.

Of course there is no law to prevent a Northern employer from offering what he chooses to offer for labor in any State in the Union, or from taking out of any State the workers who agree to go. But in States where lynching prevails the terrorizing of a gang hired out to go North is wholly possible. The "underground" remains—the negro's eye is fixed on the North Star as it was before the Civil War, and little by little the black farm population gets away. Lynching and terrorization accomplish something, but they can be no perfect substitute for the police power which made it difficult for the slave to run away.

Our own belief, more than once expressed, has been that if planters would compel fair play for the negroes, recognizing their rights under the United States Constitution, suppressing lawless whipping parties and lynching parties, and forcing justice equal for the two races in the courts, no temptation would draw the colored people away from the Cotton States. Climate, home ties, race inertia are powerful forces against wage-offers. But the planters have preferred a different policy and have only themselves to blame if labor is leaving them.

NEGRO EXODUS CUTS PLANTING IN SOUTH

Government Survey Shows Big Migration of Farm Workers to North.

GEORGIA LOSES 13 PER CENT.

Other States Forced to Limit Acreage—Higher Wages Are Sought.

N Y TIMES
APRIL 23, 1923

WASHINGTON, April 22.—A general movement of Southern negro farmers to Northern industrial centres, where high wages are obtainable, is indicated in a special survey of farming districts in the South made by the Department of Agriculture.

Unprofitable cotton growing, due to boll weevil conditions, unrest among returned negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from farms during and after the war, and the breakdown of the contract labor system are cited in the report, made public today, as contributory causes of the migration.

Approximately 13 per cent., or 32,000, of the total number of negro farm hands in Georgia is estimated to have moved North during the last twelve months, and the movement continues, although crops for the present season are already started.

A large abandonment of acreage is reported, and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season. The situation in Georgia is declared to be much worse than that prevailing generally.

From South Carolina about 22,750 negro farmers, or about 3 per cent. of the total negro farm population, have departed.

The movement from Florida is estimated at about 2 per cent. of negroes living in or near farming communities.

Alabama reports that approximately 3½ per cent. of its negro farmers has moved North since the last crop season.

Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 negro farmers, or about 3½ per cent. of the negro farm population.

Movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no migration is reported.

Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent., Tennessee about 4,500 negro farmers, since April, 1922, while in Texas the farm labor situation apparently is not so serious as in the Eastern cotton-growing States.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
APRIL 23, 1923

Southern Negroes Continue Migration To Industrial Centers of North

RALEIGH N C Observer
JUL 2 8 1923

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NEGROES FIGHT AGAINST RETURN

Three Alleged Robbers Demand Hearing On Extradition Papers

Sergeant Saunders and Officer Crutchfield, of the Raleigh Police Force, who went to New York to bring back three negroes who are alleged to have robbed Jack Taylor's Tappe Store, are coming back to North Carolina empty-handed. They wired the chief of police last night that the three negroes had decided to fight extradition to this State and that the hearing had been set for August 6th.

The negroes, Ed Comminger, Jasper Norwood and Charlie Lassiter, are charged with breaking into the Tappe Store on Fayetteville street and robbing it of more than five thousand dollars worth of high-grade wearing apparel. Detective Jesse Wyatt worked up a case against the negroes on slim clues and finally cumstantial evidence against them. cumstntial evidence against them.

So complete was the information about the negroes that Crutchfield was able to locate them almost as soon as he arrived in New York. Further evidence was found at the Seventh avenue room which they occupied.

Police last night were of the opinion that it would be necessary for Solicitor W. F. Evans or other attorney for the State to attend the hearing in New York if the negroes are to be returned for trial. Police think that the negroes have employed attorneys with the proceeds of the robbery and will fight extradition to the end of their funds. It is feared that the negroes will mislead the New York authorities with tales of cruelty and persecution in North Carolina.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

MAKING SENTIMENT AGAINST THE NEGRO

The editor had an engagement with one of Philadelphia's leading lawyers at 4 P. M. a few days ago. Our business was finished by 4:15 and as we took our hat to leave, the lawyer stated, "It is a shame how these poor colored people are being treated here. Don't you think the best thing is for them to stay down South?"

We had the lawyer to answer his own question. To make a long story sort, both the editor and the lawyer missed their evening meals and sat in the lawyer's office until 7:40—nearly three hours and a half—discussing the Negro question, in many phases—migration, birth and death rates, the school question, intermarriage, disfranchisement, etc. To our surprise, the lawyer had considerable information on all of these subjects, and in true legal fashion, gave it to us. Of course the pity of it all was that most of it was misinformation. For example, he had based his theory that the Negro could not live in the North upon certain generalizations that had been handed down for many years on the high death-rates of Negroes, and that the Negroes did not reproduce themselves in the North, and that the climate was too hard for them, that they could not live in densely populated cities, etc. (He seemed to have mastered Hoffman's book, "Race Traits and Tendencies," very thoroughly.) We offered to furnish the lawyer with the vital statistics of Negroes for every city in the North compared with the large cities in the South to disprove his proposition. His final words to us were these: "I hope we will get together on this question again. It is intensely interesting, and I have never talked with anybody who seemed to have the grasp of it that you have. The facts that you present are certainly not known by most white people. Why don't you publish them?"

We related this incident to another colored gentleman in this city and he said he had had the same experience with a distinguished white physician. He had consulted him upon a matter and after the consultation, they had enered into a discussion of the Negro from the South, and both had missed other engagements—the doctor kept a number of patients waiting more than an hour, and let the colored man go reluctantly.

We mention these two incidents for the reason that they show the intense interest which people have in this particular question, and the necessity for our own people to present their side of the situation. The Ku Klux Klan and other organizations are busy making sentiment against the Negro throughout the North. For instance, the lawyer said that his son who is a student in the university, came in one day and said he thought the Negroes did not have any right in the North. He had drawn his conclusion from reading the Negro stories appearing in the Saturday Evening Post which he believed were correct descriptions of the shiftlessness and general worthlessness of Negroes. The daughter of a white business man just coming from high school, said to her father that she thought there ought to be separate schools for Negroes. She had been reading some stories concerning Negro life and had become utterly disgusted. She said that when she saw a Negro, she thought that she could choke him.

These incidents which were reported by the fathers of these children show how the young generation is being educated in the Negro problem, and both fathers asked, "What are Negroes doing to counteract the sentiment against them?" We trust that the seriousness of this will appeal to those who read it. We cannot let our efforts die with saying, "It is too bad," or "It is not fair." We must do something constructive. There are millions of white people who are fair, who would give the Negro a square deal, if they knew the facts. But like the lawyer and doctor referred to above, they get all the facts from the other side and are prejudiced against us. Instead of helping us to open doors, they now help to close them against us. We must make sentiment in our favor.

VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
OCTOBER 11, 1923

THE NEGRO UP NORTH.

The negro is comparatively a new element in the North and it is quite natural that he should be shown more consideration than will be given him later on. We naturally put up with strangers and try to harmonize differences without a clash. It is only when we find that the differences are not adjustable that the collision comes. Up north the negroes have not found the Elysian fields that they expected to find. They have not found any sort of "equality". On the contrary, they have found as much racial prejudice as ever existed in the south, without the feeling of sympathy which generations of association has kindled in the breasts of the native whites.

In the north the negro has run against an element that he has not had to deal with in the south. It is the very large foreign population, most of them reared in an atmosphere of intolerance, and most of them belonging to organizations that do not look with favor on the importation of negroes from the south to compete with them in the trades. This element is largely filled with men who are anxious for a chance to thump a negro's head or join a gang to "run him out of town."

And it is not the criminal classes who fare badly in the northern communities. The working negro is more offensive than the one who slinks from one section to another without coming in competition with the foreign laborer. Dispatches from Pittsburg yesterday told of how a vigilance committee of 200 white men "visited" all the negro families and several negro workers camps in the Stowe township and quietly issued the order for each negro to depart". This order followed the killing of a citizen by a negro last Saturday .

Reports indicate that in nearly every part of the north the "welcome" which was hung out for the negroes has been taken down and they are being "speeded" instead.

The negroes have not improved upon acquaintance and their lot it getting harder all of the time. The people are about as cold as the winter climate and the negro's shiftlessness grates upon them like the skate-blades upon the ice. The movement of the negroes to the north will be worth much ,though. both to the negroes and the two sections, as it will help the latter undersand each other better, while it will remove the eagerness of northern Pharisees in taunting the south over the way the negro is treated.

MIGRATION AND LABOR INVESTIGATION BEGUN

Bureau of Economic Research Seeks Causes and Results of Population Movements.

An investigation of migration and labor supply has been begun by the National Bureau of Economic Research at the request of the National Research Council. The work will be done by Dr. Harry Jerome under the supervision of the bureau's Director of Research, Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell.

Outlining the bureau's purpose in undertaking the study, Dr. Mitchell said in part:

"There are few public questions on which men now differ more sharply than on the wisdom of maintaining, relaxing or abolishing the present restrictions upon immigration into the United States.

"The Research Council, representing the scientific interests of the country, holds that the national policy should be based in the light of the best obtainable knowledge of the causes and effects of mass movements of population from one country to another."

Light is expected to be shed by the investigation now under way on the following questions:

To what degree and how promptly does immigration respond to an industrial boom or emigration to a depression?

Have fluctuations in migration been so timed that they have increased or decreased the intensity of the upward swing of the cycle?

Has the increase of immigration in periods of activity tended to prolong these periods by moderating the increase of labor costs per unit of output?

On the other hand, has migration affected unemployment in periods of depression?

Has emigration in large numbers materially mitigated unemployment or has migration been so tardy in its reaction to changing conditions that it has tended to intensify wage declines and to swell the ranks of the unemployed?

Dispatch
DEC 6 1923

STOP THIS ADVERTISING.

From The Cordele Dispatch.

Publicity for new people doesn't appeal to us. Georgia doesn't need any more advertising. It is getting a great deal too much today—of the wrong kind.

Read this for example. An old Cordele friend who worked side by side with us for a long time and has the right spirit sent us this from The Chicago Tribune:

> The Georgia exodus has cost the State $27,000,000 and left 46,000 farm houses vacant, has left 55,000 plows idle and has left 70,843 laborers' jobs vacant, according to an estimate by the Georgia Bankers' Association.

You have seen it before, but you doubtless have not stopped to think what it is costing Georgians—you do not know that the bankers of this State are doing this advertising, but they are. What do you think of it? How far would paid space go to counteract this piece of stuff—supposedly accurate—counted as positively accurate? Do you think we could overtake it with millions in publicity? Mind you, this is the work of the bankers.

It hurts because we sell less advertising space to our foreign users. Every newspaper in Georgia has been struck a powerful blow by this astounding piece of news. The largest users of our space concluded on seeing this that there is no money with which to buy their products—they tell us so, plainly and bluntly.

The idea is prevalent that every county in Georga is bankrupt, save those in which are the larger cities. It comes from reading this awful piece of news.

And the pitiful part about it is the fact that it isn't so. It isn't so in this territory. We've had poor seasons and suffered crop shortages on this account, but that's a temporary trouble. We rise from such conditions. What the bankers say is about things which do not change over season. They are counted as permanent ills—and there you are!

Well, this is a miserable mistake. **The attitude of the bankers in general in Georgia to the changes which must be made in farming is altogether unsympathetic.** It comes from a business line which ought to take hold and construct programs. But how often do you find a banker—a big financial number—engaged in laying plans for agricultural progress? We do not mean to discredit that which is being done. Some bankers are at work—and they are being felt. If the other bankers have no better place in Georgia than to disseminate this sort of news to other sections of this country, we say they ought to take a vacation right away—and then stay on it.

This farm about which the funeral has been said can bloom next year with prosperity. We know it can. This bank over here on the corner can tie itself to the business community in such a way as to become a real necessity—yes, it can. The banker need not close the doors and move away to Florida—or to Alaska. It is not necessary.

But the banker must take a new hold on farming. He must adjust himself—or the only thing to do is to get out and that in speedy manner. There is no better place on earth than right here—no better hour than now! Ask the fellow who runs around and bumps into somebody else—into business elsewhere. He knows that your chances are better right here.

Who will write The Chicago Tribune a letter and tell them that what the Georgia Bankers Association sent out about Georgia isn't so? Who will turn to what he has, take hold with a renewed grip here? The great outdoors is calling for red-blooded men to come and serve. We have the most wonderful State in the Union!

FIELD-HAND MAKING GOOD IN THE NORTH

The Negro who has deserted the cotton fields of the South for the industrial plants of the North is making good, according to heads of large manufacturing plants. By many he is rated far above the European immigrant.

N. Y. Age
11-10-23

E. F. Roberts, vice president in charge of the manufacturing at the Packard Car Company, Detroit, has this to say on the subject: "We have found in the Packard plant that the Negro, both in skilled and semi-skilled labor, is a good worker, considerably better than the average European immigrant. We have Negroes who have been in the employ of the Packard firm for a period of years, and we regard them as good substantial men. I think the Negro has a real future in industry in America"

Superintendent Tellinger of the Parker & Webb Packing Company of the same city declares "that finally in the human equation of industry the capitalist is more concerned with the unit of work produced in a given time at a given cost than they are in the color of the laborer's skin that produces the work."

Mr. Tellinger has made a statement which it would be well for Southern capitalists and employers of labor to ponder over, for the fundamental difference between the varying attitudes of North and South toward Negro labor is clearly revealed. The sooner the South gives more consideration to the unit of work produced in a given time at a given cost than to the color of a laborer's skin, the sooner that section will take its place as a strong economic factor—a status which long ago, due to its rich natural advantages and resources it should have atained but for bigotry, prejudice and intolerance.

If the Negro were given a square deal the South would not have to worry over its labor problem.

Atlanta, Ga. Post

NOV 13 1923

Idle Negroes in the North

Reports of many idle negroes in Chicago and other Northern industrial centers, and the claims of some of the big employers of labor that immigration restrictions should be modified to permit them to secure a sufficient labor supply, do not harmonize.

Neither do the roseate promises the Northern labor agents make to Southern negroes square with labor conditions as reported from some of the industrial districts to which the negroes have been lured.

The motive behind the propaganda of labor shortage is becoming more apparent. Certain interests are very desirous of obtaining cheap, ignorant labor from the old countries, which they can impose on, as in other days.

Before congress listens to the contentions of the labor agents of the big industries, it would do well to investigate the employment conditions of those hordes of Southern negroes who have been enticed to the North. They should have first chance at employment.

OCT 19 1923

TEXAS INVESTIGATES NEGRO LABOR IN NORTH

Wants to Know If They Are Being Badly Treated.

(By the Associated Press.)

AUSTIN, Texas, Oct. 18.—A nation-wide investigation of conditions of laborers that have migrated from southern states to northern states and other sections of the country is proposed by Joseph S. Myers, state labor commissioner, according to Mr. Myers' announcement of today. Commissioner Myers is at present working out details of the investigation plans.

Reports have come to the state commissioner of mistreatment of laborers transported to other sections from Texas, Myers stated. Other reports are that promises made the laborers to induce them to go to other states have not been carried out in many cases.

"The time is coming when Texas and other southern states will need laborers, rather than have a surplus as at present," Commissioner Myers said. "If the reports of mistreatment and unfavorable conditions in other sections are correct the laborers should be informed of these facts so as to prevent them from moving out of this section with proper forethought."

To make the investigation Mr. Myers will probably make an extended tour of industrial centers of the north and east, he said. While there he will gather information from laborers who have moved to those sections. Data concerning wages, hours of work, conditions of work, living conditions and other details will be compiled.

The state department has collected statistics showing that more than 40,000 Texas laborers, chiefly Mexicans, have migrated to northern and eastern states during the present year. The workmen have gone to other fields on inducements of higher pay and better labor and living conditions. Shipments went to New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, California and as far away as Alaska, Mr. Myers stated.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

NEW YORK HERALD
MAY 11, 1923

EXODUS OF NEGROES AFFECTS ALABAMA

It Is Causing Scarcity of Labor in Mines, Mills and Agriculture.

KLAN PARTLY BLAMED

Ku Klux Movement Forces Catholics Out of High Offices.

STATE FOR UNDERWOOD

Backs Him in Race for Presidential Nomination — Domestic Issues Foremost.

By LOUIS SEIBOLD.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.
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BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 10.—To what extent the migration of negroes from Alabama is due to the Ku Klux Klan is a subject of lively controversy among its citizens.

The problem is proving of greater importance to the State, however, than to any resulting from economic or political demoralization in European countries. Substantial blocks of the minority race are answering the industrial call of the North and thereby causing deep concern among the citizens interested in the development of the South. Discussion of foreign policies is purely academic or casual interest to the element of the population which tries to keep up with the progress of events.

The 2,300,000 population of the State of whom 900,000 are negroes do not appear to attach the importance to the foreign plans of the Government that they do to problems of domestic origin. There is no question that the exodus of negro help from the State is adding to prospective economic complications in the South.

Negro Exodus From Alabama.

Just how many negroes have left Alabama for more agreeable climes is uncertain. One estimate is that more than 25,000 negro citizens have left the State during the last two years for Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and New Jersey. In the same period 22,750 are known to have left South Carolina to "better their condition." The iron and coal mines and steel plants of the State are finding it increasingly difficult to get common labor. Agriculturists expect a scarcity of labor in the collection of the cotton, sugar, rice, corn and tobacco crops, and as to the future are apprehensive.

Some farmers are complaining of the shortage of farm hands for the first time in the history of the State. Two or three months ago recruiting agents representing steel and other industrial plants in Pittsburgh and Ohio manufacturing districts signed up 1,100 negroes in Georgia and Alabama.

The men who have given study to the negro problem in the South admit that higher wages do not constitute the sole reason for the readiness of negro help to move northward. They concede the logic which attributes the movement to other reasons. State laws which nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments is one of these reasons; another is the fear among negroes of the Ku Klux and the third naturally is based on social disqualifications.

Effect of the Ku Klux.

Whether there is complete justification for the apprehension among negroes over the Ku Klux movement is a matter of dispute. That such fear does exist and is deep-rooted and menacing can be easily established by anyone inquisitive enough to seek information on the subject from negro men and women as did the writer.

Quest for such information is attended with difficulties. Negro men and women who are approached at first professed complete ignorance of the activities and repressive achievements credited to Ku Klux Klan. It was only by most artful methods that reflection of the view held by negro people regarding the Klan could be obtained.

Once suspicion was allayed, however, the negro men and women who were interrogated by the writer candidly confessed their fear of the secret order which has extended its tentacles to many Southern States and has asserted power of discipline legally conferred only upon responsible officials of State and local communities.

Instances of the activity of the Klan in rural sections of Alabama were accounted by these men and women as partly due to personal experience but largely based on information that they accepted as reliable and conclusive. The recital of these cases left no doubt of the coercive effort upon the negroes, which coupled with the prohibitive State laws setting up insurmountable educational standards, prevent them from claiming the franchise privileges conferred on the negro race by the Constitution.

State Vote in 1920.

The effect of these State laws, which come in conflict with the Constitution, was clearly revealed by the fact that only 237,944 citizens of Alabama voted in the last Presidential election. On the basis of population at least 450,000 should have done so. Of those actually voted, only 74,000 cast their ballots for the Republican candidate, which was far above the average for most Southern States.

Inquiry as to the number of negroes who met the qualifications set up by State law leads to the belief that not more than 5,000 of the 900,000 negro population voted in the Presidential contest. Students of the negro problem in the State agree that oppressive local conditions and attractive industrial opportunities in the North combine to encourage the Alabama negro to move away.

The negro side of the case reflects the conviction that he can expect no hope from the Republican party and that he must seek amelioration from the conditions of which he complains through economic and not political agencies. He also admits that fear of the Ku Klux Klan is at the moment the most vital factor in influencing his ambition to move away.

The drive of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama is unmistakable, although its activities are meeting with resistance among the better elements of the population. While officials of the State assert independence of the Klan dictation, the assertion is to be accepted in a Pickwickian sense. Before the Ku Klux movement began many citizens of Catholic and Hebrew religious faith not only enjoyed the fullest legal privileges, but were honored with high offices.

Many men of Catholic faith were elected to important State, county and municipal offices. At the present time there is not a Catholic holding an important county, State or municipal office. Further than this, citizens who have been made the victims of the Klan policies say that they have been subjected to all sorts of indignities and hazing by groups asserting allegiance to the Klan. A reliable informant cites instances of "boycotting" by the followers of the Ku Klux Klan to express disapproval of Catholics and Jews.

Responsible for Some Outrages.

This type of politician is known in Alabama as a "Hill Billy." There are several representatives of this sort in Congress. In the North they would be described as "reds" or "radicals." On more than one occasion these Hill Billies have been responsible for outrages perpetrated upon negro citizens by lawless mobs. Between 1885 and 1922 there occurred in Alabama 836 lynchings, which placed the State fifth in the list of such undertakings. Following the introduction of the Dyer anti-lynching bill there was an appreciable decrease in the number of lynchings all over the South.

Spokesmen for the negro citizens of Alabama, in common with those of other States, admit keen disappointment over the failure of the Republican party, to which they have been consistently loyal since the civil war, to put the measure through. Force of habit and tradition bind the negroes to the Republican party, but the more progressive of them would undoubtedly welcome an opportunity to find a more sympathetic allegiance.

Despite the Ku Klux Klan and demagogic politicians Alabama is making steady economic progress. The steel, coal and iron industries are keeping apace with the expanding development in the North and are sharing in the resulting wave of prosperity. Agriculture is pronounced by the authorities to be in a "healthy condition." Sugar, cotton, lumber and corn prospects "were never better." Banking, wholesale and retail trade are brisk. The 1,000,335 farmers of the State are making substantial progress toward organization of productive units.

The State is financially in a healthy condition. The outcry against taxes is no more pronounced than in other sections of the country. The State has no income tax, nor is it loaded down with soldier bonus obligations despite the enthusiasm displayed for the Federal project by Senator Heflin. The only troubles in the Democratic organization are factional and due only to conflict of emotions and individual ambitions.

The Republican organization does not amount to anything, except as prospective delegate support contingent upon the rules of trade. The Democrats display little interest in the development of foreign events. They will simulate enthusiasm for the League of Nations if it is made a feature of the party platform. They do not appear to know or care anything about the international court project. Both parties agree that Mr. Harding will be renominated. Republicans do not appear to have any second choice, but are "open to conviction" under certain emergencies.

Senator Underwood is easily first in the affections of the Democrats of the State. Both houses of the State Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution indorsing his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President. The bar association has paid him the unusual honor of asserting his admirable fitness for standard bearer of his party. Henry Ford has a few friends among the political element, mainly because of his plan to take over the Muscle Shoals project.

Senator Heflin will have considerable opposition if he aspires to another term. The conservative element of the party will get behind John Bankhead, son of the former Governor and Senator. The other element will support Representative Huddleston, who is much the same type as Mr. Heflin and quite as resourceful a politician.

CHICAGO DAILY POST
APRIL 26, 1923

THE NORTHWARD TIDE

One of the peculiar features of the industrial situation is that it bids fair to mitigate the much-discussed Negro problem of the south. The shortage of unskilled labor in the northern industrial centers has started an exodus which is working remarkable changes in the racial complexion of the country south of the Mason and Dixon line.

In 1910, 55 per cent of the population of South Carolina was Negro. Today the whites are in the majority. Three and one-half per cent of the Negro population of Alabama has moved north. Georgia authorities report the departure of 32,000 of its dusky citizens, and Arkansas about 15,000.

Many of the emigrants are either small farmers or have been employed on the cotton plantations, and their former employers are beginning to fear a labor shortage.

This may mean the introduction of a hitherto unused source of labor—the mountain white who has clung tenaciously to his isolated fastnesses since the days of the revolution.

That, however, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling was wont to write, is another story.

Negro Leaders Give Reasons for Migration From Mississippi

Jackson, Miss, May 2.

The Negroes held a mass meeting in Jackson on yesterday and after pledging themselves for mutual co-operation issued the following address:

To the Citizens Mass Convention of the State of Mississippi,

Greetings:

Gentlemen:—Having been informed that the object of your meeting is to take steps to try to stay the present exodus of Negroes from the State of Mississippi and being ourselves property holders, citizens of the state and most deeply interested in the future welware of the commonwealth, realizing that anything that is detrimental to the common good of the state is equally detrimental to us, and being Negro citizens ourselves, we beg to submit the following as a few of the many reasons which cause the Negro to be so easily induce to leave the state:

1. The Negro feels that life is not safe in Mississippi, and his life may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation, by a white man.

2. The record filibuster, vote and defeat by the southern representatives in congress against the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, in the last congress, has caused the Negro to believe that the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate therein lynch-law and mob violence in the South.

3. The Negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section. He has lost faith and a few of the following facts all tend to force him to this conclusion:

(a) While he realizes that the law on its face is fair, yet he feels that when it comes to an application of that law to him, only too often it is but a dead letter.

(b) He realizes the fact that though he is equally taxed with the white man, that he gets only too often, but few of its benefits, and that while all school money, under the law, should be divided equally, that he gets only about one-twentieth of his share, or in other words: for every dollar spent for the education of the Negro child in the State of Mississippi, there about $20.00 spent for the education of the white child.

(c) That there are more than one thousand high schools in the state for whites, while there is but one such public school in the state maintained for Negroes.

(d) That though there are about eight hundred consolidated rural schools in the state for whites, there is not one for Negroes.

(e) That though more than $100,000.00 is spent monthly for the transportation of white children to and from school, not one dollar is spent for Negro children.

(f) That the wage paid Negro teachers is wholly insufficient to induce competent teachers, as a rule, to teach Negro schools.

(g) That though all schools for whites are built out of the common fund, raised by the taxation of both white and black, the Negro is called upon by the state through its representatives to solicit charity, to build his own little, meager school house out of his own personal funds, supplemented by philanthropy, wherever he may, perchance, find it.

(h) Though there are 50-odd agricultural high schools supported by the state for whites, there is not one such school in the state for Negroes.

(i) That though the state has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth, at a cost of more than $1,000,000.00 and spends $30.00 per month, per capita, upon each white derelict youth, to bring him back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent in this way for the reformation of the Negro derelict, but he is thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals, only to be made worse.

(j) That though the state has spent several millions in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the state, yet there is no place whatever in the state where the Negro may go and receive treatment for this dread malady, notwithstanding the fact that the Negro is said to be more subject to this disease than the whites.

(k) That though the state has spent several million dollars for white feeble-minded children, and though the Negroes are in the majority in the state, not one dollar has been spent to aid the feebleminded Negro youth.

(l) The capacity and support of Alcorn College is not one-tenth what it should be—the state itself contributing less than five cents per capita, Negro population, for the higher education of Negroes.

Though there are several colleges and a State Normal College maintained by the state alone, for whites, no such institutions are maintained for Negroes as such—Alcorn being a Morill Land Grant School, intende dto be the equal of Starkville A. & M. College but has not had one-tenth of the support heretofore given that great institution.

(m) The state maintains and supports an institution for the white blind, and has for the past forty-odd years, but none for Negroes.

(n) It appears that almost innumerable Negro tenant farmers charge their landlords with either no settlement, or an unfair stttlement, and many of these Negroes after appealing to both state and federal authorities in vain, have given up in despair and sought other climes, some of them charging that a state of peonage exists in certain sections of the state.

(o) The Negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of a hundred Negroes.

That no public improvement, as a rule, is made in those sections of towns and cities occupied by Negroes.

(p) No landlord should be permitted to sell his tenant's crop, but should be forced by law to deliver to him in kind.

(q) The State of Mississippi sent more Negro soldiers to the World War than whites, but the Negro boys on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the state and government which they fought to defend, than the German enemy whom they helped to stay from American soil.

(r) The Negro, generally, finds himself wholly excluded from all jury service, whatsoever, and from all participations whatsoever in the state and national government under which he lives.

This he holds responsible for all of his many inequalities and injustices under the law, and feels that notwithstanding the kindly feelings of many to the contrary, that such a state and condition must ever remain, just so long as he is denied the ballot, since history affords no example of mutual co-operation, contentment, and mutual welfare, where one group assumes guardianship of another, and attempts to govern them without the consent of the governed.

(s) In our humble judgment there is no hope whatever of bringing back the Negroes who have already left the state, but the only hope lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of these who are here.

Respectfully submitted,
S. D. Redmond, Chairman.
M. E. Anderson, Secretary.

Committee on Address: J. W. Hair, G. W. Cox, E. L. Trivine F. W. Richardson, W. L. Moon, R. L. Johnson, A. J. Thomas, E. L. Patton, W. A. Scott, J. W. Isable, O. W. Jones, R. J. Garrett, A. M. Red-

"GEORGIA IS TOO POOR."

ATLANTA, Ga., May 12.—Georgia is "too poor to offer rewards of $10 a day to remain in the state," declared Commissioner of Agriculture J. J. Brown today, commenting on reports southern states were making an effort to halt the exodus of negroes to the north. Commissioner Brown said Stanley said there was "nothing to the report" so far as Georgia is concerned.

Cleveland Front Line City In Helping Migrants

CLEVELAND, Ohio, April 20.—Cleveland has stepped into the whirl of adjustment of the effects of migration with a vim that is attracting attention. There are almost 50,000 Colored people in Cleveland, and still they come. The demand for workers continues, and all who wish employment are finding it.

There are three principal thoroughfares, Cedar, Central, and Scobill Avenues, along which Colored people are holding sway. Woodland avenue is being taken in for good measure. Central and Scovill avenues are being paved, through activities brought about by Councilman Thomas W. Fleming, and soon Central Avenue, the principal business thoroughfare, is to be made a "Great White Way" with the latest pole electric light. A number of new enterprises have been opened this spring.

Labor— 1923.
Migration Movement.

Counsel to the Negroes of the South.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, closing an editorial urging the appointment of a St. Louis commission to take hold of conditions brought about by the large influx there of negroes from the south, says:

"Incidentally, however, it is well to inform our negro citizens that the Northern cities are not paved with gold nor flowing with milk and honey. If they can do anything to prevent a disastrous influx of their workers and families into cities where there is no room for them, they should do so. We cannot encourage the exodus of the entire Southern negro population. There is no place for more than a reasonable number of them in St. Louis or elsewhere in the North. Too many would be sure to cause trouble and even suffering. A word to the wise is sufficient."

SEP 1 1923

ONE OF THE IMMIGRANT TRIBE BACK IN THOMASVILLE.

Thomasville Times-Enterprise: Tom Jenkins came back to Thomasvile recently after spending six months in the East. He had a very interesting experience but he says now that he came back home because he found out after trying it for a sufficient time, that he was better off here than anywhere else.

He spent a time at Detroit and worked for big wages, finding that it cost him more to live than he was making. He went to Toledo and then Akron and then Cincinati and it was the same in every instance. He got high wages but he didn't find it possible to be even fairly comfortable on the wages he did get. Conditions were against him. He was without friends and didn't like the atmosphere. He came back home and says he has been cured of any more of this migration business.

Tom is a negro, a fine worker and one intelligent enough to want to better himself if possible. He didn't make any great hurry about going but he tried it out and came back perfectly satisfied that he is in the best place in the world. There are a lot more that will follow Tom's example within a short time, he says, for all of them to get back home before winter sets in if they know what's good for them and their families.

Migration Not a Serious Problem

A correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch writes from Savannah that the migration of negroes to the North "is not merely an exodus; it is a stampede." He relates that cabin after cabin has been deserted, acres upon acres of fertile lands are untilled, weeds and wild flowers are overgrowing the former realm of King Cotton, "and not even a human being to ruffle the oppressive silence save the occasional approach of a traveler."

All this is impressive, but in reality there is nothing to be done about it. Migrations have taken place before. Texas and the West were settled by families leaving the older Seaboard States, and the pioneers left many vacant farms behind them. Others took their places, and if the migrating negroes do not return history will repeat itself. The land does not increase in area, and it must be tilled if the nation is to be fed and clothed.

Whatever economic problem is presented will solve itself; we may be sure of that. Governor Hogg was much in favor of negroes going North in reasonable numbers as the surest way of settling the race problem. He held that a large negro population in the North would give the white people of that section a clearer view of the practical phases of the problem and correspondingly relieve the South of the onus of the responsibility. It was his view that it would impart a national, rather than a sectional, cast to the problem and improve the understanding of both North and South. There is much merit in that view.

There is the possibility, too, that in the States most affected by the migration the tenancy evil may be considerably mitigated, which in the long run would be beneficial.

If the negro's economic position improves in his new environment, nobody will object. The average earning capacity of the Georgia or South Carolina negro is not large—certainly is far below what the earning of so much physical energy ought to be. At present the average Southern negro is not employed as fully as he should be.

The Post is far from beholding the present movement as a calamity. If the negro's best opportunity is in the North, that is where he ought to be, and Southern white people ought to be the last to impede his going; if it is not, he will not be long in ascertaining the fact and he will return.

FROM the *Crisis*, of which Dr. DuBois is the brilliant editor, we take the following delightful and truthful analysis of the state of mind of the Southern press concerning the Negro exodus from that section of the country:

We have carefully read a sheaf of white Southern papers and gleaned the following facts concerning the continued migration of Negroes:

1. No Negroes are leaving the South save a few of the ne'er-do-well floaters.

Negroes are leaving daily by the tens of thousands.

2. The South is glad to see them go.

The South is going to stop their going.

3. Cotton and Southern agriculture are threatened with ruin.

The migration is the best thing for the South.

4. The Negro loves the South.

The South has lynched 4,000 Negroes and will lynch others when it pleases.

We are certainly glad to get this clear outline of fact on which to base our own conclusions.

BRING MORE OUT SOUTH TO WORK

"Hundreds of our men and women are arriving in Chicago and other Northern cities each week. It is a good sign. It shows that at last the members of our Race who have been living in the shadow of death by the lynchers and under the baneful influences of the Jim Crow laws and other humiliating conditions which make the Southland a good place to steer clear of, are waking up. It shows further that the wonderful housing conditions, the public school systems for their children and the living wages given workers are being recognized and accepted by Race men and women from below the sticks. And they are coming North in droves. They are coming despite the fact that at every turn they are finding handicaps placed against their leaving — physical handicaps — backed by the lying propaganda of a set of the affected whites and by a group of unprincipaled jackals of their own color.

The writer of this article has spent some time in investigating true conditions at many of the industrial centers. Never before have conditions been so favorable in the northern, eastern and western sections of the United States. Work is plentiful and salaries are high in all lines of labor. An instance occurred in Chicago one day last week which is typical of what is going on daily. Two bus loads were leaving an employment office. They were loaded with men of the Race and were headed for a steel mill located a few miles south of the city. The man in charge of the office was approached.

"How many men have you hired today?" we asked.

"All we could get," he laughingly replied. "We were asked for 300 but we could send only 105. It has been the same for the past week—we have barely been able to secure a third of the number needed—despite the fact that the minimum pay is 47½ cents an hour with pay and a half for all overtime above eight hours. Our offices at Pittsburgh, Columbus, Detroit and other points report the same condition. The jobs are absolutely permanent, too, and salaries are raised as fast as the competency of the men is increased through experience."

Workers from the South are being "grabbed" as fast as they come in. There are a great variety of jobs for laborers—jobs of every description—and working conditions are practically perfect. It is a fact that all mills, factories and other places where large numbers of men are employed are laying great stress on sanitary perfection and general attractiveness in the construction of their buildings, etc. Efficiency experts have taught them that with proper environment and pleasant working surroundings a better class of laborers can be secured and a larger amount of satisfactory work turned out.

Workers who are dissatisfied with the Jim Crowing, Race-baiting practices of the whites in the South should not hesitate to take advantage of these conditions. No race of people in the world could be expected to continue, in these enlightened times, to be herded like cattle in foul-smelling railroad coaches, humiliated by having to use a prescribed section of street cars and insulted on account of an unavoidable "color scheme," without some sort of protest. If you must go to a Jim Crow ticket window in the Jim Crow depot to buy a ticket in a Jim Crow car, let the ticket read for a point in the North, East or West and let the Jim Crow rolling stock deliver you into a section of the country where you will be well paid for getting a square deal and where you can look the world boldly in the face and say, "I am a man."

NEGRO EXODUS OFFSET BY TREK HOMEWARD

Average of 1,200 Leave Weekly; 700 Return.

LABOR MARKET SWAMPED

Local Railroad Official Says Blacks Coaxed Northward by Letters From Friends and Relatives, Not Labor Agents.

The general exodus of negroes, to points in the north is offset to a great extent by the return to the south of negroes who, unable to find employment in northern cities, are returning to their former homes to resume their places in the cotton fields, according to information gathered by R. J. Carmichael, assistant general passenger agent at Memphis for the Illinois Central system.

The bulk of the negro exodus is handled out of Memphis by the Illinois Central Railroad and an average of 1,200 negroes are going north each week, in extra cars attached to regular trains every day and a special train each Saturday night. To offset this exodus that has presented a serious labor problem to the south, an average of about 700 negroes are returning to the south each week, present statistics show.

"My opinion is that southern negroes are finding the labor market in Chicago flooded, and, unable to secure work, they are coming back home," Mr. Carmichael said yesterday.

"My information is that great numbers of men are out of work in Chicago and that sections of some of the streets there present scenes reminding one of periods of depression rather than time of prosperity.

"We are operating daily two or three extra coaches out of Memphis for Chicago, to handle the negro travel from here. On Saturday nights we operate a special train and it is invariably well filled and often crowded.

Hundreds Coming Back.

"Our statistics show that about 700 negroes are leaving Chicago each week for points in the south. I have no exact information as to the cause for their return other than reports emanating from Chicago that there is a surplus of labor there."

"Campaigns against labor agents are, in my opinion, a waste of time and energy. Many negroes have gone north and secured work and they have written to friends and relatives at home urging them to go north. In some instances these letters have been written at the instance of foremen and superintendents at points in the north, where negro labor is employed."

Negroes Want to Come Back.

In response to inquiries in several northern cities as to the possibility of securing negro labor in the event it may be wanted during the cotton picking season, the Southern Alluvial Land Association here has been informed that it will be possible to get negro laborers who went north in the last few months and who are now anxious to return "home," but the number obtainable likely will not be large.

"Frankly, I must say that I am in no position to say in just what numbers families can be secured," wrote a St. Louis labor agent; "but I feel reasonably certain that negro single men can be secured in good numbers. This varies at times. I would judge that from 10 to 25 men can be gotten at one time on short notice; more if we have a few days to advertise."

The same agency reported it had just sent 40 negro laborers into Oklahoma for railroad track work at 30 cents an hour, most of them leaving jobs paying 40 and 45 cents an hour.

"A great many are sorry they came north, as there is a growing depression at hand and the 'darkies' seem to get released when things become bad, and I feel safe in saying that many have not the money to return home, as much as they would like to. This condition is not as manifest here as it is farther north."

SEP 2 1923

NEGROES' NORTHWARD EXODUS CONTINUES

Hundreds Left Town Last Night for Points North.

"Good-by Memphis,
Won't see yo' no mo'
Ah'm gwine to Checcago
On numbah fo'."

Experts say the negro exodus has slowed up. But 500 milling, sweating, pushing blacks belied the statement in a decisive fashion last night when they tried to concertedly shove their way past the gateman at the Grand Central Station, to get on Illinois Central train number 4, bound for Chicago.

Number four runs in two sections on Saturday night. Last night the first section carried two steaming carloads of negroes and the second section, with two giant mogul engines, hooked on carried ten cars of a like description. The cars were full, some of the passengers of a necessity standing in the aisles of the coaches.

Inside the station proper, 20 minutes before the train was scheduled to run, two burly gatemen were required to keep back a crowd of negroes that overflowed the waiting room into the passageway leading to the train sheds. The broad aisle leading from the colored waiting room to the main station was the medium of crowding of perhaps 300 negroes, all "Chicago boun', boss."

"This summer has seen the heaviest negro travel I have ever known," said the veteran conductor of the second section. We handle crowds of negroes out of Memphis every night, and the traffic is so heavy on Saturday nights that it is necessary to run two sections. A few are coming back, but they are replaced by the hundreds who keep coming on."

"The negro exodus is not over by any means," said a high railroad official yesterday. "The negroes who have gone north invariably write to a dozen or more relatives informing them of the high wages and the comfortable food that they do not get. They seem to want them to come because misery loves company, and a miserable negro adores companionship. They are a lot worse off in the north than at home, where they belong."

The station presented a remarkable scene last night. The negroes, for the most part dressed in the height of darktown fashion, scurried like cattle for the loading platforms. One negro woman bore as her baggage a flower in a pot weighing several pounds, a bird cage sans bird, a basket of food and a battered suitcase of no color but lots of distinction.

Another negro mammy lugged five pickaninnies in her capacious arms, and had three more trailing in a wailing tandem behind her. "Des heah ain't all mine, two of 'em is nieces and 'is heah boy is mah hoban's," she cried.

One negro woman carried in lieu of baggage a large blue-eyed doll of a riotous pink color. Her ticket, for security, was stuffed in the doll's mouth. Numerous women wore bedroom slippers as their sole protection from the cold in "Checcawgo" and scores of negro bucks had donned their best palm beach suits to withstand the lake winds.

Few of the travelers could give reasons for their jaunt. "Jes goin' up thah, suh," is the almost invariable answer to the usual query. They seemed unanimous in their desire to dodge reason, a characteristic attitude. One, however, was more garrulous.

"'At white man whut sez he wants lahbuh tole me 'at. Ah onley has to wuk six hours eve' day, an' 'at dey sho' does pay good money up thah. An ah sho' don' crave to wuk no mo'n ah has to." This attitude would seem to speak for all of the departing citizens.

The Illinois Central is not the only road that is being used in the egress. Frisco trains to St. Louis and Kansas City carry a goodly number of negroes northward each day. The Missouri Pacific road handles a few westward.

The Louisville & Nashville conveys them to Cincinnati. They seem bound to go north, and nothing but bitter experience will teach them that the south is the only logical living place for them.

IT IS NOT A MATTER OF SMALL IMPORT.

For over 300 years the colored people as a mass have lived in the South. Since their Emancipation quite a representative number have enhanced wonderfully in the business realms of this country and especially in the South where the major portion resides. There seems to be an unnamed and automatic, leaderless and a gigantic spirit of unrest, that has led to the attempted remedy, that has no parallel from a viewpoint of system. All great movements regardless of magnitude should be operated under some form of system by which those engaged in the movement may be properly provided for while acting for the present and in the future.

The present spirit of our people to leave their Southern homes and go north, as a remedy for that ever abiding state of unrest seems to have burned so rapidly, that a large majority that have gone and many are yet going North, have acted without proper prerequisites for such an important change, and have played the role of a fleeing group of refugees. There may be a few cases, where some did not have the time to look before jumping, but thousands have left the South and gone North that made the impromptu change at losses financially that cannot be recovered in many years, if ever. There are many other reasons why the matter demands the consideration of the leaders of the race. If the matter, as it stands today is in such shape, that the organized leadership of the race cannot grasp the situation at once, as a whole, the condition can be greatly ameliorated by individual work by the leaders and the conscientious contemplation by the immigrants themselves. There are many prerequisites that can be handled successfully by the immigrants, alone. Such as, when his condition and personal matters would be ready for his removal in an honorable way etc. etc.

But there are other important matters, that naturally belong to such a mammoth racial movement that cannot be adjusted by individual efforts, and require some kind of organized leadership. For instance: what assurance have the colored men who immigrated North that they will not be replaced with foreigners that are coming into this country from the European countries in larger numbers than the laws of the U S. Allow them to be permitted. Even today, there are eight or ten thousand already in this country that are detained on the immigration island, asking to be permitted to enter this country, and to be permitted to become American citizens. Those people are laboring people, and are white people too. They are rushing to the United States by the thousands every month. Now should the North become so flooded with labor, that the colored immigrants or the European foreigners must be cut, the colored Americans should be working under such an agreement, arranged by an intelligent leadership, as will take care of them. This is one of the many accomplishments that can be done only by some organized head in the case.

There are others not mentioned herein. As the color of skin figures prominently in many places in this country, the colored American cannot sit still and expect his nativity to protect him when he becomes a competitive (for labor) of a white foreigner. The colored must depend upon the definite understanding prearranged with those who employ laborers. The A. M. E. Churches in the large northern cities have inaugurated plans to help immigrants, in getting situated when they get there, but this does not reach the demand for the prerequisites before leaving their Southern homes, nor other matters of vital importance.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

WORKERS FROM SOUTH FLOCK INTO PITTSBURG

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

One Concern Alone Brings In 1160 Workers In Two Months. Houses Hard To Find

LEAGUE ISSUES WARNING

3-9-23

John T. Clark Says Families Should Stay South Till Homes are Provided

Pittsburg, Pa., March 8.—"Stay in the South until your employer has made some arrangements to house you," declared John T. Clark, secretary of the local Urban League, in a statement this week to the AFRO-AMERICAN.

Mr. Clark said: "Nearly 1,000 letters have been received by the Urban League of Pittsburg in the last three months as a result of an interview with a representative of the Preston News Service. These letters have been so urgent and have come in such numbers that they have made it difficult for the secretary to answer.

HOUSES HARD TO FIND

"The interview referred to emphasized the large increase in the demand throughout the Pittsburg district for Negro labor in the mills, mines, and foundries. In order to intelligently advise the thousands of Negroes who are waiting for the proper opportunity to come North the secretary communicated with 16 of the large corporations in this district to find out if they knew how limited were housing facilities for colored people, and if they were planning in turn to increase the number of houses to accommodate the extra number of colored men whom they were seeking to employ. Only one concern replied stating that they were building 26 houses, but these houses upon completion would be taken by the men who are already in their employ with their families in the South waiting to be transported.

"The League feels that the supply of colored labor alone will have to meet the industrial needs in the immediate future and that industry will make proper provisions to accommodate this labor if Negroes will not flock North until organizations like our own can induce the industries to make proper preparations to accommodate them.

1,160 MEN FROM SOUTH

"Several concerns have already begun to send their representatives South to bring large numbers of Negroes North. A concern brought 1,160 men into one industrial community in 60 days without building a single house nor making any added preparations to accommodate these men. This congestion has caused a tremendous amount of sickness, disease, and immorality.

"Real estate men who handle the property largely occupied by Negroes have advised the secretary that there is not a single house in the Pittsburg district that is vacant today. Rooms, usually with some other person can be had from $2.50 to $7.00 per week. With wages averaging about $4.00 a day there is little advantage in coming North and having to meet such unusual expenses.

"Especially does the Urban League insist that men do not bring their wives and families at this time because of the serious shortage of houses, and yet on the other hand the League's workers in various courts have come in contact with too many cases where men away from their families have become careless, irresponsible, gamblers, and drunkards.

SHOULD LEAVE FAMILIES HOME

"To come North without your family is a serious matter, but to come North with your family is more than serious; for instance last week a man brought his wife and four children with him from Virginia. He spent the first day in Pittsburg without getting accommodations and spent the night in the police station. After making many attempts to get accommodated in the city the next day he was finally sent by a coal company to their mining town some miles away, where two rooms were provided for him. The man could have obtained work in one of 50 different places.

"The situation can be helped if the more reliable solid element in the South can induce our people to remain South until they are definitely connected with a job with the prospects of getting a house to transfer their family life rather than to break it up.

CLAIM NO PROVISION MADE FOR NEGROES GOING NORTH.

Dallas Express
Dallas, Texas

(Preston News Service)

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 9.—The unusual response, especially from all parts of the South in nearly 1,000 letters caused by a Preston News Service interview with the Executive Secretary of the local Urban League has rather embarrassed the secretary, and he has issued the following statement: 3-17-23

"The interview referred to, emphasized the large increase in the demand throughout the Pittsburgh District for Negro labor in the mills, mines and foundries. In order to intelligently advise the thousands of Negroes who are waiting for the proper opportunity to come North, Mr. Clark communicated with 16 of the large corporations in the District to find out if they knew how limited were housing facilities for Colored people and if they were planning in turn to increase the number of houses to accommodate the extra number of Colored men that they were seeking to employ. Only one concern replied stating that they were building 26 houses but these houses upon completion would be taken by the men who are already in their employ with their families in the South waiting to be transported.

"The Urban League feels that the supply of Colored labor alone will have to meet the industrial needs in the immediate future and that industry will make proper provisions to accommodate this labor IF NEGROES will not flock north until organizations like our own can induce the industries to make proper preparations to accommodate them.

The Worst Evil to the Race

"Several concerns have already begun to send their representatives South to bring large numbers of Negroes North. One concern brought 11600 men into one small industrial community in 60 days without building a single house or making any added preparations to accommodate these men. This congestion has caused a tremendous amount of sickness, disease and immorality. Real Estate men who hadle the property largely occupied by Colored people have advised the secretary of the Urban League that there is not a single house available to Negroes in the Pittsburgh district vacant today. Rooms, usually with some other person, can be had from $2.50 to $7.00 per week. With wages averaging about $4 a day there is little advantage in coming North and having to meet such unusual expenses.

Men Should Stay South Until Proper Accommodations Are Made.

"Especially does the Urban League insist that men do not bring their wives and families at this time because of the serious shortage of houses; and yet on the other hand the League's workers in various Courts have come in contact with too many cases where men away from their families have become careless, irresponsible, gamblers and drunkards. To come North with your family is a serious matter; but to come without your family is more than a serious matter. For instance; last week a man brought his wife and four children with him from Virginia. He spent the first day in Pittsburgh without getting accommodations; towards evening he went to a suburban town and could not be accommodated there and spent the night in the police station. After making many attempts to get accommodations in the city, the next day he was finally sent by a coal mining company to their mining town some miles away where two rooms were provided for him and his family. This man could have obtained work here in Pittsburgh in 50 different places.

Reliable Element in South Can Help Situation.

"The situation can be helped if the more reliable, solid element in the South can induce our people to remain South until they are definitely connected up with a job and with prospects of getting a house to transfer their family life rather than come up here alone usually breaking up their families."

Northern Industries Make No Prepartions for Labor

Richmond Va.
Richmond Planet

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MEN SHOULD STAY SOUTH UNTIL PROPER ACCOMMODATIONS ARE MADE.

"Especially does the Urban League insist that men do not bring their wives and families at this time because of the serious shortage of houses; and yet on the other hand the League's workers in various Courts have come in contact with too many cases where men away from their families have become careless, irresponsible, gamblers and drunkards. To come North with your family is a serious matter; but to come without your family is more than a serious matter. For instance; last week a man brought his wife and four children with him from Virginia. He spent the first day in Pittsburgh without getting accommodations; towards evening he went to a suburban town and could not be accommodated there and spent the night in the police station. After making many attempts to get accommodations in the city, the next day he was finally sent by a coal mining company to their mining town some miles away where two rooms were provided for him and his family. This man could have obtained work here in Pittsburgh in 50 different places.

RELIABLE ELEMENT IN SOUTH CAN HELP SITUATION.

"The situation can be helped if the more reliable solid element in the South can induce our people to remain South until they are definitely connected up with a job and with prospects of getting a house to transfer their family life rather than come up here alone usually breaking up their families."

Exodus Due To Inhumane Treatment

East Tennessee
News-Knoxville
Tenn.

3/17/23

(By Associated Negro Press.)

"Chicago, Ill., March 12.—"What is it all about. There has never been anything like it before."

Migration, on migration,
We would all be free,
From baneful segregation
And bowing humble knee;
From ropes and condemnation
For wrongs beyond o urguilt,
We leave the old plantation
On which black blood is spilt.

We leave the land of flowers
And face the frozen North;
To concentrate our powers,
For justice we go forth,
'Neanth skies bowed low ith sadness
O'er stream and mount e've trod,
Far from that human madness,
Where they scorn the words of God.

In the rural sections of the South whites are literally driving colored people to the North. The Associated Negro Press states this on the highest authority. In some instances they are "urged" to go, in others they are actually driven out. This condition does not obtain in the larger centers, especiall ythe industrial sections like Birmingham Ala., Atlanta, Ga., Durham, N. C., New Orleans, La., and a few other places.

Newspapers in the larger centers are engaged in a two-sided propaganda on the subject, some of them, like the Atlanta Constitution, for example, are belittling the extent of the new exodus; while others are giving big headlines setting forth the fact that the "undertakers are doing a thriving business on the returned bodies of Negroes who went North.' The amount of space devoted to such stories, if used for demanding justice to Colored America, might have a most beneficial effect.

"There is one thing that is too frequently overlooked," said a man of national distinction to a representative of A. N. P., and that is, white people from the South are going north in numbers practically as large as Colored."

It is very evident that the whites of the south who come North with their inbred notions of Colored America, are bringing them along with them and spreading the dangerous gospel of segregation and hate wherever they light. This fact is noticeable in all northern centers, except where the citizenship has provd strong enough to overcome the efforts.

Takes Away Automobile.

In a letter recently received in the office of the N. A. A. C. P., New York, from a "person actively connected with the Methodist Episcopal church in Chattanooga, Tenn., the following isquoted.

"For the last month or two the white people have been putting the Negro to flight out of several towns in Georgia—about the time their crops were ready for gathering they began—some were run away from home with their crops standing in the fields eady to gather—hence, white people went to their houses and gave them notices to leave in so many days and on other instances notes were written and signed by, as indicated, K. K. K. and intimidated them so that lots of them left their homes furnished just as they were while they were at home. Some with their houses claned up, beds made up and everything done as though they were at home—they left their homes with nothing but what they were wearing and a suit case and sometimes not that.

"One family had to flee thru the rain, snow, and cold, wade and swim the streams and at last arrived here in Chattanooga for everyone of that crowd to die except one. in less than two months, from the exposure they received in making their escape from their pursuers. One man who had a nice automobile drove up to a filling station where he had always lived, to have his car filled; the man in charge asked him who the car belonged to, and he replied that it belonged to himh. The oil man then ordered him out of his own car, saying that it no longer belonged to him—telling him that he got no oil from that station to move the car that belonged to him, and told him to leave the country. For weeks it was a most pitiful sight to see people travelling over this city by droves almost—through the rain and cold—with little bundles, suit cases, early in the morning and late at night, forlorn, hungry, cold, and nowhere to go. They sleep anywhere they could get to sleep and eat anything they could get—an organization contributed towards their food for seeral weeks.

"Several hundred of these people settled here in Chattanooga and its vicinity, mostly in South Chattanooga. Athens, Ga., almost all the colored people were run away and they were run out of Jesup, Ga., around in the neighborhood of northern Georgia near Summerville, and Lafayette, which is near the line of Chattanooga."

Movement Will Continue

Northern Colored newspapers are urging the people to "Come on, all of you and bring all you have with you." James Weldon Johnson, in the New York Age, takes issue with the sterotyped statement that the "Negro belongs to the South," and declares that the Colored person belongs anywhere he can have justice, and then urges all not to settle in the big cities, but to seek smaller centers, and the "great Northwest," While conservative opinion expresses the belief that much of the migration is economic, and weariness of oppression is the leven, it is also declared that the widespread movement will keep up "untill conditions change," with reference to treatment in the South, and the demands for labor North.

Negroes Going North.

There has been an exodus of negroes from this section to the North and to other sections for some time. The move has been gradual, but it has been and is going on just the same.

Of course we are dependent, to a certain extent, on negro labor in this country—we have never depended on any other, but if they force us to import and become dependent on some other class of labor, it is only going to work a hardship on what is left of them. It might be—it could be possible that we would find, after making the experiment, that we could get a more dependable class of labor, then where would the negro be?

If the negroes stick by us, as they have done in the past, the time will never come when we will depend upon any other class in this section, but if they continue to hunt other fields we will be forced to make the experiment.

There is no use saying that there is not work for them here for there is. Our farmers are needing them right now, and there is no dependable negro in this section who cannot find work on a farm, at a good living, if he wants it.

ERIE PA. TIMES
APRIL 17, 1923

The opinion of The Times the other day that, large as the negro exodus is, southern farmers are not feeling the effects of the luring of labor to the shops as much as are the northern farmers, is corroborated by recent official figures from the department of agriculture. These show that on April 1st the farm labor supply of the whole United States was 12 per cent. short, whereas a year ago the excess was 11 per cent. above the demand. The shortage on April 1st was greatest in the north. In the North Atlantic states the supply was 23 per cent. below the demand; in the East North Central states the shortage was 20 per cent; in the South Atlantic states, 12 per cent.; in the South Central states, 8 per cent.; in the West North Central states, 7 per cent., and in the Western states, including the mountain and Pacific groups, 3 per cent. An alaraming situation will be created in the north if the shortage goes much higher.

Southern Negroes Strike Against Poor Conditions

—Census Indicates Negroes Leaving Farms in Floyd

Jackson, Miss March.—The exodus of Negroes from this state has caused a panic among plantation owners. There are 1,000,000 Negroes in Mississippi, and it is estimated that one-tenth of that number has left the state within the past six months. At that rate it will be but a short time until the state will be stripped of its plantation labor. Plantation owners are victims of bankruptcy. That they are genuinely alarmed is indicated by their willingness to make an effort to stop the migration by improving conditions on the plantations.

The Jackson Daily News quotes Negro educational experts that the Negroes want an education, they want the sense of ownership and a living wage.

"Until the plantations are cut up into smaller plats and sold to the tenants, until a Negro is made to believe that when a bale of cotton is sold he is going to directly share in the proceeds, and until a sufficient number of educational opportunities and iron-clad promises of ample wages come into effect, then, and not till then, is the Negro labor situation going to be settled," says the Daily News.

Many Go to Work in Rome; Some Have Left for North.

Rome, Ga., April 15.—(Special.)—Rural districts of Floyd county lost almost ten per cent of their negro population last year if the school census just completed is to be taken at its face value. This report shows that there is a decrease of approximately 40 per cent in the colored school population of the country districts from last year's figures.

County School Superintendent W. C. Rash states that he is told there is not a single negro family living in the Everett Springs district.

The decrease in number is accounted for largely by their removal to Rome. It is admitted, however, that some have gone to cities of the north and west attracted by reports of high wages in those sections.

There will be a good increase in the total school population of the city of Rome, Mr. Rash declares. All of the wards reported to date show an increase and he expects the average to hold good.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

ANOTHER NEGRO EXODUS TO THE NORTH

Literary Digest 2/17/1923.

THE SUN IS WARM IN DIXIE these days, and a meal of hog and hominy is as popular as ever in the South, yet the negro population is said to be migrating northward in such large numbers as to threaten to handicap the effort to raise a large cotton crop. This is the first indication of such a movement since the similar one during the war, when high wages in factories attracted Southern labor to industrial centers, reports the New York *Journal of Commerce*, altho the present exodus from the South is not as wide-spread as the former one. A Memphis correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, however, says the Memphis Cotton Exchange has asked Congress to amend the immigration laws so that more laborers may be brought from Europe to cotton-growing sections of the South. "The most significant phase of the present negro movement," in the opinion of Secretary of Labor Davis, who tells us of the migration, is that it is going on even in the coldest months of the year. For it is well known that the negro prefers the sunny Southland in winter.

New York.

Good wages in the reviving industrial plants of the North is one of the reasons for the migration, just as in 1917 and 1918, reports the Washington correspondent of the New York *News Record*, a textile daily. Labor agencies from certain sections promise good wages and furnish transportation. But Lester A. Walton, a well-known negro editor now on the staff of the New York *World*, writes after a tour of the South that "a revolt against unfair practises by white farm-owners, who let out their property on shares, is one of the chief contributing causes to the present migration." There are fourteen causes in all, we are told, as follows:

"Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.
"Unjust treatment.
"Taxation without representation.
"Denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary.
"No racial representation in the legislative halls of the State and Nation.
"Inadequate school facilities in the rural districts.
"Inequality of pay of negro teachers doing the same work as white teachers.
"Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.
"Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.
"Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext, with no immediate relief in sight.
"Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize negro communities.
"A longing for free air.
"Relatives who have gone before writing South and telling about real freedom in the North.
"The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the North.
"So fired are many negroes with an overwhelming desire to leave the South that they get on a train for the North with less than a dollar in their pockets after having bought a through ticket.

"It is conservatively estimated that over 50,000 negroes have left the Southern States for the North, West and Middle West within the past ninety days, and they are leaving on every train. From the Mississippi and Arkansas deltas fully 15,000 have gone. Georgia comes next with 12,000. South Carolina, Texas and Alabama each furnish an imposing quota in order named.

"In Georgia the boll weevil played havoc with the cotton crop last year. It was the insect's first visit to the State. Discouraged over the failure of cotton and unable to make more than 60 cents a day as a farm hand, negroes are migrating to centers to increase their earning capacities.

"Whether the exodus will gain impetus or soon give evidence of having spent its force no one can foretell. The situation is puzzling, giving farmers, business and professional men grave concern. Farm-owners in many sections face disastrous financial losses in the immediate future, for acres have been left untilled and crops are yet to be planted.

"Inability to earn a decent livelihood, coupled with the reaction after years of pent-up resentment and dissatisfaction over unfair treatment are the potent reasons for shaking the dust of the Southland."

While most Northern editors hail the northward migration of the negro as a sign of an industrial boom, the Chicago *Journal* fears they will bring with them the "negro problem." Says this paper:

"Negroes who come north leave the field for the factory, the farm for industrial centers. Wherever they go the race problem has followed them, until already it is found in every industrial community. Three cities of Illinois already have had race riots within the last few years, and the horrible vice conditions uncovered in Chicago are a direct incitement to another such outbreak. To this already tense and difficult situation add a mass of colored laborers from the South, ignorant of Northern customs or city life, and inclined to be expansive on getting away from old-time restraints, and what is the probable result?

"Chicago must clean house. While such vice conditions as the Grand Jury has uncovered are tolerated, the city faces one of the gravest dangers of its history. Any spark may start a conflagration, even now, and every fresh addition to the colored colony adds to the peril. If not for decency's sake or law's sake, then for safety's sake start the clean-up."

The Manufacturer's Record, of Baltimore, however, thinks we are unduly alarmed over the present negro movement. "The migration of negroes from the South has been growing steadily over a long term of years," writes Howard L. Clark in that publication, "and the present movement shows that many who came back after the war are again drifting north." Continues this writer:

"High wages and the war drew the negroes of the South to the industrial centers of the North and West, and also from farms to the industrial cities of the South. Since then some of them have returned to the South; but because of the business depression and hard times following the drop in cotton prices, they have been going to the industrial centers again looking for work at higher wages and shorter hours. They are not leaving the South because they are dissatisfied with their treatment or through reported intimidation and persecution reputed to come from the Ku Klux Klan, but because they were unable to get work and are migrating, as people have done through the ages, to a land they believe to be one of plenty with opportunity for work at high wages and short hours.

"Many of the negroes have only been able to make a scanty living in the past two years, barely getting enough to eat, especially when the forced deflation beat down farm prices and practically ruined the cotton-growers of the South as well as farmers elsewhere, and the thousands of negro 'croppers' who at the close of a year's work found themselves in debt with nothing on which to start a new crop the following spring. Tho cotton prices have been higher this year, the negroes have not been able to lift their load of debt as well as the Southern white farmer. Thousands of negroes under these circumstances have been a drain on the Southern white people, especially in the heavily infested boll-weevil sections, because they have been carried along on rations bought in most cases on borrowed money and furnished to these tenants by the Southern white landowners. That is why many Southern people believe that it is the best thing that could happen to the South for these negroes, who have been living on the white population, to seek employment elsewhere until the boll-weevil problem has been solved.

"Broadly viewed this migration to the North and West will in the end prove a blessing to the South. It is making the South more and more a white man's country, and it is giving to other States a new realization of the South's great problem in handling the negro question. All sections will in this way have to meet and solve exactly the same problem, which is no longer an exclusive Southern problem."

Negroes have been leaving Southern States for several decades, and the present migration is nothing new, maintains Mr. Clark. Moreover, "there never was the large number of negroes to go outside of the South during the war migration as was supposed. At one time it was said that a quarter of a million negroes had left the South and located in Chicago, yet the census of 1920 shows that in the whole State of Illinois there were only 182,274 negroes."

Migration

The Messenger. 1923

Negro migration is on again. It is in full swing. The revival of industry and the restrictions against immigration are making openings in the North and West for the Negro workers heretofore undreamed of.

The Negro papers are opposing any let-down in the immigration restrictions. They are pooh-poohing any liberal sentimentality. They say self-preservation is the highest interest and they will give no quarter to "foreigners."

The employers would remove the immigration bars. At least, they *would; and then they wouldn't*. They reason: To let in more immigrants will increase the labor market, force down wages, help break down the labor unions. At the same time they argue: "The immigrants are more radical, more socialistic, more schooled in unionism than the Negroes. Besides, white native workers will combine more readily with white foreigners than they will with native Negro workers." We believe the white capitalists have interpreted the psychology correctly, too.

Anyway, labor agents are active in the South. They are securing Negro laborers so rapidly that the stations in Atlanta and large Southern cities are crowded with Negroes going through to Northern cities. In Georgia labor agents are required to post $1,000 with the State Treasurer for a license for every county in which they operate.

Does the South want to get rid of the Negro? Hardly! If so, it would pay someone to take them away, not place a prohibitive license upon their removal.

The Northerners, more intellectual and adroit than the Southern whites, are beating the latter at their own game. "Warnings have been posted in a number of counties telling the Negroes to leave, and it is declared that this is the work of the agents, according to information H. M. Stanley, Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, has received."

This procedure is patterned after the Ku Klux

Klan method of driving Negroes out, only it is not sinister this time, but a ruse calculated to delude the Southern planters who desire to keep their Negro labor.

On with the migration. There is work aplenty to absorb these workers in the steel mills, blast furnaces, mines, automobile factories, ship yards and docks. Let us catch our Southern brothers by the hand, show them how to adapt themselves to northern customs. But pray, don't give them a U. N. I. A. "trimming," after the fashion of Marcus Garvey.

NEGRO MIGRATION.

The shortage of labor in some of the northern industrial centers of the country is causing a slow but steady migration of the negro population of the southern cotton fields to northern factories. The Wall Street Journal attributes the movement to the immigration law, "designed, not to raise the quality of the immigration but to restrict the quantity." That organ reports that a "panic seems to have seized upon them (the southern negro farm tenants) and they are hurrying from the land to industrial centers, notably the northern cities."

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JANUARY 3, 1923.

No doubt the immigration law has put a crimp in the labor supply in certain centers, which is being partially corrected by an influx of southern negroes, but the wages of common labor have nowhere been reported to be high enough to create a "panic" among the negroes. Perhaps the panic was created by the Ku Klux Klan. Whatever be the cause of the exodus of negroes from the south, it adds to the complexity of the race problem in this country and gives those who are interested in keeping the negro in the "land o' cotton" something to think about.

Colored Laborers Leave South for Northern Points

NEW YORK CITY AMERICAN
FEBRUARY 5, 1923

A movement of colored unskilled labor from the South to northern industrial centers, considered rather remarkable for Winter months, is announced by James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, as the result of an investigation by Phil H. Brown, commissioner of conciliation in that department. This is the first gesture toward a northern shift of this class of workers that has been noticeable since the war, when the labor famine was met by their inclusion; but the present movement is in no manner widespread or considered general like the previous one.

Payrolls of a number of districts in northern and central western industrial points are being slightly swelled by the employment of these workers, who come directly from southern States, with Georgia yielding the greatest number of migrants.

In general, however, continued migration from the South is indicated, with a slowly increasing absorption of colored labor by Northern industry just as rapidly as it increased output is demanded. In this connection, the iron and steel industry continues to lead in its demands for colored labor, with meat packing, glass, transportation, food production, etc., closely following; and the probability is great that a wider entrance than ever before, so far as specific occupations and types of employment are concerned, will eventually result from this growing movement of labor.

The most significant phase of the movement is that it obtains in face of a reluctance of this labor to drift northward in Winter, and the suggestion prevails that the Spring will bring larger numbers, providing the industrial demands prevail.

MIGRATION.

Migration, as commonly understood is moving from one section of the country to another; crossing the state line and the present activity of the Negroes moving from the south is a question far more serious than many of us have fathomed.

The injury being done by the wholesale exodus of Negroes from the south to the north and west is double edged, and is cutting both ways. It is hurting the white man and the black man. It is hurting the north and it is hurting the south. The northern white man, in common with the migrating Negro, may think it a good thing, and the southern white man and the remaining Negro may think it a bad thing. Each may be honest in his position, and each may find out too late that both are in error.

The Negro is being ill-advised, and in his effort to injure the south by depopulating it, he loses sight of his own interest; he loses sight of the fact that in the end he may be the greater injured party. The Negro does not take into consideration that a worthless character, white or black, will not be worth any more in the north than he is worth in the south; that a shiftless fellow at home will be shiftless abroad; that a rolling stone gathers no moss. The Negro does not take into consideration that, while he is sacrificing the white man's farm and the white man's service, of which he has had a monopoly since emancipation, he is destroying his church, school, and social life; that he is breaking up very largely the institutions that have given him his foothold in the social order in the south. It will take the Negro a hundred years in the section of the country to which he is migrating, where he is not known and must make new friends, to build for himself a racial life, constituted of schools, lodges, societies, churches and a social life such as is his in the south, and which is responsible for whatever permanent progress and intelligence the race possesses as a group.

The colored man, like the white man, must not forget that he cannot injure another fellow without injuring himself. When any group of people devastate or depopulate a section of the country and migrate to another, they injure themselves as much as they injure the people and section which they desert. Times are hard and have been so throughout the country. Work has been scarce and labor plentiful and the colored man must not be misled by the temporary revival of employment in the industrial centers of the north and west, because the factories, mines and other quasi public vocations are going to catch up with their orders. The mills, furnaces, shops and plants are going to shut down and thousands of Negroes from the south will constitute the bread lines in the large industrial centers when work gets scarce again.

A loyal man or good citizen will not desert his section, because of the short crops, the boll weevil or what not, and it is no more necessary than it is true for Negroes to desert the farm, the domestic service and other vocations open to them in the south, and migrate to the north on account of lynching. There are far more communities in the south where lynching never has occurred and never will occur, than where it has occurred. There is no difference in West Virginia and Herrin, Illinois, either in the mobs or courts that try the cases than there is in the mobs and courts that try the cases in Georgia, Texas and Mississippi.

In the south it is almost impossible to convict members of the mob, and it is equally as impossible and improbable to convict lynchers in the north. In West Virginia, Herrin, Illinois and Ohio, where the mob has taken the law into their hands, and lynched innocent men and women, there have been no convictions; but in Georgia, Alabama and some other places in the south, there have been some convictions and punishments for lynching.

The Negro is being ill-advised. He is being taught if he will leave the south he will get even with the white man. If he goes, he is breaking up his church, tearing down his lodge, destroying his society and leaving the only white man that he can touch by contact and regard him as his real friend in the day of the most adverse circumstances. And the busy-bodies who are preaching this doctrine, as a rule, are Negro preachers who grin at the white man when he meets him in town and at night, when he meets the Negro, he teaches him to slip away, break his contract, go north and leave the white man in a hole, and as a sample of that kind of leadership, we quote from the New York Age a letter written by one W. A. Cloud, a Negro preacher who lives at Wadley, Georgia, and whom we regard as a dangerous character in any community.

Ga. Pastor Says Negroes are Leaving.

"The New York Age is in receipt of a letter from the Rev. Wm. A. Cloud, of Wadley, Georgia, pastor First Baptist church, Stilmore, Ga., president Walker Baptist Association, declaring that members of his church, convention and association, with their friends, are leaving that section daily for the north, west and other places. 'Since the anti-lynching bill was killed,' writes Rev. Cloud, 'the Negroes are anxious to leave the south more than ever. They are coming to me seeking advice as to where to get jobs in the north and west. Will you put me in touch with the firms who want laborers, so I can give them the proper advice? The better class of whites are all to pieces to know what to do, but nothing can be done about it. Our people are determined to leave old Georgia."

This Negro is an undependable character, and if the truth were known, is not pastoring anywhere. It was only a few weeks ago that he was in our office trying to collect claims for some widows and orphans without authority, and begging us to help him secure a church in Atlanta. Knowing him as we do, we paid no attention to him.

SOUTH ALARMED OVER MIGRATION OF NEGRO.

(Preston News Service)

Memphis, Tenn., Feb. 8.—At a meeting of the Memphis Cotton Exchange here last Thursday afternoon a resolution was passed urging the Tennessee delegation in Congress to seek modification of the immigration laws to permit entrance into the United States of desirable foreign labor.

It is said that this action was taken because of the pronounced labor shortage in southern states. The members of the exchange are endeavoring to devise ways and means to cultivate this year's cotton crop.

It is claimed that northern and eastern manufacturers are making a tremendous inroad on the supply of southern farm labor by offering more attractive wages and spreading propaganda among Negroes to the effect that living conditions are better in the north, pointing out supposed educational advantages, franchise, and freedom from mob violence. This propaganda is causing millions of Negroes in all parts of the south to migrate to the north.

One speaker said, "It is true that Negroes are going north by the wholesale just now. I think their fear of the Ku Klux Klan has much to do with it. Most of them do not know that this disgraceful organization exists in the North as well as in the south. Then the frequent lynchings strikes terror to the hearts of the Colored people, making them seek a fancied refuge in northern sections. I believe if the manufacturers and leading citizens of the south take a more active step, they will soon ignore the call of the

ern manufacturers. We must
thing to stop this disgrace
e of lynching."

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN. News

AUG 1 1923

Negro Migration Creating Race Problem for North

AUG 20 1923

By David F. St. Clair.

Washington, August 12.—The Agricultural Department gives out the startling statement that at least a half million bales of cotton will rot in the Southern fields this fall because of the unparalled exodus of negroes to the Northern States. The department estimates that at least 2,000 negroes are daily leaving the South even now in watermelon time and in the month of June over 50,000 migrated. South Carolina now for the first time in a century of its history has more white people than negroes and at the rate the negroes are leaving Mississippi the whole black belt of the South will disappear in another twelve months. In some sections of this latter State entire plantations are deserted, large families of negroes abandoning the plow or hoe to take the train north on receipt of a glowing letter from a friend who has gone to Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio or Illinois.

This black migration with the boll weevil ravages will, it is estimated, cause the South to fall short a million bales. The department's estimate is 11,500,000 bales in spite of the boll weevil but if 500,000 rot in the fields only 11,000,000 will be marketed. For this 11,000,000 bales, it is estimated by market experts at the department, the South will receive more money than it would for say 12,000,000 bales without the negro exodus and the boll weevil.

But if the negro exodus continues at its present rate, it is felt in government circles here, that it is certain to raise some serious moral, political and socialogical probelms not only for the South but for the whole country. It is easy to visualize within five or ten years at most the north with more negroes than the South. The bloodiest riots between whites and blacks in this country have been at East St. Louis and Chicago, great industrial centers, and the bottom cause of these riots was economic. In all the recent strikes in the Northern States, negroes have been used as strike-breakers. The Northern labor unions have never and probably never will fraternize with them. The American Federation of Labor is largely responsible for he present rather drastic immigration law. Southern members of congress voted for the law after seeing how difficult it was to make a melting pot of this country during the World War.

Now the Northern mill men unable to replenish their needs from Europe, send their agents into the South for the negro. They are employing him to keep down the demands of the unions and as a break-water against the possible success of strikes. One Philadelphia mill has filled his plant with negroes at $2 per day less than he could get white men. When business gets slack these white men will lose their jobs in other shops to negroes and be in the streets, then trouble may be looked for.

The negro migration North makes the race a serious political factor. The dangerous Dyer anti-lynching bill is a recent illustration. It was engineered by Northern negroes who threatened Northern members of congress with extinction if they did not vote for it. As the negroes increase with their right to vote in every district north of Mason and Dixon's line, their leaders plan revenge through congress on the South. It was Boston negro leaders who backed Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts in his threat to launch a new force bill in the last congress.

But if the negro goes North and stays there—and it remains to be seen whether or not he will stick—the South must find some one to take his place. Senator Dial of South Carolina at this very moment is pondering in his mind that problem. He has been considering the proposition of inducing Italian immigration into his State. But the senator comes up for re-election next year and some of his friends have warned him that such an experiment looks dangerous. The Italian is not the negro. He has his Latin customs, his Catholic church, his mass, while the rural South is provincially Ango-Saxon and Protestant. The fact is if the negro leaves the South agriculture there faces a most critical turning point in its history.

SAYS POOR HOUSES ONE CAUSE NEGRO MIGRATION

Dr. Wise Urges Before Kiwanians Necessity of Improvement of Living Conditions Among Poorer Classes.

That housing conditions here are one of the factors responsible for the migration of colored people from Chattanooga was the opinion expressed by City Physician E. B. Wise in a talk before the Kiwanis club Tuesday noon at the Hotel Patten. Dr. Wise stated that the Kiwanis club could do something definite to improve conditions and should work to make Chattanooga a better, cleaner place to live.

Another feature of the program was discussion of plans for the banquet to which 200 farmere of this section have been invited. This meeting will be held at the Hotel Patten next Tuesday night. Jrof. Spencer McCallie, chairman of the arrangements committee, stated that Gov. Austin Peay and State Commissioner of Agriculture Hancock will make every effort to be present. Judge Sam Conner, Ise Moore and other well known speakers will be on the program.

This meeting is to promote better feeling and co-operation between the farmers and the city people. Each Kiwanian is expected to be present and to take care of at least one farmer guest. In addition each Kiwanian has the privilege of inviting any farmer who he knows in the Chattanooga district. It is the plan to make this meeting the first step in a movement to co-operate better feeling which will result in good to the farmer and also in the enlargement of the Chattanooga district.

Murray Presides.

In the absence of President John Lovell, George Murray presided. Mr. Murray outlined the five planks in the international Kiwanis program for the year, which are briefly as follows: Maintenance of high quality of membership; emphasis on underprivileged children's work; promotion of better relations with the farmer; promotion of better co-operation with chamb;ers of commerce and co-ordination of efforts of the various civic clubs, and, lastly, a fuller realization of responsibilities of citizenship.

R. L. ("Dick") Park, secretary of the Chattanooga Automobile club, introduced a resolution calling upon the governor to call a special session of the legislature to provide for a $75,000,000 bond issue for good roads. This matter was referred to the board of governors and will be presented for action at the special meeting next Tuesday night.

One way to stop the colored people as well as some classes of white people from leaving the south is to improve living conditions here, according to Dr. Wise. The city physician stated that all are more or less familiar with conditions and unfortunately the city cannot ...dy this condition entirely.

Some Better Off as Slaves.

It is the white man's job to look after the people who cannot help themselves As a matter of fact, Dr. Wise declare there are certain negroes who we really better cared for in slavery tim than at present. The slave owner wh had $1,500 to $2,000 invested in a colored worker at least provided him medical attention, a place to live and healthy food to protect his valuable property.

There are a number of things needed. Among these are six or eight persons to go among the people and show them how to live to prevent diseases. Dr. Wise urged that the Kiwanians assist in making this the best town and the cleanest in which to live, since the government and God has already done so much for the city. He urged that this be made the Denver of the southeast.

Dr. Wise was introduced by Prof. McCallie, who declared that he had been a member of the medical society since its formation and had never been brought up before it or criticised. He called upon the city physician to explain how he managed to escape.

AUG 7 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS FROM THE SOUTH.

Several days ago the New York Times printed an astonishing statement prepared by James S. Peters, of Manchester, Georgia, and President of the Georgia Bankers' Association, about the Negro Exodus from that State that might well cause the better white people of Georgia to make searching inquiry as to the underlying causes of the present Negro movement to Northable that the actual money loss to ern States. It is almost unbelievGeorgia on account of the migration will amount this year to $27,000,000, that in going the Negroes have left behind them 46,674 vacant houses and 55,524 idle plows, and that there is now a labor shortage of over 70,000 "hands." It is estimated by Mr. Peters that the exodus of the Negroes "is causing greater loss in terms of dollars than the historic march of General Sherman to the sea." It is explained that the primary cause of the outward movement of the Negroes is the prospect at least of better living conditions, higher wages, larger educational facilities and less race prejudice. There is doubtless another cause which is not as sharply emphasized as it should be, and that is the reputation Georgia has made for itself as the champion lynching State of the South. In the period covered by the years 1883-1921 486 persons—nearly all Negroes—were lynched in Georgia. It is calculated by the President of the Bankers' Association of Georgia that if the present condition continue the money loss to that State in the next ten years will amount to more than $250,000,000! Here follows the story:

"The exodus of Negroes from the South is causing greater loss in terms of dollars than the historic march of General Sherman to the a, according to computations compiled by bankers who have expressed grave concern over the increasing numbers in which Negroes are moving to the Northern manufacturing States. The loss to Georgia alone, it is estimated, will for this year approximate if not exceed $27,000,000, and in the wake of the departing Negroes 46,674 vacant farm houses and 55,524 idle plows are left. So rapid has been the migration that Georgia now has a labor shortage of 770,843 persons.

"In an effort to check this movement, public men of the South and particularly the bankers who of all professions probably keep a closer eye on general industrial conditions are conferring with one another. As a part of this general survey of the situation, James S. Peters, of Manchester, Ga., President of the Georgia Bankers' Association, supervised an inquiry into the results and causes of the exodus from that particular State. The causes, it was indicated, lay primarily in the fact that the Northern States offer Negroes better living conditions brought about by higher wages, greater educational facilities and less race prejudice.

"The destruction caused by this quiet migration is described as no less striking than the destruction caused by Sherman's army. The 'destroyed' area is in this case, as well as in the Civil War, Georgia's agricultural lands. Weeds instead of crops are growing on farms adjoining either the public highways or the railroads and a tourist can

see 'thousands and thousands of acres of land and farm dwellings lying vacant,' to quote Mr. Peters. In terms of the dollar sign, the depreciation in value is shown through comparison with prices in 1919. In that year these same idle acres brought from $40 to $75 an acre; today there is no demand for them at all.

"Not only are the Negroes reported as leaving the farms, but also white people are departing. Since January 1 of this year in which period the Negro exodus has amounted to nearly 80,0000, the departure of white labor has exceeded 29,500, or a little more than one-third the number of departing Negroes. But the bankers are not concerned so much over the exodus of white people, as they are tackling first the major problem of Negro emigration.

"According to the survey conducted by Mr. Peters and results of which are described in the current monthly Journal of the American Bankers' Association, the Negro exodus in three months of this year amounted to a third of the total emigration during the years 1920-21-22. In those three years, the survey indicates 151,500 Negroes left Georgia. This figure, added to the total of migration for the first half of 1923, brings the total to approximately 230,000, a number [illegible] the population of Atlanta.

"Should the present rate continue during the remainder of the year," says Mr. Peters, "the number of Negroes leaving Georgia this year will equal the population of one of our Congressional Districts or ten of our average middle Georgia counties. Our reports indicate that the railroads in one of the cities of the State haave sold more than 5,000 tickets to Negroes going to the industrial North and East since January 1 of this year. This number, of course(was included in the totals of our survey.

"'When we take into consideration that the Negro population of Georgia increased only 30,000 from 1910 to 1920, it brings to our attention the fact that the Negro population of Georgia now is possibly less than it has been since 1890. It seems apparent that this will continue so long as conditions here remain as they are at present and the Industrial North and East offer higher wages and better living conditions.'

"Labor agents are not responsible to any great extent for this shift in population," says Mr. Peters. "One of the important mediums is found in the United States mails, Negroes who have gone North writing to relatives, sweethearts and friends to urge them to go North. I find in many instances that those who have gone ahead are sending money back to their families and friends to cover their transportation 'up North.'

"I believe that the negro would rather remain in the South and the South needs him. We are his best friend, and he is our best source of labor supply. He knows how to farm under Southern conditions. He will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any people save the Oriental coolie. How can we keep them? That is largely a local question. However, some of the things we must do have been suggested from time to time by leaders of both the black and the white race and I repeat them here for emphasis.'

"These suggestions can be summarized in the proposition of bringing the Southern wage scale more on a par with the scale in the North and East and in improving living conditions for the Negro. In this regard, cities are invited to make a scientific study of Negro quarters with a view to providing better sanitation, recreation possibilities and other welfare and improvement plans. In conclusion, Mr. Peters places the proposition before the Southern people by estimating the actual loss in terms of dollars.

"'Based upon a production of $500 to the plow, which is very low, you will observe thtt Georgia's loss of wealth from her farms this year will amount to the sum of more than $27,000,000 and in a decade to more than $250,000,000.'"

We do not know what Georgia will do with the situation in that State; but the Negro Exodus is not confined to that State. There has been much complaint about the activities of labor agents in South Carolina and the large movement of Negroes from some parts of this State. Laws have been passed making it a criminal offence for labor agents to lure Negroes from this State; but they are going away. The World Almanac for 1923 giving the figures assembled by the United States Census Bureau in Washington said:

"Although migration to the North and West has not taken place among the far Southern Negroes to the same extent, relatively to their total numbers, as among the Negroes in the Northern part of the South, there was nevertheless a pronounced increase in such migration from the far South during the past decade. For example: The Negroes who were born in South Carolina and had migrated from that State to Pennsylvania increased from 2,113 in 1910 to 11,624 in 1920; and hose from Georgia to Pennsylvania increased from 1,578 to 16,196," and so on.

Serious efforts are being made to the races in the South by the Inter- establish better relations between racial Association, with which many of the most thoughtful and patriotic white men of the South are identified, and law-respecting people will wish for this body abundant success in the attainment of its ends.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
AUG 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION

Leading Colored Men of Georgia in Convention Tell the Reasons Why.

To The Chattanooga Times.

Because of the migration of their race to the north in large and continuing numbers, prominent negroes of the state of Georgia recently held a statewide convention at which 103 counties of that state were represented, the purpose being to present the "race problem" from the negro's side. A summary of their report made to the state legislature should be studied by every southerner interested in the solution of race problems. Chief among the reasons for migration are better housing conditions, better wages, more educational advantages, the labor contract law and more impartial protection by the law.

The report of this convention is clear and definite. It is one of the most valuable of documents of the negro question for it discerns evils and prescribes definite remedies.

The negroes recognize that by migration to the north the progress of their race along economic, social, religious and educational lines is retarded and, in some cases, the permanency threatened.

Agricultural failures due to the activities of the boll weevil is one of the chief causes of negro poverty. They have not been taught to properly diversify crops, with the result that in seasons when the boll weevil is active the income of the agricultural negro is little or nothing. In addition to this, the poor wages and housing conditions cause the black man to cast eyes northward. The report says, "We are convinced that it is possible for the Georgia farmer to pay a wage more nearly commensurate to the labor that he requires than is now paid." A severe indictment of many of the overseers is made in the following statement: "These overseers, in most cases, have absolutely no interest in these laborers, excepting the amount of work that they can extract from them by long hours and hard driving. Many of them are known to lend encouragement to gambling, whisky making, adultry and crooked living, in general, as a means of holding his labor on the farm under threat of law, if said laborer should choose to withdraw."

One of the greatest needs of the Georgia negro, according to the report, is better educational facilities. It is pointed out that this state spends but $15,000 a year for negro education of high school and college grade, while other southern states spend from $500,000 to $1,000,000 each. There is also need of an "upstanding, high-toned, well-prepared colored supervisor, whose labors and office would be under the supervision of the state superintendent."

Poor travel accommodation through which negro women and children subjected to "the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered" is among the social objections of the negro.

But most powerful of all causes in driving the negro from the south, the convention thinks, is inequality in enforcement of the law. The negro is often made to feel that the law is designed solely for his punishment and not for his protection. His life is held too cheap in Georgia. "If his life is taken by an individual white man, the coroner's jury invariably denominates it justifiable homicide. If his life is taken by a mob, even in broad daylight, it is always found that he came to his death at the hands of parties unknown."

The labor contract law is an instrument through which colored laborers have been "held in a state of involuntary servitude, for long periods of time subjected to corporal punishment, murdered with impunity, from which conditions and cruelties he has often been wholly unable to escape." Speaking of mob violence, the report goes on to say, "In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe overnight; and unless checked it is bound to become a cancer to gnaw away the vitals and destroy the usefulness of one of the most richly endowed states of the Union."

"The cause of most of the trouble to which we have above referred," continues the report, "lies in a fundamental error of attempting to run a democracy without all the people. The leaving of 45 per cent. of the population of Georgia out of its governmental affairs, in our judgment, is largely responsible for the one-sided program which the state is operating, and the neglect that colored people now sustain."

The concluding paragraph of the report is particularly appealing and written in a spirit which reflects credit on those framing the investigation. It says: "It is written that 'Man shall not live by bread alone.' We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves, and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people in the task of working out a program which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest efforts in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be—the best and most beautiful of all the state in the Union." Feeling that if some protection for the negro is not furnished he will inevitably drift away to seek some spot "upon this earth where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity, with malice toward none and charity to all, we challenge you and await your answer."

The report has attracted wide attention, but, so far as is known, has not yet effectively impressed the Georgia legislators. It is signed by more than a hundred of the leading colored teachers, bankers, farmers, real estate men, doctors and lawyers, and for that reason, it seems to me, it should furnish a most impressive study for all southern leaders.

O. B.

Chattanooga, Tenn.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal
Labor Migration Movement
JUL 16 1923

Augusta Negro Leaders Are Trying to Check Migratory Movement

AUGUSTA, Ga., July 16.—Concerted effort on the part of a majority of the leading colored business and professional men of Augusta is being made to halt migration of members of the colored race northward and to keep the colored people in this city. In attempting to persade them not to leave Augusta, the negro leaders are setting forth the inducements and advantages offered by this city, and are also taking steps to better the living conditions of the race.

This effort on the part of the leaders includes, indirectly, a huge, quarter-million-dollar realty development project, the object of which is to provide more modern and up-to-date homes for the negroes. Fourteen city blocks in the colored section of the city have been purchased by the promoters of the project, and modern cottages of four, five and six rooms will be erected and sold to negroeso n easy terms. The purchasers are the Service company, and two organizations affiliated with it, the Penny Savings bank of Augusta, and the Citizens Trust company, of Atlanta, both negro banking institutions.

Rev. Silas X. Floyd, principal of the Gwinnett Street public school, and widely known negro leader, is one of those who are seeking to stem the exodus, by pointing out Augusta's advantages.

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement.

FINDS NEGRO EXODUS FROM SOUTH GAINING

Conference Board Says About 100,000 Migrated North in Last Six Months.

ENTIRE COMMUNITIES QUIT

Industrial Centres Attract Most on Account of the High Wages, According to Survey.

The migration of the negro workers from the Southern States to the industrial States and cities of the North has been looked into by the National Industrial Conference Board, 10 East Thirty-ninth Street, and in a statement yesterday the board says that in the last six months about 100,000 negroes left the South for the North.

"This movement has to a considerable extent been along almost vertical lines," the statement says, "negroes from Georgia and the Carolinas drifting North to the Atlantic seaboard States and New England; negroes from Alabama and Mississippi and Tennessee moving northward in the Middle Western States, and negroes from Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas finding new homes in the States further West.

"During 1916 and 1917, however, there occurred a migratory movement of considerably larger proportions and one which was characterized by the hysteria and group psychology native to the race. Whole communities, entire streets of people, and even church congregations headed by their pastors, moved North and located as units in the important industrial centres. Altogether it is estimated that about 400,000 negroes from the Southern States migrated to the North during the years 1916 and 1917.

"The present movement has not reached these proportions; neither is it so spontaneous, nor characterized by the psychology as the previous migration. It is estimated that in the last six months approximately 100,000 negroes have left their homes in the South to establish new homes in the industrial centres of the North. The present movement is almost wholly industrial, and has been to a considerable extent induced by the shortage of common labor in the North.

Labor Agents Kept Busy.

"Two methods have been used in the main: First, employers have sent labor agents into the Southern States, who, in turn, have employed local agents for the purpose of encouraging negroes to move northward with the lure of free transportation, steady employment and high wages. The Southern States have restricted the activities of these labor agents by placing large license fees upon their activities and in fining those who attempt to evade. In other cases, agents attempting to induce negroes to leave have been driven out and threatened. The second memthod has been indirect employe solicitation by word of mouth or letter. Negroes already employed who have come from the South write voluntarily or are asked to write to their friends and relatives in the South. They descripe the conditions and urge their friends to follow them to the North.

"This method is bringing thousands of negroes almost daily into the industrial centres of the North. The consequences of this movement, particularly from the cotton raising States, has already raised the fears of Southern employers and planters who depend on an ample supply of negro labor to get their work done."

The board finds that the cause underlying the movement is the cupidity of the negro coupled with the fact that low earnnigs have kept a large proportion of them on a low standard of living, and frequently privation. It is pointed out that restricted cotton crops in the last two years also have wrought considerable hardship.

"On the other hand," the statement continues, "the influx of negroes into Northern communities has brought with it some very definite problems, the first of which is the relation of the white and the negro races. Observers of both races, however, who have been in close touch with the situation, believe that this is by no means an insuperable problem. The so-called race riots which have occurred in various places cannot be directly traced to industrial rivalry. In fact, the contrary seems to be the case. White and negro labor of the same grade apparently work together peacefully. There is scarcely more friction between white and negro than there is between native whites and immigrant whites. The negro, only because he is more easily designated, becomes a target for jealousy and suspicion.

Find Problem in Housing.

"The housing problem, however, is more real and most Northern cities have made no provision whatever for a negro population, which, true to the instincts of any race, likes to congregate in districts by itself. Even in this respect, however, the negro meets with less opposition from persons of his own labor status than from whites of the somewhat higher labor grades.

"When it comes to the efficiency of the negro workman, opinions differ. A large employer writes as follows of the negro workmen: 'We have employed negroes in our shops for a great many years. In looking back over their service record we find continuous service records of five years, ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, twenty-five years, and even thirty years. These negroes have faithfully ,loyally and honestly performed the service that was required of them. I have found that with proper supervision the colored man could not only do skilled work, but would also maintain a standard of quality and productio nas established in the shop.'

"Another employer writes: 'We began employing negroes in considerable numbers as recently as 1916. We have found them dependable and punctual. They lose no more time because of sickness—in fact, not as much—as the average white worker. They are obedient, dutiful and industrious in every sense of the word. We arec onvinced that he has the making of a man just the same as the average white man has, if he is properly treated.'

"On the other hand, some employers have had an unsatisfactory experience. A large Eastern iron and steel establishment finds the negroes unsteady and unreliable, especially those without families. tI reports that 'if they have worked a few days, they lay off and loaf until their money is exhausted. They shift from place to place on the slightest cause or pretext.'"

A Negro Leader on Causes of Unrest Among His People

To The Commercial Appeal:

I was very much interested in reading your editorial of last Tuesday, touching upon negro migration as it related to the economic situation in the south. I have heard many favorable comments from all classes of my people, while, of course, the opinion was not unanimous, as usual. The Commercial Appeal is regarded as the greatest newspaper in the south, when it comes to moulding sentiment.

As the editor of this paper you have the confidence of the people and, therefore, a large responsibility in the matters of race adjustment. Racial sentiment is so powerful and acute that those who wish to accomplish the greatest good must be absolutely honest and sincere in action, and very cautious and wise in statement. There is an invisible dead line between races that have not fully reached their desired basis of adjustment, and understanding, and, leaders and workers, seeking to bring harmonious co-operation between such races, must be careful lest they go too far in advance of favorable sentiment, and thereby lose their influence and usefulness with their own group.

No man seeking to find a basis of comity and co-operation, can succeed when he has lost the confidence of his own people. In our racial situation in the south it is well to state that no one man is authorized to speak for all of the negroes. In fact there are so many angles to our life and activities that no one person can qualify as an authority on all phases of negro life. Our business life has developed some men capable of advising along that line. Our church life is in the hands of the pastors, which by far is the largest wing of our racial activities. The political wing is led by strong and able men. Our educational wing is in the hands of men capable of advising along that line. Then, there is a group, composed of lawyers, doctors, editors, preachers, bankers, politicians, teachers, etc., who have given the race situation special study from all angles, and even these differ as to what should be the definite line of action for the whole race, north and south.

Now, since the race is without any authorized spokesman in any part of the country, it is the prerogative of any man to qualify and speak to and for his people along those lines essential to the well being of the whole people. To qualify, let us assume that he should be a man of unquestioned integrity, well balanced in judgment, not moved in his actions and utterances by self-interest or prejudice, with first hand information as to what are the real needs and aspirations of his people, and with a knowledge of their weaknesses and limitations. The man assuming to speak should know the attitude of other people toward his own group and how the facilities, the advantages and opportunities for the progress and development of his people are affected by this attitude. He should be informed as to opportunities and possibilities for his group in the various sections of his country.

When this man speaks he should be mindful as to what he says and weigh the probable effect of his utterances upon the whole situation as citizens, loyal and patriotic, and are therefore interested in the whole country. Truly, this is a critical period in our racial life. It appears that we are wanted as laborers in more sections and in more lines of industry than ever before in our history.

To my mind it is a fine time for us to steady ourselves, take our bearings, and find what we really want, and what is best for us. Whatever may be one's feelings, or prejudices, he cannot truthfully say that it is wise for the majority of a people, numbering millions, to quit rural life and dump themselves into the cities. Good wages, good schools, good houses are much to be desired. They are essential to happiness and successful living. But these will not last in the new situation, unless there is a proper survey and a sane and sensible distribution of our racial population. Wages can be brought down, houses over crowded, schools crippled, and disease developed that will make one's last state as bad as the first. I have lived in the south for more than 50 years and I have traveled in all sections of the country and I know the advantages and disadvantages for my people wherever they live. I favor the distribution of our people in all sections, keeping in mind, health, wages, the avenues of employment, facilities for education, and the administration of justice, thereby bringing ourselves in touch with the whole American life.

I do not favor abandoning the south as a place to live. The economic possibilities are too great, the health conditions are too favorable to surrender this great agricultural and industrial section without making every possible effort to hold it. For our own benefit, physically, financially, morally, and for the sake of traditions that are sacred, binding and valuable, the south should always be the home of a large number of the negroes of the country. With the growth of our American population, added to the increase that prospective changes in our immigration laws will bring, territorial space for our population will some day be at a premium. And those who have their feet on the ground will have much the advantage. Some will argue that in a few years these people who move to the cities now, will some day come back. History does not bear out this statement. People who have, heretofore, pulled up stakes and changed rural life for urban life have seldom been known to return to the farm, in any great numbers. In my efforts to get the real facts and conditions, I have interviewed men on the scene as to conditions and possible remedies with reference to negro migration from the south. One negro farmer suggested that the causes are external and internal. As to the external he mentioned higher wages in northern industrial centers, better housing and living conditions, better schools, the influence of relatives already gone, recognition of citizenship and the ever present labor agent who spreads propaganda to create unrest that he may fill his contracts for laborers. He said that it would hardly be possible to stops those who had already made up their minds, but it was possible to institute such reforms and create such conditions that would prevent others from making up their minds.

The internal conditions, he said could be remedied by a definite programme speedily adopted and vigorously carried out. Among other things he said: 1. Let the rural south lengthen the school terms, build better school houses, and employ better teachers. Besides, encourage education among negroes, rather than discourage it. 2. Land owners are nonresidents he said, having moved to Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans, leaving the tenants and laborers at the mercy of cruel farm bosses, who abuse and exploit the negroes without mercy or justice. The farm bosses show a preference for the shiftless and improvident classes and make it hard for the thrifty, who wish to get up in the world. He said they were maltreated on the slightest provocation and made to get along with the same discomforts as the shiftless class. These conditions could easily be remedied, he said, and a long step toward quieting the unrest would be taken. It is the thrifty negro on the farm, in the towns, and in the cities who dislikes to change his desidence because he realizes what a loss is entailed in breaking up and moving.

Anything that terrorizes them and makes them feel unwelcome creates a feeling of unrest that is very far reaching. The younger negroes see in the prosperous members of their race an example of what they might accomplish by push, pluck, and perseverance and are easily discouraged whenever these classes are mistreated. Let the south gird up her loins and get busy with the remedies. In every community, there are white leaders who have the full confidence of the negroes. They are either farmers, merchants, bankers or preachers, but they have the ear of the negro people. This class can put a stop to

the injustices practiced upon the negroes by irresponsible people who occupy positions of authority and who make life hard for the better class of negroes.

I did not intend to mention the Ku Klux Klan, but I must say that negroes have been taught for 50 years to fear this organization. The record of former years is stamped upon the negro mind, and whatever may be said about their not hurting the negro falls upon unbelieving ears; and while he may escape for the present, he feels that his time will surely come and it will be impossible to keep negroes content while the Klan is organizing and parading among them. As a kind of "safety first" proposition, hundreds of people are moving from this section. While they know that the Klan is in other sections and injustices are met everywhere, yet, a feeling of security is possessed because of the prevailing sentiment in favor of law and the hope of fair and impartial trials in the courts.

Leaders in the south should get together and handle the situation. It can be done by the farmers, merchants, bankers, educators, and preachers. The negroes still have faith in these people and if they make up their minds, the situation can be speedily cleared up, and proper results obtained.

T. O. FULLER,
Howe Institute.

RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION.

The recent law restricting foreign immigration to this country, which is credited with causing the present labor shortage in some of the industries of the North, has aroused severe criticism among certain employers of labor. Especially caustic in its comments on this law is the New York *Herald*, an able and acute exponent of the capitalistic forces. In a recent editorial this paper characterized the labor shortage as "unnatural" and "caused by a stupid immigration law," which creates a situation "disturbing to the real advantage of the South."

The disturbing element in this situation, according to the *Herald* writer, is the fact that Southern Negroes are again on the move toward Northern jobs. It instances as proof of this movement the assertion that thirty-two thousand field hands have left Georgia since last summer and that at that rate the South has lost some 200,000 laborers. It is stated that there are approximately 1,000,000 Negro males between 18 and 44 years of age living in the South. "Because of the Negro's willingness to roam," as the *Herald* puts it, "this bloc constitutes a labor pool upon which industry draws in busy times by means of high wages."

This movement is deprecated by the *Herald* because it involves a heavy blow at cotton production, the result being that cotton acreage must be reduced and cotton prices rise in proportion as Negro labor leaves the fields. This logical result of Negro migration has been repeatedly pointed out in the columns of THE AGE during the past two years in discussing this movement and its effect. Moreover, the *Herald* does not agree with the statement so glibly made by the editor of the Columbia *State* that "the South can and will obtain white labor superior to them," within the time that would be required to lift them to a plane in which they would be worth much better wages in the South.

On the other hand, the *Herald* is of the opinion that "there is no chance to substitute other labor, because the climate in the best cotton growing areas prohibits white men from protracted field work." The result would be the stimulation of cotton growing in Egypt and other cotton growing countries. Another disturbing phase of the shift in the Negro population toward the North is that it intensifies the housing problem in Northern cities. This, together with the fact that the men outnumber the women in the number of migrants, causes the *Herald* to look with greater disfavor on the movement. The fact is that both these conditions may prove to be of a temporary character. The necessity of providing proper housing for the newcomers is one of the conditions that must be met in coping with this movement. The other point will be solved by the fact that as soon as the men who come North have secured a permanent job, they send for the womenfolks whom they were forced to leave behind.

Not all the critics of restricted immigration are so uncompromising as the *Herald*, and certain large employers who seek cheap labor, in advocating the repeal of the law. We find Prof. G. F. Warren, agricultural economist, in the *American Agriculturist*, declaring that indiscriminate immigration would break the labor market and work to the disadvantage of the farmer. He further claimed that the present law had improved the quality of the foreigners now entering the country.

One point that seems to be overlooked by most of the editors and experts who discuss the Southern migration movement is that it is not high wages alone that is drawing the Negro from the South. The intolerable conditions of peonage in Georgia, enforced convict labor for petty offences or on trumped up charges in Florida, and the infamous robbery of tenant farmers under the crop sharing system in Arkansas, all these are driving the Negroes from their old homes. A dispatch from Little Rock said that the most serious labor shortage in the history of the State confronted Arkansas farmers, due to the exodus of Negro farm labor. Whole families are said to have moved off the farms in the last few weeks.

In a review of the increase of Negro labor in industry, printed in another part of this week's issue, Charles E. Hall shows that as a general proposition the Negro has "made good" since he has gained an opening in Northern industry. The proof of this was given in the census returns of 1920, which showed an increase of over 300,000 employees of the race in manufacturing and mechanical industries, transportation, tade and clerical occupations and in professional service. The only decrease was shown in the number of females in domestic and personal service.

The suggestion of the *Herald* that the agricultural South should join the industrial North in working for the repeal of the three per cent. quota act is to say the least ill-advised. The interests of the two sections in this matter are not identical. The editor of the Columbia *State* came nearer to sizing up the situation when he said, "the restrictions on immigration are excellent for the white South in that they open the road to Negro employment in the North —and they are no less as excellent for the Negroes." If the *Herald* desires to serve the best interests of the South, it should advise it to put its house in order.

SUPPLY EXCEEDS DEMAND.

No Special Inducements to Prevent Negroes Migrating.

NEW ORLEANS, May 12.—The supply of negro labor in Louisiana exceeds the demand and no special inducements are being made to prevent negroes from migrating to the industrial centers of the north, it was announced today from the office of the state commissioner of labor.

If there has been any movement of negroes from the state this year, it has been so small it was not noticeable, it was said. The industries, plantations and farms are well supplied with labor and many negroes are seeking employment the announcement said.

NEGRO DEATH RATE PERPLEXES MORE THAN MIGRATION

GIST SAYS MOVEMENT TO NORTH IS NOTHING TO CAUSE SERIOUS WORRY

(From the Birmingham Age-Herald)

F. W. Gist, agricultural statistican for the federal department of agriculture, has completed a study of the migration of Negroes during all the years after slavery was abolished and has learned the conclusion that the South should worry more about the death rate of Negroes than about the rate of migration. In a statement regarding his investigation issued Saturday Mr. Gist showed that no great difference had existed in the total Negro population of the South at any census since 1860. However, each census has reported a smaller Negro population in the South.

In 1860 94,1 per cent of all Negroes in America resided in Southern states. In 1910 the percentage was 88.7 and in 1920 is was 88.8. Alabama has lost 121,00 Negroes by the migration during the past 60 years. Ten thousand moved out between 1860 and 1870, while 70,000 left between 1910 and 1920. Each ten years period has shown a loss of Negroes except between 1890 and 1900 when 17,000 Negroes moved into the state.

Mr. Gist pointed out that the rate of natural increase in the Negro population has been reduced each year. During the ten year period between 1910 and 1920. Each ten years crease was 18 per cent. This dropped to 11.2 per cent during the time between 1900 and 1910. Between 1910 and 1920 the increase was only 4.7 per cent. "This represents an average annual loss of 0.57 per cent," said Mr. Gist "Should this tendency hold over future years at the same rate only one hundred and seventy-five years would be required to wipe out the race in this country."

Migration Spasmodic.

Mr. Gist's statement on the exodus of Negroes follows:

A great many people have discussed the migratory instincts of the Negro and recently his disposition to move has appeal to some as a more or less serious phase of Southern economy, especially with relation to agriculture. His movement from state to state and from section to section has been so varied and spasmodic that, wtihout any definite statistics, many estimates have been made of the valume of his migratiory tendencies. Census onumerations have taken account of his birthplace, as they do of the rest of the population, but when one familiar with his idiocyncracies remembers that many of his tribe do not accurately state any given set of facts, it is no wonder that the record of his birthplace does not agree with other census computations. About as approximate a knowledge of his migration may be obtained by computing the net increase in population for the entire United States into the numbers enumerated and apply that sum to the number found at the next census for the various states. It is true, as has been pointed out many times, that the natural increase, represented by the excess of births, deaths, of the Negro varies in different sections and as between urban and rural Negro dwellers, so that something must be allowed for these differences.

A statement of net increase in Negro population in the United States as a whole for the different periods is given below:

1860 to 1870, 11.0 per cent; 1870 to 1880, 35.0 per cent; 1880 to 1890, 3.3 per cent; 1890 to 1900, 18.0 per cent; 1900 to 1910, 11.2 per cent; 1910 to 1920. 6.5 per cent.

N. Y. C. SUN
MAY 12 1923

$10 a Day Offered To Negroes in the South

WASHINGTON, May 12.—Farmers and lumbermen of the South are alarmed over the migration of negro workers to the North and West. There already is a shortage in cotton and sugar growing sections and lumber mill districts.

Louisiana sugar producers are drawing on Porto Rico for field hands. They will go to the limit under the law to recruit their losses. Solicitors are at work in all Southern States offering to negro men from $4 to $10 a day.

Federal officials were asked to-day if there was any law against bringing in Porto Ricans. It was pointed out that coastwise ships could transport from Porto Rico sixteen laborers in addition to the crew.

The North Carolina Pine Association has made public a letter it wrote to Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Howard Universtiy here, protesting against the effort to stimulate the negro exodus from the South.

One of the circulars sent South was from Albany, N. Y., and it offered $4.80 a day for eight hours, free transportation to Albany, with an allowance of $7 a week for house rent.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

WOONSOCKET R I EVE CALL
APRIL 27, 1923

Another Problem

Another problem seems to be developing, if indeed it has not now assumed sufficient magnitude to justify the statement that it has already developed. This is the exodus of negroes from the South. It began with the war and has increased almost continuously ever since until now it has reached such proportions that it is giving considerable concern to both North and South.

Primarily this is a problem of industry and agriculture because most of the negroes who have left the South have gone into the mills of the North or into occupations of a mechanical rather than an agricultural character. This creates a double problem because it means a reduction in the number of workers available for the plantations of the South and at the same time increases the number of industrial workers in the North.

Of course another element that enters largely into the situation is the effect that this transfer of negroes from the South to the North will have upon the racial conditions in the North. Chiefly, however, as yet this problem is most agitating from the standpoint of employment, and particularly as it affects the upkeep of the southern plantations. The negroes have been leaving in such large numbers that the effect of their departure has already been felt in many places while the trend northward continues so steadily and so strongly that unless some means is found to stem the tide the time is not far distant when it will be extremely difficult to get enough workers on the plantations down there to keep them under full production.

That may mean a hard blow to the South and in its best light it means a considerable revolution in the industrial and agricultural conditions in the South because the whole economic structure there has rested for generations upon this class of unskilled labor which is now deserting its field and seeking others. It is plain, however, that the South has never done very much to keep the negroes there. It has rather taken it for granted that they would always remain there and now it is discovering that it has been expecting too much and that it must be prepared for a radical change in respect to the supply of negro laborers.

MAJOR MOTON ON MIGRATION IN THE NEW YORK TIMES.

By B. J. DAVIS,

Editor Atlanta Independent.

Major Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, on Sunday, May 6th, in the New York Times, discussed at length in a well written article, the migration of the Negro from the south to the north from an economical standpoint. The article is well written and reviews the question at length, but was largely an apology for the conditions laying at the root of the movement.

There are fundamentals underlying this movement that cannot be explained away or apologized for. There are deep-seated evils that must be reached and remedied before the economic loss to the south, by reason of the migration of the Negro to the north, must be remedied. These conditions must be met honestly, straightforwardly and frankly. Attempts to explain away by the white man, or apologize by the Negro are not going to remove the evils or stop migration.

We have read carefully and impartially Major Moton's article in the Times, and we cannot escape the opinion that it lacks in frankness and smacks of an apology. The Major is a good student of economic conditions; he is well acquainted with the condition and environment of his people, and is in a position to speak for them as no other Negro man in America. Whether we accept him as a leader or not, the white people of the world accept and recognize him as the foremost Negro of America, and in consequence of which, he has the world's ear, and whatever he says, whether it is right or wrong, goes further than the word of any other one hundred Negroes in America. If he states that the Negro is satisfied and that the relations between the races is most cordial, and that only the floating element of our group is drifting north, and will soon return, the world accepts it as truth, and if he states the times are growing better, wages are better and that the white man south is doing more for the educational uplift and the betterment of the Negro, and that he has more friends now among white people than he ever had, and that the white man is sincerely interested in the promotion of his social, economic and commercial welfare, it is accepted as the truth. Therefore, it behooves the Major to be very careful of what he says, for the reason that in his effort to serve his people, he may be their undoing and retard whatever betterment world sentiment may force America to concede the Negro.

The Major falls into many errors in his statement of fact in his discussion. The white man likes frankness and truth; he likes manhood and candor; he does not appreciate apology or compromise; he likes to know what he is up against, and he would rather have a statement of real facts and the whole truth than any sidestepping or explanation by the way of apology.

Under the caption, "Higher Wages in Field and Factory," the Major states, "Wages are higher today in the south than ever before. Before the war it was not impossible to secure a field hand for 50 cents a day. Today the lowest rate in any section is $1.25 a day, and in many sections as high as $2.00 a day. The industrial centers of the south have witnessed a similar increase in wages. Unskilled labor receives from $2.50 to $3.00 a day, while the trades offer $5.00, $6.00 and as high as $8.00 per day to skilled workmen. This has meant a corresponding improvement in home life for Negroes all over the south, one of the first effects of which was to increase the number of children in both public and private schools, and particularly the number of girls going to school. For a time, coincident with the war, there was a falling off of the number of boys in the schools, caused both by drafting for the army and by the attraction of high wages.

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"The most significant results are yet to come. The south is beginning seriously to consider the causes of Negro migration, and editors concede that the offer of high wages in the north is not the only cause."

Now this statement is not the whole truth. If our investigations are to be relied upon, we find that farm labor, in spite of migration, is at a lower ebb than pre-war prices. The Major states that before the war it was not impossible to secure labor on the farms for 50c per day. Our investigation finds that farm hands in Georgia are receiving from 50c to 75c per day now, notwithstanding the fact that the cost of living has advanced from 50 to 100 per cent over pre-war prices, and that landlords absolutely refuse any assistance whatever to croppers or tenants on their farms, and that the ravages of the boll weevil has left him helpless, and he must either migrate north where he can get living wages or starve on the farm.

We find that the wages of skilled labor among brick layers, and plasterers, are about upon the same level as war prices; but that carpenters, joiners, lathers, shinglers and the like have fallen from war prices to the level of 60 cents per hour, and the cost of living is still at the level of war prices.

The Major further states, "At no time have the conditions and wants of the Negro received so much consideration in the south as they receive today on the part of manufacturers, planters, bankers, school officials, legislators and governors. This is recorded in the lengthening school terms, the building of schoolhouses, the improvement of housing and sanitary conditions, the provision of public playgrounds and the outspoken demand for justice and fair dealing toward the Negro heard on every hand from the leading public officials and private citizens of the south. This is especially true in the matter of mob violence and lynching, with respect to which the sentiment of the press, of the churches and of civic organizations of every kind in the south is today strongly opposed as that of any other section of our country."

We do not see how the Major could consistently make this statement, occupying the position he does in the public regard as to voicing the real condition of our people, in the light of the fact that he, himself, is threatened by an element of whites in his community where he lives, because he dared to stand up for a Negro personnel of officers for the Veterans' Hospital at Tuskegee. In a state where there is a statute prohibiting white female nurses from waiting on Negro patients, the governor and other officials and prominent citizens have demanded of him that he withdraw his opposition to a white personnal, and that white people be put in charge of the hospital from top to bottom, and that Negroes be allowed to do only menial and scullion work.

The lack of educational facilities for the Negro in the south is alarming. The Negroes of Mississippi, in state convention assembled, have just issued a pronunciamento calling the attention of the world to the woeful lack of educational facilities for the race. They cite in bold letters that the state of Mississippi spends $100,000.00 a year for the transportation of white students to school, and none for Negroes; that they have one thousand high and agricultural schools in the state for whites and one for Negroes; that they have sanitariums for the white blind, none for Negroes; they have institutions for white derelicts and delinquents, none for Negroes; that they spend $20.00 per capita for white youths' education, annually, and only $1.00 for Negroes; that Negroes in Mississippi regard life as unsafe and that the white man

may kill a Negro for pleasure, and both the federal and state courts decline to prosecute, and for these and other reasons, the Negro is migrating from the south.

In Georgia, we have twelve agricultural schools supported by the state for white youths, and not one for colored youths. We have technical schools, commercial schools, girls' high schools and every other kind of educational institution supported by the state for the whites, and nothing of the kind for Negroes, and yet the Major tells us in the New York Times that the Negro is receiving more consideration from the whites of the south and that the relations are more cordial than at any time in the history of the race.

The southern states are building hundreds and thousands of schoolhouses out of public school funds for the education of the white youth, but the Negro is solely dependent, as the Mississippi Negroes state, upon philanthropy and his own efforts for schoolhouses and school improvements; yet the Major states that the improvement is recorded in the lengthening of the school terms and the building of schoolhouses. The Major states that housing facilities on the farm and elsewhere are far more sanitary and comfortable than heretofore. There is absolutely no improvement anywhere in any state we have been in on the farms or in the renting quarters in the city provided by white people for Negroes. The shacks and shanties in which Negroes live on the farm, as a rule, are not as good as the stables and garages in which the southern white man houses his stock and automobiles.

The white primary, which is a southern institution, successfully excludes the Negro from Participation in governmental affairs, and he only participates in elections for bonds and the like when white people fall out among themselves on the question of tax or economic problems. Every white man in the state who runs for office and declares against the Ku Klux Klan or lawlessness in any form, is defeated for re-election, and his defeat is made doubly sure, if he expresses fair play and equal opportunities for the Major and his group. Yet, the Major states that school officials and public officials, manufacturers, planters, bankers and governors are giving us more consideration than at any time in our lives.

The pay of the average Negro teacher throughout the south in the rural districts is at the starvation point—from $15.00 to $20.00 per month. This does not look like school officials are growing more liberal to the Negro in the south. The Manufacturers' Association, which met in Atlanta a few days ago, recognizing the injustice perpetrated upon the Negro, passed resolutions calling for better treatment, and better conditions for the Negro, with a view of checking Negro migration; yet the Major tells the world in the New York Times that at no time have conditions and wants of the Negro received so much consideration in the south as they receive today on the part of manufacturers, planters, bankers, school officials, legislators and governors. The Major made this statement in the teeth of the fact that every southern legislature that meets, a half dozen or more bills are introduced to further limit the Negro's possibilities, and to restrict his privileges and development. Mob violence has not ceased. Restrictions and proscriptions have not abated; the lawless element is still in the saddle, and the so-called best element of the white south is afraid to assert the faith that is in them, if they believe in a square deal for the Negro. The industrial and economic opportunities in the south are being closed in the face of the Negro, instead of being opened. Street cleaning, truck driving and the various other industrial vocations, which were open to the Negro before the war, are closed to him today; yet the Major argues strongly that our opportunities are greater and receive far more consideration

We would be very glad if the Major would study the conditions underlying migration again, and have the frankness to state the truth as the facts disclose it, to the world, that the world may not understand that conditions in the south are growing better for us and our opportunities widening to make an honest, everyday living, when in fact, the opposite is the truth.

N Y C POST
MAY 14, 1923

Mississippi Seeks To Keep Negroes From Migrating

Formulates Principles of Fair Dealing to Better Relations of Races

Million-Dollar Endowment for Industrial School Suggested—Education Favored as Remedy

[Special Correspondence of the Evening Post]

JACKSON, Miss., May 12.—Realizing the gravity of the loss of thousands of its negro workers, particularly from agricultural districts, Mississippi is setting about finding days of meeting the problem and, while not even the most optimistic hope to check the present exodus entirely, it is felt that many things may be done to make the negro population of the State more contented and less likely to hear the call of industry from the Middle West or other manufacturing districts.

One of the first steps taken was to call a conference here of both negroes and whites and to formulate a set of principles to meet the situation. Another was to decide to lend assistance to a campaign for a million-dollar endowment fund for the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute, a negro vocational school modelled upon Tuskegee and headed by W. H. Holtzclaw, who has long been prominent in matters pertaining to interracial coöperation.

Editorials in various newspapers urging higher wages and better treatment for negroes have appeared and there is evident a desire to face the situation more squarely than in the past, when it has been the custom to dismiss such movements of the negro population with the remark: "Oh, well let 'em go. They'll soon get enough of the North and the Yankees and be glad enough to come back home."

Time has proved the fallacy of any such theories, for all the dire predictions of what might happen to the negroes have failed to come to pass, and thousands of them are living in the North contentedly enough; so contentedly that their friends and relatives are eager to follow them.

The complacent attitude of the South is also changing, at least in Mississippi. Proof of this is found in the following extract from resolutions passed at a recent conference here, at which a number of negro leaders were present and took part in the deliberations. To keep the negro in Mississippi the passage said:

"We must improve living conditions, improve working conditions, look after the health and sanitary problems of our laborers, and see that they get proper churches, schools, and places of amusement. Every man and woman in the State must see to it that the laws protecting the negroes in their lives and property are rigorously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs, regardless of race or color; and that there be the fullest cooperation between the white man and the black to insure amicable relations, efficient service, and mutual profit to both."

Around Utica, where Prof. Holtzclaw teaches some 500 negro boys and girls a year, there has been no negro exodus. The white residents unhesitatingly ascribe the situation to the presence of the school, which they say has made the negroes prosperous and has been the chief influence in keeping racial relations upon a peaceful and satisfactory basis. The contentment of the negroes is one reason, perhaps, why the suggestion that a million-dollar endowment fund be raised for the school met with such ready response. It is expected that $100,000 of the amount will be contributed this year.

Some of the plans may savor of locking the door after the horse has departed, but they are likely to be effective in keeping many of the land owning, prosperous negro farmers in the State and also in helping the next generation not to feel, as so many ambitious negroes have felt in the past, that the South held no chance for them.

An awakening is in progress that should have come long ago, and it promises important developments in the whole subject of racial relations in Mississippi and other Southern States.

H. B.

BUFFALO N Y EXPRESS
MAY 11, 1926

WAKING UP THE SOUTH.

In Mississippi an organized campaign has begun to combat the emigration of negro labor from the state. Happily it is taking the form of propaganda, not of legislation and terrorism, as in some former periods when the exodus of negroes became alarming. Some prominent leaders among the negroes themselves have been enlisted in the effort to convince them that they should stay in the state. The most effective argument, however, is a general increase in the wages for negro labor.

Nevertheless, a mass meeting of negroes in Jackson has plainly declared that there are other causes than low wages for the migration. Its resolutions recite that tenant farmers are commonly defrauded by white land-owners, who sometimes refuse to make any settlement whatever with them; that the negroes usually can obtain no redress in the courts, since the word of one white man outweighs that of 100 negroes; that negro soldiers returning from the war find themselves with no more voice in the government of Mississippi than have the Germans whom they fought, although Mississippi sent out more negro than white soldiers; that the defeat of the Dyer anti-lynching bill convinces them that "the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate lynch law and mob violence" and that negroes, therefore, feel that their lives are not safe in Mississippi.

This reference to the Dyer bill is a particularly strong thrust at the Democratic politicians who rule the South. The entire subject is likely to come up at the next session of congress and it may produce more vigorous debates than have been heard since reconstruction days. The Florida peonage exposures as well as the Dyer bill invite congressional action. It has developed that a chief reason why Florida objects to abandoning the peonage system or even to forbid whipping is that leased convicts reduce greatly the cost of building the state's highways, and Florida has awakened to the idea that her tourist business requires extensive road-building. The United States government, however, contributes a part of the money for these roads. A strong effort certainly will be made, when the next federal appropriation for highways comes up, to insert a provision that no state shall share in its benefits which builds roads with convict labor worked under the lash. That stipu-

lation certainly should be included in any federal grant made hereafter. And the anti-lynching bill, also, should be adopted. Too much never- ion toward conditions of slavery for oth negro and white labor already as been permitted.

Labor — 1923.

Migration Movement

CORSICANA TEX SUN
MAY 21, 1923

Periodically, it might be said, the probability of the negroes leaving the South and its effects upon the South from a standpoint of labor is drawn to the surface. In the discussion that follows some take the position that the South is dependent upon the negro for labor of a character, that if the negro should pack up and leave the South would be greatly crippled. We have never subscribed to that view. The South can and does use negro labor to good advantage to itself and with equally good advantage to the negro. But the South can get along without the negro, and it can do so without approaching anything that resembles a collapse anywhere along any line of industry. Indeed, there is great truth in the often repeated statement that the South can get along much better without the negro than the negro can get along without the South. The South is the only real friend the negro has.

In this connection the Waco Times-Herald treats the question of the negro moving to the North with so much good sense and reason that we are going to reproduce what the editor of that paper has to say. Says the Times-Herald:

Not in a long while has there been in this country so marked an event as is taking place in the States south of the Ohio and east of Texas. The negroes in those States—in Arkansas and Louisiana and Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia and Florida and North and South Carolina—are moving to the North; not just a few, mind you, but they are going by trainloads; listen to this from the secretary of the North Carolina Pine Association:

"Unless the full car and solid train movement of the negro population from the South to the North cease, we will surely find our farms and factories under limited cultivation and restricted outturn."

Of course, there may be some inconveniences for the time being by reason of a scarcity of labor, but that is a minor consideration; the main question is whether or not such a movement is best for all concerned.

It seems to us that it isn't a healthy state of affairs for the negroes to be massed in one section of the country; it isn't best for them and it isn't best for the whites, and therefore it is best all around, it seems to us, for the negroes to be somewhat distributed throughout the country and thus be given the greater opportunity to better their condition, with consequent good to the whites, both North and South

Of course, climatic conditions enter somewhat into the calculation; can the negro survive in a clime like unto that of Michigan, for example? We are not prepared to answer that question—perhaps it will have to be tested out

Should the climate of Illinois and Indiana and Michigan and Wisconsin prove too severe, we shall probably witness a great exodus of negroes to Southern California; it may be taken for granted that they will not return to the South—their going is likely permanent

Be the difficulties what they may, it is safe to assume that the next twenty years will give to the North and West a negro population equal to that of the South, for not only is the movement economic, but it is now partaking somewhat of a religious nature, and that means an ever-increasing number until the supply is practically exhausted

The movement has not yet attained any considerable proportions out here in Texas, possibly because there are better economic conditions than in the older Southern States But we may be sure that it will spread considerably; already it is somewhat in evidence, the tendency here, however, being toward California rather than toward Chicago.

It is for the negro to say whether he will go or stay; the whites will not facilitate his going, nor yet will they undertake to set up hindrances. If the negro wishes to stay in the South, he can do so without molestation, and he will receive generous treatment at the hands of the whites, who are his well-wishers, a fact attested in a thousand ways.

But if the negro wishes to go, that is his affair, and if he thinks he can better his condition, he ought to go. However, he ought to have some assurance of work before he makes the change; he can't afford to go away on mere uncertainties, and it is for the Southern white man to caution him on this point—to tell him not to give up a certainty for an uncertainty.

Negro Ministers Score Southern Migration In Boston Addresses

Boston, Mass., July 15.—(Special) A speech, bitter in its criticism of the migration of the negroes from the south, was made by Rev. W. H. Dobbs, pastor of Concord Baptist church, Sunday morning to a large audience of prominent white and colored citizens of Boston in a meeting held to raise funds for the Holmes Institute, of Atlanta. He declared that no race of people upon the face of the globe has succeeded in any degree of success by emmigrating from one section of the country to another.

"The race that succeeds, is the race that fights out its own salvation by letting its buckets down where it is. We have a greater problem to fight in the north and east in regard to negroes than in the south.

"The only way to build a race is to get education, character, religion, and property which will entitle its members to their right place in the world," said Rev. B. R. Holmes, president of the Holmes Institute, who made a speech for the education of the negroes of the south. Dr. L. M. Holmes and E. B. Barco also made addresses.

NEGROES FLOCK TO CITIES.

Missouri Industrial Commission Reports Drift to Urban Centres.

A general review of the situation of the colored population of Missouri is presented in the biennial report of the Negro Industrial Commission for the years 1921 and 1922. At the last census, the report points out, negroes numbered 178,141, an increase of 13.2 per cent. over the figures for 1910, and formed 5.2 per cent. of the total population of the State. Missouri has nothing approaching a "black belt," the colored people being widely scattered and everywhere in a minority. In 91 of the 114 counties they form less than 5 per cent. of the population; in only seven do they exceed 10 per cent., and the largest proportion reached is 15.5 per cent., in Howard County.

According to the census definition of urban, which includes under this term all who live in cities of 2,500 inhabitants or over, practically 75 per cent. of the negro population is urban, says the report, and more than 100,000 are massed in two cities, Kansas City and St. Louis. A decided drift to the cities is indicated by these figures, since in 1910 only 66.3 per cent. of the State's total colored population was found in cities. While this increase in the urban population has been going on, 95 of the 114 counties of the State have shown a decrease in their negro population. The commission deplores this movement, on the ground that both hygienic and economic conditions are often more unfavorable for the colored worker in the city than in the country.

"The location of many negro dwellings is unhealthful," declares the commission. "Many of their homes are in crowded alleys, dark, damp basements, which are bady ventilated and poorly lighted. It is often impossible for negroes to purchase lots or homes in desirable localities.

"Our people have often not been informed that the demand for unskilled labor in our large cities of the State is much less than the supply, hence there is less chance for making a comfortable living in the city and the sanitary surroundings are likely to be far inferior to those in the country."

On the other hand, the report points out, it is evident that the city offers to the colored people some strong attractions in the way of companionship, recreational facilities, the opportunity to develop professional and business classes of their own, and above all much better educational opportunities. That they take advantage of these last is shown by the fact that while the percentage of illiteracy among the total negro population is 12.1 per cent., and among the rural population is 20.6 per cent.; among the urban negroes it is only 9.6 per cent.

Stating that there is room for improvement in the providing of educational facilities for negroes, the commission makes the following recommendations: "That a law be enacted prohibiting Boards of Education from discriminating against colored teachers in the matter of salaries; the passage of a law requiring medical inspection in all of the schools of Missouri; that adequate educational facilities be provided for all children of Missouri and that part of Section 11,145, Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919, requiring fifteen colored children of school age to establish a school, be eliminated; that adequate appropriation be made for the support of Lincoln University and that a liberal appropriation be included for the increase of teachers' salaries."

In considering the general situation of the colored population, the commission calls attention to the fact that there is little provision made for the classes requiring aid, more especially the insane, the tuberculous and the feebleminded. There is no segregation law requiring the exclusion of negroes from State institutions, but in practice, declares the report, many institutions do not admit them. Various measures are recommended by the commission to remedy these conditions.

WHERE NEGROES STAY.

To the discussion of the causes of negro migration from the South an instructive contribution is to be found in The Morning Herald of Durham, N. C., under date of June 13. It consists of a statement made by Mr. C. C. SPAULDING, President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of that city. He is a colored man himself, and is vouched for by the editor of The Morning Herald as a man of good judgment and with such a reputation among men of affairs in both races as to demand a hearing for him when he discusses any question concerning the negro. Mr. SPAULDING does not undertake to show why colored men leave the South. He contents himself with indicating the reasons why they stay there.

In the city of Durham there are nearly 8,000 negroes who live on peaceful and friendly terms with their white neighbors. Several tobacco factories and hosiery mills give steady employment to large numbers of colored men and women, and care is taken to insure them good working conditions and a decent livelihood. Mr. SPAULDING declares that the people of Durham show a desire to make the negro population a permanent and valued part of its citizenry. The vote is not denied because of color, and adequate educational opportunities are provided for the negroes. There has never, asserts Mr. SPAULDING, been a lynching in Durham, and "colored "men are given an honest hearing in "the courts."

Such a story does not, of course, cover all the facts in other parts of the South, but surely the example of Durham ought to be taken to heart by other cities and sections that are so much wrought up by the migration of negroes to the North. The problem is confessedly complicated. It has its political side and its racial aspects. But, after all, it is a human problem, and the experience of Durham points the way to solving it by human methods. The Durham Morning Herald did a useful thing in publishing so striking a comment on "the migra-"tory movement which is sweeping "through the South today."

Immediate Cure Of Negro Exodus Sought by Club

Effort to find an effective temporary remedy for the negro migration was begun by the negro migration committee of the City club at its first meeting, it was announced Saturday by Joel B. Hunter, chairman. Opinions of members of the committee and prominent men from al parts of the state were submitted to the committee by Charles E. Robertson, secretary of the City club, in line with the program of the club to make a general survey of the situation with a view to recommending methods of dealing with the problem, both as an acute temporary emergency, and in its more general phase as a movement which actually has been in progress at a slower rate for the last 50 years.

Members of the committee who discussed the problem at the meeting

were Joel B. Hunter, chairman; Josiah T. Ross, C. W. McClure, Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, Otto Schwab, Walter McElreath, Judge George O. Grogan, of Elberton, and Stewart F. Gelders, secretary, and Charles E. Robertson. Others whose suggestions were considered by the committee were William C. Bradley, Judge Blanton Fortson, of Atlanta; G. D. Perry, of Madison; J. S Hall, of Barnesville; J. T. Hollomon and others.

"We realize," said Joel B. Hunter, chairman, after the meeting, "that the question involves both a temporary and a permanent aspect, which makes our task much more difficult. There are certain remedies which might retard the movement over which no committee nor organization has the slightest control and it is altogether problematical whether such remedies would prove effective.

"The City club has no notion that it can solve the whole question which goes back more than 50 years, and which vitally concerns every phase of life in the south," he continued. "It is the earnest hope of our committee that our survey may clarify the situation and contribute in some degree to a basis for an enlightened public opinion. If we can accomplish that, we shall have rendered a lasting service and have justified the contention of the City club that it seeks to ascertain the truth on matters which affect the welfare of our common wealth."

WESTFIELD MASS ECHO
JUNE 1, 1923

NEGROS ARE COMING TO NEW ENGLAND

Are Being Used For Highway Work In Connecticut

Mention was made recently in The Valley Echo of the Negroes to be seen working on the State Highways in Connecticut. These dusky men from the South are being urged to come North for the summer and perhaps to locate in this part of the country permanently. It is too much to expect that these men, especially the more elderly, will be able to withstand the cold weather of the Northern climate, but they are all right for the summer season. The manufacturers who are in desperate need of common labor are among those urging the Negroes to come North and the advance in wages is a great drawing card. Some of the manufacturers are in favor of letting down the immigration bars, but on the whole, the present law is working effectively to cut out a lot of undesirables. One suggestion is that more be let in from the countries like Sweden and avoid the rif raff of Southern Europe. One prominent minister states that this demand for the Southern Negro is a real blessing for his race inasmuch as the Southerners are waking up to the situation and improving the working conditions and increasing the wages of the Negroes in the Southern states. Many of the Negroes who have started North are finally induced to remain by promise of more pay and it is stopping the exodus. In this particular section, especially in Connecticut, many Southern Negroes are given summer employment on the big tobacco plantations.

SURVEY SHOWS MIGRATION OF NEGRO

U. S. Labor Department Finds 38 Per Cent Increase on 273 Pay Rolls.

By International News Service.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 12.—A comprehensive survey of the migration of negro labor from the South to the North has revealed an unexpected and remarkable increase in the number of skilled workers who are moving northward, the Department of Labor announced Thursday.

Agents of the department analyzed payroll statistics of 273 employers of negro labor in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

Comparisons were made between 42,371 negro workers, distributable into groups of 10,794 skilled and 31,577 unskilled as of April 30, 1922, and 60,420 negro workers, 14,951 skilled and 45,470 unskilled on April 30, 1923.

During the year ending with April 30 negro workers increased on the payrolls of these 273 firms by 18,050 men, of whom 4,157 were skilled and 13,893 were unskilled. The number of skilled workers increased more than 38 per cent.

Increase of negro workers in various states were given as follows: Connecticut 88.74, New Jersey 74.82, Indiana 70.15, Ohio 69.93, California 66.67, Pennsylvania 64.91, Michigan 63.77, Wisconsin 58.24, Maryland 55.48, Illinois 45.14, Kansas 40.42, New York 37.19, Massachusetts 25, Kentucky 24, Missouri 18.30, Oklahoma 14.10, Delaware 2.63. West Virginia showed a slight decrease in the number of negro workers.

The largest increase in the number of skilled negro workers took place in Maryland, with a percentage of 186.86.

OUR MIGRATION NUMBER

The issue of Thursday, July 26th, of the Christian Recorder will be devoted entirely to the subject of migration of the Negroes from the South. We have a large number of good articles representing the best thought of the best white people and colored people both North and South upon this subject. What we are trying to do is to get more of facts and less of opinion. We have made a survey of the articles appearing in leading race periodicals as well as some of the leading white papers. The following is a list of some of the persons from whom we have articles: Bishops L. J. Coppin, W. D. Chappelle, W. D. Johnson, W. A. Fountain, Prof. J. M. Avery, vice-president of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company; J. W. Rice, editor of the Dallas Express; John H. Adams, a noted Negro artist of Waycross, Ga.; Prof. Kelly Miller, dean of Howard University; E. W. Sherman, editor of the Savannah Journal; Rev. W. W. Alexander of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Atlanta, Ga.; Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Abe Hurwitz, editor of the Jacksonville Journal, Jacksonville, Fla.; J. M. Rowland, editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate, Richmond, Va.; W. W. Ball, editor of The State, Columbia, S. C.; Prof. Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book, Tuskegee, Ala.; Eugene Kinkle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, New York; Dr. John Harmon, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. F. R. Sims, Thomasville, Ga.; Rev. W. H. Mixon, Selma, Ala., and Rev. J. Winsmore Mason of Wilberforce University.

We also sent out questionaires to the presiding elders of the South, regarding their districts and facts received from the answers to these questionaires have been prepared for this issue. We are printing below a gist of some of the articles we have received.

ELEVEN THOUSAND FARMS ABANDONED IN GEORGIA STATE

TWO LAWS FOR TWO RACES WILL NEVER SETTLE QUESTION, SPEAKER SAYS

Eighty-Seven Thousand Negroes Have Gone.

One law for the white man and another for the black man will never solve the Negro problem, in the opinion of Dr. Lloyd Nolan, chief of the health department of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, in an address before the Men's Club of the Independent Presbyterian Church Wednesday night. Dr. Nolan told of the welfare work of the Tennessee Company and what it is doing for its 25,000 employes, 15,000 of whom are Negroes, in the Birmingham district. Dr. Nolan spoke in some detail and closed his address with a brief review of the way the Negro problem is handled in the islands of the British West Indies.

He spoke particularly of the island of Barbadoes, one of the most denstly populated spots on the globe, with its 97.8 Negro population. He said there had never been a single instance of maltreatment of a white woman by a Negro; and that in his nine years' residence in the British West Indies, he had never locked his doors and had never had anything stolen from him. He said that the reason was that the same laws applied equally and without discrimination to whites and blacks.

John J. Egan of Atlanta, president of the American Cast Iron Pipe Co., spoke briefly and extemporaneously on the problem created by the Negro exodus and told of the 87,000 Negroes that had left Georgia in recent months. He said there were now upward of 11,000 abandoned farms in Georgia. He also advocated fair treatment of the Negro as the solution of the problem from an economic standpoint. The adoption of the ideals of Jesus Christ of human brotherhood would solve all problems of modern civilization, he felt.

President Henry L. Badham presided over the dinner.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

AUG 2 - 1923

COTTON TO ROT IN SOUTHERN FIELDS

Negro Exodus Will Cause Loss of at Least Half Million Bales, Says Agriculture Department.

Washington, Aug. 2.—The Agricultural Department gives out the startling statement that at least a half million bales of cotton will rot in the Southern fields this fall because of the unparalleled exodus of negroes to the northern states. The department estimates that at least 2,000 negroes are daily leaving the south even now in watermelon time and in the month of June over 50,000 migrated. South Carolina now for the first time in a century of its history has more white people than negroes and at the rate negroes are leaving Mississippi the whole black belt of the south will disappear in another twelve months. In some sections of this latter state whole plantations are deserted, large families of negroes abandoning the plow or hoe to take the train north on receipt of a glowing letter from a friend who has gone to Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio or Illinois.

This black migration with the boll weevil ravages will, it is estimated, cause the south to fall short a million bales. The department's estimate is 11,500,000 bales in spite of the boll weevil but if 500,000 rot in the fields only 11,000,000 will be marketed. For this 11,000,000 bales, it is estimated by market experts at the department, the south will receive more money than it would for say 12,000,000 bales without the negro exodus and the boll weevil.

But if the negro exodus continues at its present rate, it is felt in government circles here, that it is certain to raise some very serious moral, political and sociological problems not only for the south but for the whole country. It is easy to visualize within five or ten yearas at most the north with more negroes than the south. The bloodiest riots between whites and blacks in this country have been at East St. Louis and Chicago, great industrial centers, and the bottom cause of these riots was economic. In all the recent strikes in the Northern states, negroes have been used as strikebreakers. The northern labor unions have never and probably never will fraternize with them. The American Federation of Labor is largely responsible for the present rather drastic immigration law. Southern members of congress voted for the law after seeing how difficult it was to make a melting pot of this country during the world war.

Now the northern mill men unable to replenish their labor needs from Europe, send their agents into the south for the negro. They are employing him to keep down the dedmands of the unions and as a break-water against the possible success of strikes. One Philadelphia mill man has filled his plant with negroes at $2.00 per day less than he could get white men. When business gets slack these white men will lose their jobs in other shops to negroes and be in the streets, then trouble may be looked for.

The negro migration north makes the race a serious political factor. The dangerous Dyer anti-lynching bill is a recent illustration. It was engineered by Northern negroes who threatened northern members of congress with extinction if they did not vote for it. As the negroes increase with their rights to vote in every district north of Mason and Dixon's line, their leaders plan revenge through congress on the south. It was Boston negro leaders who backed Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts in his threat to launch a new force bill in the last congress.

But if the negro goes north and stays there—and it remains to be seen whether or not he will stick—the south must find some one to take his place. Senator Dial of South Carolina at this very moment is pondering in his mind that very problem. He has been considering the proposition of inducing Italian immigration into his state. But the senator comes up for re-election next year and some of his friends have warned him that such an experiment looks dangerous. The Italian is not a negro. He has his Latin cusoms, his Catholic church, his mass, while the rural south is provincially Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. The fact is if the negro leaves the south agriculture there faces the most critical turning point in its history.

AUG 2 - 1923

BETTER CONDITIONS ASKED BY NEGROES

Believe Northward Migration Can Be Stopped By Racial Cooperation.

A statement urging the white people of the Birmingham district to cooperate to bring to the negroes better social, civic and industrial conditions, that the large tide of colored population migrating to the North may be checked has been issued by a special committee composed of the following:

Rev. J. H. Wren, pastor First Baptist Church, Mason City; Rev. T. R. Gains, presiding elder, A. M. E. Zion Church; Prof. James G. Brown, assistant teacher Central Institute; Prof. M. M. Smith, public school, Bankhead, Ala.; J. B. Baldwin, miner, Bankhead, Ala.; Rev. C. L. Wright, pastor, Carbon Hill, Ala.; B. J. Waters, miner, Carbon Hill, Ala.; M. Trammel, miner, Benoit, Ala.; Rev. P. Colfax Rameau, ex-officio.

The statement follows:

"We, the undersigned committee, come to offer to the dominant race of this great commonwealth and the state of Alabama, a program that will meet the general need of the working masses of the negro race.

"We recognize this fact, that we cannot command or force your great race to do anything; we can only appeal to your Christian manhood and womanhood; for as we have been taught by the Greatest Teacher of the universe: 'He that fighteth with the sword shall perish.' Therefore, the Afro-American Racial Conference's only ambition is to appeal to you, asking your wholehearted cooperation, to make a clean, moral fight.

"Above all, there is needed throughout this greater mineral district, a permanent racial adjustment conference, composed of the leading negro men and women, whose business it shall be to strive to bring about that condition so strikingly and aptly described by the beloved Booker T. Washington, in has famous Atlanta exposition address, which we are sure, will fit into the program of bringing about perfect industrial peace and harmony working in cooperation with the management: 'In all things that are purely special, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.'

"Every real Anglo-Saxon man and woman, will agree, we think, that the housing of the majority of our people is in imperative need of improvement. We are sure it is neither right nor rational to expect, to any considerate extent, contentment, the development of good citizenship, desire for improvement, pride, ambition, intelligence, morality, or any other desirable quality from any race or people who must live in shanties and hovels located in unsanitary and unsightly back alleys and bottoms. A clean, attractive house and a clean street, like clean, well-kept clothes, make for morality, contentment, order and good conduct. But not only is the average negro settlement inimical to good, decent citizenship, using the term broadly; it is also the breeding place of contagious diseases; and this is only one of the causes that is today bringing about this terrible unrest, and to a large extent the high death rate among our people, and also among the white people, as disease knows no race or color.

"If the South would cooperate with us in this effort to bring about harmony, peace and industrial contentment, it must have anti-shanty laws and public health laws, which shall prevent the negro overcrowding and the breeding and spreading of disease, and vice, for the South's own sake and its unborn children's sake.

"Again, our social conditions as relates to the administering the law: negro is accorded legal, but nevertheless unequal, treatment in the courts. We do not say that our people are dealth with unlawfully, but we do say, that the punishment rests on a different basis from that of the white man. And in some instances, the officers of the law, when they arrest our men and women, make it a personal matter, and they come with drawn revolvers, kicking the doors open, beating up the inmates of a home, and there is absolutely no redress. This, we say, is due to racial animosity and because of the fact, the negro has little money and no influence or white friends.

"Juries throughout this Southland are loath to convict a white person on the testimony of negroes, and grand juries, likewise, have failed to find true bills on such evidence. That the proportion of convictions is greater and the terms of sentence longer for our people than for whites has been often urged by some Southern Christian governors, in justification of their extensive use of the pardoning power.

"Let the South stop and think while we negroes plead with you in righteousness for our people who are leaving by the hundreds. Time and again do we as a race read in the leading dailies of this, our South, of the execution of 'the first white man ever hanged in this or that county.'

"Then come the schools. What kind have we got in this the richest county within the domains of the South? Firetraps and pneumonia hovels; some without even decent seats for the children, and no place for the poorly paid negro teacher.

"In the rural districts, in many of the mining communities, there are men who ride over the community with revolvers belted to their sides, as if they were living in the jungles of Africa. These men, who are called 'shack-riders,' or negro drivers, are more inhuman than the slave drivers of ante-bellum days, because the masters knew the value of a negro and would not suffer him to be maltreated.

"The hope of the South in bringing a halt to this migration that is sapping its economic life is in further education on all lines for the negro, in cooperation between the leading element of the whites and such an organization as the Afro-American Racial Conference; in greater publicity for those whose views are rational, and last, but not least, in the development of an infinite amount of real Christian patience.

"Social civic progress for the masses of our people, we tell you, is to be secured by educational and economic improvements, rather than by political methods. Our condition as citizens will improve as your race helps us in our economic progress. You know, as we do, that progress of any race or people is dependent upon an increase of their wants and an increase of our wants will only come with better education.

"Better education, higher moral ideals, a general awakening of mind and spirit, the substitution of reason for prejudice and tradition, the socialization of farms, the doing away with 'shack-riders'—these are the fundamental needs of the hour. If they are adhered to the negro, we are sure, will still remain a part of the South. We need your whole-hearted cooperation.

"Now, we, the resolution committee elected by the grand body of the Afro-American Racial Conference, July 24, at Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church, know, as well as feel, that if the South would halt this terrible migration of our people, it must become solid in more than a political sense.

"It is not the riff-raff of our race that is today leaving; it is the honest, reliable, industrial class, and they are not leaving because of high wages, neither are they being lured away by labor agents, nor letters from their kinfolk; but it is because of the inhuman treatment that they are receiving at the hands of the subordinate officials, and those who administer the law.

"Let the executives of the coal operators and the manufacturers and other industrial captains, and the city and county authorities get busy and make better general conditions, just as they are with the state convicts, and you may put it down that in a few weeks you will see a marked change as far as the migration is concerned. But if you fail to take this appeal seriously you will look for your reliable negro miners, skilled and unskilled in the different industries and they will, like their brethren, be gone to return no more.

"Signed:

"Your Resolution Committee for Better Social, Civic and Industrial Conditions."

Macon, Ga. TELEGRAPH

JUL 22 1923

NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

The editors of The World's Work, in commenting on the Negro exodus to the North, calls attention to the fact that notwithstanding abuses to which Negroes in the South may be subjected, still the fact remains that "no other body of Negroes in the world has made as much progress or lives in as good condition or receives as little ill treatment as the eight million Negroes who live in the Southern States." And these editors go on to say: "And this is not primarily their achievement, for they are not much more capable of maintaining their rights in a civilization created by white men than they are of creating a civilization of their own."

It is also the opinion of the editors of The World's Work that since the Negro population of the United States is a burden, the burden is easiest carried where it is widely spread, and "where it is carried easiest it is carried best." It is further keenly observed that where there is a relatively small colored population, this small population is given larger facilities and opportunities than where there is a large population.

While a wholesale exodus of the colored people would work an all-round hardship, the gradual scattering of the colored population "ought to be beneficial to all concerned."

Here is is interesting to remember that when President Moton of Tuskegee made his notable address at the City Auditorium, he as well as President Weaver, of Mercer, who introduced him, gave generous recognition to the fact that the South had after all done a better part by the Negro race than any other section of the world. This does not mean that we have done as well as we could have done, and as well in certain respects as we must do. But it is a matter of congratulation that the South has done something towards the solution of one of the most intricate problems of history—the problem of preserving racial integrity and at the same time giving opportunity to a people of different color and race characteristics.

Immediate Cure Of Negro Exodus Sought by Club

Effort to find an effective temporary remedy for the negro migration was begun by the negro migration committee of the city club at its first meeting, it was announced Saturday by Joel B. Hunter, chairman. Opinions of members of the committee and prominent men from al parts of the state were submitted to the committee by Charles E. Robertson, secretary of the City club, in line with the program of the club to make a general survey of the situation with a view to recommending methods of dealing with the problem, both as an acute temporary emergency, and in its more general phase as a movement which actually has been in progress at a slower rate for the last 50 years.

Members of the committee who discussed the problem at the meeting were Joel B. Hunter, chairman; Josiah T. Ross, C. W. McClure, Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, Otto Schwab, Walter McElreath, Judge George O. Grogan, of Elberton, and Stewart F. Gelders, secretary, and Charles E. Robertson. Others whose suggestions were considered by the committee were William C. Bradley, Judge Blanton Fortson, of Atlanta; G. D. Perry, of Madison; J. S Hall, of Barnesville; J. T. Hollomon and others.

"We realize," said Joel B. Hunter, chairman, after the meeting, "that the question involves both a temporary and a permanent aspect, which makes our task much more difficult. There are certain remedies which might retard the movement over which no committee nor organization has the slightest control and it is altogether problematical whether such remedies would prove effective.

"The City club has no notion that it can solve the whole question which goes back more than 50 years, and which vitally concerns every phase of life in the south," he continued. "It is the earnest hope of our committee that our survey may clarify the situation and contribute in some degree to a basis for an enlightened public opinion. If we can accomplish that, we shall have rendered a lasting service and have justified the contention of the City club that it seeks to ascertain the truth on matters which affect the welfare of our common wealth."

Atlanta, Ga., Journal

JUN 16 1923

DYER WOULD BAR ALL FOREIGNERS UNTIL NEGRO RACE WAS GIVEN CHANCE

Negro From The South Means More To The Country Than The New Immigrant And He Never Revolts Against U. S.

Associated Negro Press.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 11.—The Armstrong Association, in speaking of the exodus of Negroes from the South to the Northern industrial centers, states that they land in Philadelphia at the rate of 5,000 per month. An immediate market has been found for the new labor. In speaking before an audience of about 3,000 persons at the Dunbar Theatre, Congressman L. C. Dyer, of Missouri, took occasion to state that fully 12,000 immigrants "were knocking at our doors," being the first to arrive on ships landing within a few days. The significant part of Congressman Dyer's reference to the immagrant was that he said he wishes he could send them all back, until a fair chance was given to the 12,000,000 Negroes who are in America awaiting industrial opportunities. Economic independence awaits the workers. Speaking editorially of the matter, The Philadelphia Bulletin states: "The urge for economic and social improvement impels the Negroes of Georgia, Virginia, and the Carolinas to seek better wages, better housing, better schooling and unrestricted political rights in the North." But the Evening Public Ledger (Philadelphia) states that immigrants should be permitted to come in, as this Government has for 140 years been bidding them welcome, and "Our heavy work has for years been done by immigrants. If we do not let them in, who is to supply their contribution to national industry? The Negro worker from the South seems to have definite work in view, and as he has been accustomed to long hours, and tedious toil they readily adjust themselves to the new conditions. The cut in number of immigrants has been helpful to the Negroes and as they enter the industrial centers, they receive higher rates of wages than they did when employed in the South. The Negro from the South means more to the country than the new immigrant, who, very often is barely literate and needs to be Americanized. And even when Americanized very often revolts, which, of course, the Negro migrant never does.

THE NEGRO EXODUS.

To The Commercial Appeal:

To the colored people of the south in general and those of the delta section in particular:

Thinking that a recent undue excitement or improper influence was the cause of the extensive exodus of my people from the south I wrote an article which was published in the Commercial Appeal, the leading newspaper of the south, of date July 8, 1923 on page 7, column 2, a reproduction of which is hereby respectfully requested as it seems to leave no room for appeals to the passion or prejudice of a people, but offers suggestion for the application of intelligent sober thought for all those who have at heart the welfare of the human family and especially that of the negro race.

When you consider that within the space of about a half century of time the negro race of the United States of America has increased from about four million at the time of emancipation to about 11 million at the present time, you must know that the greater part of that increase was sustained and supported in the south and especially in the delta section thereof where the broad and fertile fields were owned and operated by as big hearted, noble minded hospitable and generous white people as ever lived on earth, who rejoiced to see the little black babies revel and frolic and grow into man and womanhood and then take unto themselves husbands and wives and thereby proceed to obey the divine command to multiply and replenish the earth, to tell me that the negro could be so forgetful of facts and so ungrateful for neighborly kindness shown during this period of increase without being unduly excited or improperly influenced is to tell me something I hate to believe. So I beg leave to appeal to the intelligent sober mind of my people and ask that they look long and well before severing the ties of neighborly love and friendship for the land of their birth and the neighbors they lived with.

M. D. FLEMING,
A negro lawyer of Memphis.

WHY THEY LEAVE THE SOUTH

How They Earn the Money in New York City and the Rest of the North, These Days.

New York City.—"What you all doing up here, Mister Sam?" a familiar voice called to me as I floated along with the 30,000 people who had cheered the Brooklyn team's victory over the Cincinnati Reds at Ebbett's Field on a recent Sunday. It was my old friend, Pompeii Lovejoy, whom I had last seen ten years before near Rome, Ga., where he had laid mortar and stone on a chimney built to my mountain bungalow. He told me he left Georgia, two years ago, when a labor-agent hunting help for a brick-yard at Newburgh, N. Y., appeared before his Masonic lodge, telling of the joys of life in New York. He said the labor-agent advanced his travelling expenses and those of 16 others who left Rome with him and landed them at Newburgh, where they were paid $6 a day for rolling bricks in wheelbarrows. After a few months up the Hudson, Lovejoy said he met a labor-agent, representing a firm of New York contractors, seeking bricklayers. He was told of the advantages of living in Brooklyn in steam-heated, electric-lighted apartments, and the public schools, where his children could sit with children of wealthy folks. He was offered $11 a day to lay brick, eight hours a day, with a half holiday, every Saturday, and was shown how he could also keep his family busy.

"I get $66 a week, and am never without work," Lovejoy said. "And I get treated just like white folks up here. You know, down home I never would have been let in the grand stand to see a ball game—I would have been out on the bleachers, rain or shine. And if you will go with me tonight I will show you how they treat us in the white folk's church up here."

Then he told me how his wife earned $18 a week ironing in a laundry, and that his sixteen-year-old daughter is a maid at $15 a week and makes about as much more in tips. He said three members of his family take home $400 every time the moon is full and that after living as well as "white folks do down South," they are able to bank $200 every month.

Sam E. Whitmire (white).

Negro Labor Exodus State's Vital Problem, Christian Index Says

Declaring that the negro exodus from Georgia to the north and west is a vital problem, both economic and moral, and offering suggestions whereby this situation can be remedied, the Christian Index devotes a large portion of its current issue to a discussion of this evil.

Rev. W. W. Alexander, of Atlanta, in a story written in the issue, which occupies half a dozen pages gives figures obtained by the State of College of Agriculture tending to show that within the past six months 100,000 people, including 80,000 negroes have migrated into the north and west. As a result, he states that 11,840 farms have been abandoned.

These figures are said to have been confirmed by the negro Baptist organization, which, it is said, has reported to have lost 50,000 of its church members since the exodus began.

Dr. Alexander states that one of the main reasons why the negroes have left the state has been their desire to educate their children. It is admitted that much progress has been made in negro rural schools in the past few years, but it is charged that there still remain many local school boards which are indifferent to this need. Other reasons which he gives for their leaving are mob rule and terrorism by anonymous warnings.

Dr. Alexander cites Houston county as one which has made every possible provision for the protection and welfare of the negro and declares that it is one county which the negroes are not leaving. He says that Houston county has done splendid work for the education of its negroes, and has also been supporting a negro community nurse and a negro demonstration farm agent. He further states that the county has not had a lynching since 1913.

Concluding his article, Dr. Alexander offers suggestions whereby the legislature at its next session can take action to remedy the exodus. He says this can be done by improving the rural schools by eliminating mob violence and by employing negro public health nurses and demonstration farm agents.

His article is indorsed by many prominent men throughout the state including Governor Hardwick and ex-Governor Hugh M. Dorsey and others.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

SOLID SOUTH'S POWER DOOMED BY MIGRATION

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 30 — The Migratory Movement has cost the state of Georgia more than $2,000,000 in a single year!

The migratory movement has cost the south a decrease of almost 500,000 people in population.

The migratory movement has caused federal authorities to investigate more rigidly the stories of peonage and to urge a federal law to abolish lynching and the use of the mask.

But more potent, more powerful and more dreadful (to the white south) is the realization that with the departure of the Negro goes the political power of the South.

Speaking on this phase of the question, an entirely new angle is given it by Cole Blease, one-time Governor of South Carolina.

South's Power Doomed

"The Night of the Solid South is a Fading Glory."

Standing before an audience of five thousand white and colored citizens of Columbia, S. C., Cole Blease, one-time Governor of the State, at a conference for the discussion of inter-racial relations, threw a bomb shell into the calm contentment of the whites by telling them that the scepter of political power was about to depart from Judah. Taking the question up in detail, he told them how they had enjoyed representation in the lower house of Congress upon the basis of population. In a state where the two races were nearly equal in number, like his own, the whites had all the representatives, though the blacks furnished half of the population on which they were apportioned. With migration going on, and thousands and tens of thousands leaving, the 1930 census will find an entire shift of population, the South having less and the North having more people. The result will be less Southern Congressmen and more Northern.

Cole Blease, in all his terms of office, made nationally famous by his spectacular acts, such as the release of many hundreds of prisoners from the state penal institutions, never made such a sensation as this speech. Secure for half a century in political power, regardless of shifts of opinion elsewhere in the country, Southern democracy has wrapped its mantle of power about it and stood to be catered to. Its certainty of continued victory has made it the leader of even the National Democratic party. It has imposed its will upon the National party through its unity in caucus. And now, as related by Cole Blease, the boll weevil and the migration of the Negro have stripped off the robe and shown it to be just a big imposing shell, covered over with pretense and supported on the skeleton legs of shifting population.

It was a sober meeting when he had concluded. The Negroes realizing that citizen rights and even human rights were furthest from the thoughts of the leaders of their states, could see no end to the march northward. The whites, seeing the end of the benighted ignorance of Negroes about conditions elsewhere than in the place of their birth, knew no concessions now, not even actual equality before the law, would stop the stampede, and realized that at last their political system had been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and that even now the enemies' forces were thundering at the gates of their moth-eaten aristocracy. "You may think what you please, you may do what you please,' 'concluded Blease, "the day of the political South is almost done!"

BIG EXODUS STILL MOVING

Columbia, S. C.—South Carolina, long a state in which colored people greatly outnumbered the white, is experiencing a decrease in its colored population.

One railroad official recently estimated fully 22 per cent, of the colored population of the state had left for Northern points.

At first only males left for the North. Now, however, many of those who went to the industrial centers early in the exodus are sending for their wives and families, whle many others are takng their women and children with them.

Practically every day 100 or more leave from the railroad stations in this city, accordng to SS. H. McLean, district passenger agent of the Southern Railway.

The majority of those now leaving the state apparently are going to Pennsylvania, with Philadelphia and Pittsburgh appearing t oreceive the majority, although many are going to Detroit, New York, Baltimore, Boston and Dayton.

Chattanooga, Tenn.—The immigration of colored people from the South to the North, because of the promise of better wages, continues, and 552 passed through Chattanooga recently in charge of Northern labor agents. They came from Memphis, Tenn.; Corinth, Miss., and other points in that section.

Georgia Exodus Hits Churches

Moultrie, Ga.—Declaring that the exodus of members of his race has caused his church to lose 137 members since January 1, the pastor of a church here has called upon the white people of Moultrie to help meet notes now due.

The preacher said that other Negro churches were having a struggle, but voiced the opinion that "the prodigal sons and daughters will soon come home."

Negro Migration Northward Stirs Up Politicians

BY THOMAS L. STOKES.

Washington, August 23.—Political leaders are watching the migratory flood of negroes pouring into northern states in the belief that it will have an influence in the next presidential election.

The northward movement of both skilled and unskilled workers it going ahead in an astonishing manner. Over 356,000 have migrated to northern industrial centers since December last year. The exodus from the south is showing no signs of slacking, according to reports to the labor department, and officials who are carefully noting the migration throw up their hands when asked how long it will last.

That this movement is going to have its effect on the political complexion of the next presidential election is not denied by politicians. Large numbers of these workers are going into states listed as doubtful and taking up their residence. Democrats are somewhat concerned.

Hold Balance of Power.

"In such states as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, the negroes hold the balance of power, and there is a strong negro vote in other doubtful states, such as Maryland, Delaware, Missouri and Kansas," one democrat said.

While democrats realize the significance of the movement, they point to several recent developments and to results of the last elections as indicating that much of the negro vote in doubtful states will swing democratic in the next election.

The negro vote had a large part in the democratic victory in the Chicago mayoralty election, they contend, in the state where there is a large negro vote usually strongly republican. Many negroes also voted democratic in the congressional elections last year in Delaware and New Jersey, New York and Maryland, they claim.

Protest Slemp Appointment.

Many protests have been made recently by negro organizations over President Coolidge's appointment of Bascom Slemp, of Virginia, as his secretary. Slemp is a southern republican, and was strong in the lily white republican movement in the south. This action, democrats claim, will play an important part in bringing many negroes into the democratic fold.

Others discredit the part that the migration will have in the coming elections, claiming that the southern negroes will not register and take an active part in politics by that time. These admit, however, that the negro vote will be sought, and educated, and that it will be an important factor in the future.

Ohio is getting the greater part of the negro influx, which has been going on for five years now. Their factories and mills are taking in over 37 per cent of the newcomers, according to estimates of the labor department, with Pennsylvania second, with over 21 per cent Michigan receives 10.52 per cent of the inflow; New Jersey 6.4 per cent; New York 4.75 per cent; Illinois 4.49; Kentucky 4.36, and Connecticut 3.04, with others scattering and smaller.

In the last year there have been astounding increases in the migratory movement, with unskilled workers coming in greater numbers than the skilled.

BACK TO MISSISSIPPI.

Negro Who Journeyed To Chicago Describes His Experiences.

CLINTON, Miss., Aug. 21.—One of the community's most reliable negro men, an ex-service man who did his bit "over there," about two months ago, along with many others, decided to try his fortune in the "windy city." He sold to his partner a prosperous business and set out to find his "eldorado." After working now in the packing houses, and now in the International Harvester Company, Bob decided that Mississippi and even Clinton was good enough for him. "You know," said he, in describing, in vivid terms the conditions which obtained in the northern city, "you know, you goes to your work at night and you comes from it at night. You has the daylight hours, and in order to reach your work in time you has to git up by 4 o'clock, because the street cars are so crowded you can hardly git a place to ride. And, too, the folks is so wicked. They done denied God and every thing holy. Yes, gimme old Mississippi and the folks what believes something."

This young negro will re-establish a business and will receives the support of his many white friends who appreciate his worth as a reliable citizen ready, in an honest way, to serve his community.

GEORGIA FINDS REMEDY FOR BIG EXODUS IN SOUTH

Race Relations Committee Suggests Immediate Suppression of Mob Violence and Better Schools.

WILL PRESS FOR MORE LEGISLATIVE BENEFITS

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 9—(Special:) Immediate suppression of mob violence and lynching, more generous provision for Negro education and the employment of colored farm and home demonstration agents to teach the people how to make a living under boll wevil conditions were the most important steps urged by the Georgia Race Relations Committee, not only as matters of justice but also as essential to stop the northward migration of Negroes. The Committee, in session here a few days ago, called upon the authorities to do their utmost to put down mob violence and all good citizens were urged to stand behind the officers and the courts in all efforts to this end. Attention was called also to the need of giving the governor authority to deal effectively with sheriffs, who are delinquent in their duties.

The legislature was asked to provide more generously for colored schools of higher grade and each county was urged to build at least one good school of this character.

The Committee called attention to the valuable work done by the few colored farm and home demonstration agents in the state, and the employment of such agents in every county was recommended as a means of teaching the people how to make a living under boll weevil conditions.

The Committe asked the legislature to appropriate $15,000 for a training school for delinquent girls and also emphasized the need for a state tuberculosis sanitarium for colored patients.

It was reported that the woman's section of the committee had secured funds for the employment of a colored public health nurse to work throughout the state, organizing and training groups to look after maternal and infant welfare.

EXODUS GIVES RACE VOTERS BALANCE OF POWER IN ELECTIONS

Pittsburgh Courier

Leaders of Both Parties Sense Strategic Position of Negro in Northern States.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.—Political leaders are watching the migratory flood pouring into northern states in the belief that it will have an influence in the next Presidential election. 9-1-23

The Northward movement of both skilled and unskilled workers is going ahead in an astonishing manner. Over 356,000 Negroes have migrated to northern industrial centers since December last year. The exodus from the south is showing no signs of slacking, according to reports to the labor department, and officials who are carefully noting the migration throw up their hands when asked how long it will last.

That this movement is going to have its effect on the political complexion of the next presidential election is not denied by politicians. Large numbers of these workers are going into states listed as doubtful and taking up their residence. Democrats are somewhat concerned.

Hold Balance of Power

"In such states as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, the Negroes hold the balance of power, and there is a strong Negro vote in other doubtful states, such as Maryland, Delaware, Missouri and Kansas," one Democrat said.

While Democrats realize the significance of the movement, they point to several recent developments and to results of the last election as indicating that much of the Negro vote in doubtful states will swing democratic in the next election.

The Negro vote had a large part in the democratic victory in the Chicago mayoralty election, they contend, in the state where there is a large Negro vote usually strongly Republican. Many Negroes also voted democratic in the congressional elections last year in Delaware and New Jersey, New York and Maryland, they claim.

Protest Slemp Appointment

Many protests have been made recently by colored organizations over President Coolidge's appointment of Bascom Slemp, of Virginia, as his secretary. Slemp is a southern Republican, and was strong in the lily white Republican movement in the South. This action, Democrats claim, will play an important part in bringing many Negroes into the democratic fold.

Others discredit the part that the migration will have in the coming elections, claiming that the southern Negroes will not register and take an active part in politics by that time. These admit, however, that the Negro vote will be sought, and educated, and that it will be an important factor in the future.

Ohio is getting the greater part of the influx, which has been going on for five years now. Their factories and mills are taking in over 37 per cent of the newcomers, according to estimates of the labor department, with Pennsylvania second, with over 21 per cent Michigan receives 10.52 per cent of the inflow; New Jersey 6.4 per cent; New York 4.75 per cent; Illinois 4.49; Kentucky 4.36, and Connecticut 3.04, with others scattering and smaller.

In the last year there have been astounding increases in the migratory movement, with unskilled workers coming in greater numbers than the skilled.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. Observer

AUG 29 1923

Taking the Wrong Path.

(From Daily Financial America.)

An effort to control economic tendencies by legislation, which we believe cannot possibly be successful, is being made in Georgia and Alabama. These two southern states are alarmed over migration of negroes and other farm laborers, especially to the north.

A drastic bill has been introduced in the Georgia legislature which would make it a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other states. A prison term of not less than three years nor more than seven is provided as punishment. The bill does not allow even licensed labor agents to operate in the state.

At the same time there was introduced in the Alabama legislature a bill to tax labor agents recruiting labor in the Lizard state $5,000 for every county in which they operate.

Both bills are directed away from the real cause of Georgia's and Alabama's predicament resulting from the prevailing labor shortage situation. The possibility of a human element being inserted in the migratory condition of those who migrate seemingly is lost with the sponsors of the bills.

High wages in the north and a heavy demand for unskilled and farm workers against low wages in the south form the basic reason for the existing condition.

Laborers, to whom life is just what they are able to earn in daily wages cannot be expected to stay hitched to one place if much higher remuneration is available elsewhere. That wouldn't be human nature. There will be many ways to get around open solicitation of labor in these two states and we do not expect to see any great falling off in migration as resultant from the bills introduced.

Georgia and Alabama can help themselves and curb the exodus of workers to other states only by meeting wage scales of the north with similarly high wage scales.

Where the laborer is concerned money talks.

We to Ga News

JUL 10 1923

MORE INFORMATION ON NEGROES IN THE NORTH

In order to get accurate and unbiased facts with regard to the conditions surrounding Southern negroes in the larger cities the Manufacturers Association asked the leading charity organizations in Detroit, Philadelphia and St. Louis for information. The answers are contained in the story below. It is sent you for such use as you care to make of it.

Georgia Manufacturers Assn.

Atlanta, Ga., July 7.—Recently arrived Southern negroes in Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis and other northern and eastern cities are facing a serious situation, according to information given the Georgia Manufacturers Association by leading charity organizations in each of the cities named. Unemployment and housing conditions are mainly responsible.

Unskilled negro labor in Detroit is a drug on the market, according to the Department of Public Welfare in that city, and if the period of unemployment there continues, the Southern negro will be in "dire straits," while in Philadelphia there are only fifty houses out of over sixty-one thousand which rent for less than fifty dollars a month, and few, if any, of these are available for negroes. Sixteen negroes were recently found living in one room, and any widespread unemployment situation will make the condition of these negroes "appalling," according to the Society for Organizing Charity, leading charity organization for that city.

The telegrams below were sent in response to an inquiry from John W. Yopp, secretary of the Manufacturers Association:

Detroit, Mich., July 5.

Georgia Manufacturers Association,
Atlanta, Ga.

Unskilled colored labor is a drug on the market in Detroit at the present time. New arrivals are finding it difficult to obtain employment. Housing conditions are very bad. New arrivals forced in live in crowded rooms at excessive prices. If period of unemployment continues unskilled colored labor will be in dire straits. City is not financed to take care of an influx of Southern negroes or non-residents of any class.

City of Detroit Department
of Public Welfare.
T. E. Dolan, Gen. Supt.

Philadelphia, Penn., July 5.

Georgia Manufacturers Association,
Atlanta, Ga.

Housing shortage here makes condition Southern unskilled negro serious. Living in crowded quarters that menace health and life. Sixteen people recently discovered to be living in one room. Canvass of 61,155 dwellings by Philadelphia Housing Association in April showed only 56 for rent at less than fifty dollars per month. Few if any of these available for negroes. Should widespread unemployment develop condition of these newcomers would be appalling.

Society for Organizing Charity.

BARBECUE FOR NEGROES.

Atlanta Constitution 8-23-23

Tunica County Farmers Seek Better Relations Between Races.

TUNICA, Miss., Aug. 22.—For some time past the white people of Tunica County have been preparing for the negroes of the county a big barbecue, and most of the planters of the county contributed. Yesterday the barbecue was given and every negro in the county had been invited to attend. The early morning hours found negroes from every section pouring into town in wagons, flivvers, buggies, horseback and on foot until it was estimated that the crowd in attendance at the noon hour amounted to between 5,000 and 6,000 negroes and 500 white people.

The planters had contributed between 10,000 and 15,000 pounds of beef and pork, and had ordered 3,500 loaves of bread and other things in proportion. Beginning the night before, they barbecued the meat, and an estimate of between 7,000 and 8,000 pounds had been barbecued for yesterday's dinner. It is evident that they did full justice to the occasion, for at the conclusion of the dinner hour there was nothing left but a few scraps.

Speeches were made to the negroes by E. P. Mangum, former president of the county board of supervisors, and William Nichols, sheriff-elect of the county, on questions effecting the Mississippi delta and as a home for negroes in comparison with other places, and the relations that should exist between the races and between landlord and tenant.

These speakers were followed by Prof. R. Amos, from Arkansas, and other negro speakers. Prof. Amos' theme was on the relation of the races. He is an eloquent and forceful speaker, and his address to his brothers was full of good advice. He urged them to remain where they are, as this is the natural home of the negro and to stop the exodus to northern states, which must inevitably lead to ultimate distress, as they are wholly unprepared to meet and survive the conditions that are found in the north. Prof. Amos' speech met the approval of all the white persons present, and practically all the thinking men of his own race.

The day passed off in perfect harmony and good feeling among all present.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

ALTOONA PA MIRROR
JULY 6, 1923

NEGRO LABORERS ARE ALLURED AWAY

Pennsylvania Railroad Has Considerable Trouble With Outsiders Who Inveigle Men Brought Here.

Trouble is being experienced by the Pennsylvania railroad authorities as a result of outside contracting firms alluring away negro laborers who are brought here for track work by the railroad company and it presents a difficult situation to handle.

The men are brought here from southern points and they are boarded and roomed at the old Merchants hotel on Tenth avenue, which is operated by the Metro Commissary company. Agents of contracting firms have had the impudence to go into this building and persuade the men to take other jobs.

These agents would not be tolerated for a minute if their identity was established, but they are usually colored and as men are coming and going all the time, it is not an easy matter for those in charge of the commissary to determine who has a right to be there and who are the trouble makers.

The railroad police officers are giving whatever assistance they can to prevent the inveigling of the men and several days ago a colored man lounging around the station was pointed out to one of the officers as a representative of a Cambria county industrial company who was inducing some of the laborers to take jobs with the concern employing him. He was ordered to leave town at once, with the injunction that if he returned he would be promptly jailed. He has not been seen since.

It is understood that highway contractors have been causing most of the trouble to the railroad people, but it can be stated that the offenders are not local firms. The company is at considerable trouble and expense in bringing in laborers and the idea of having them lured away is not relished by those in charge of the employment agencies.

PHILADELPHIA PA RECORD
JULY 7, 1923

GEOGRAPHICAL SHIFTING OF NEGRO POPULATION

Some of the Probable and Possible Consequences of the Present Migration from South to North

WOULD the so-called Negro problem be nearer a solution should, say, one-third of the present Negro population of the South move North?

This conjecture seems not altogether out of place in view of the steady tide of Negroes that is pouring into the North and West. Certainly, if such should be the outcome of the present movement, there would be many readjustments that would react favorably both to the Negro and to the country at large.

What, then, are some of the gains the country might expect from this possible change of residence of the Negro, set forth in terms of an actual improvement in national race relationships?

First. The first gain is incontestable. The ballot which has been taken away from the Negro in the South, and which he will regain in the North and West, will help him to a fuller citizenship. In the South he was forever at the mercy of the demagogic office-seeker because he could not vote. In the South he was often an "issue" in a political contest, but he was pathetically never able to help to decide that this forced issue should not stand. Thus to the harm of both the Negro and the white man politics in the South is seldom forward-looking, seldom constructive and never wholly above the low plane of race prejudice and proscription.

Second. Perhaps the next greatest menace to the Negro's progress in the South lay in the oft-professed fear that the white South saw in mere numbers when it came to a question of the black man. It wasn't comfortable, they said, to live in a city or a town or a county where there were more blacks than whites, and it wasn't comfortable, I suppose, because it was not the intention of the South to give to this numerically stronger group any voice in any matter whatsoever—even as to how far a Negro in an automobile on the public highway, for instance, should drive out of his way to let a white man pass.

The thinning out of the more thickly settled Negro communities in the South will largely remove this fear, and it will hardly be transferred to the North. Even in the more pronounced Negro settlements of the North the Negro will still bear a small numerical relation to the total white population, and no increasing tide of immigration from the South will be able appreciably to alter these proportions.

Third. With reference to the unreasonable prejudice which the more enterprising and ambitious blacks often meet both North and South, in the North they will nevertheless be able to aspire with a fuller and richer background of white achievement behind them than in the South. As a consequence, and I am speaking of human nature as it is, there will be less likelihood that in a Northern community any notice will be taken of the fact that a particular Negro has two sons in college or two cars in his garage or that his house happens to be the best in a particular block or section. Most Southern communities are far from rich. And for that very reason a Negro's latitude, so far as the visible facts of his condition reveal it, is always restricted to the average standard of living of the middle and even poorer classes of whites. When he does not accept this verdict the only thing left for him to do is to "get out."

Fourth. In the North and West the Negro will work for wages—not for Negro wages. He will live in a house that will not be a strictly Negro house. In the North and West there will be better schools for his children. And then, in an atmosphere of hustle and achievement such as the Negro will find North, he will himself be inspired to seek after higher standards of living.

Now I am aware of the fact that some of these gains are not as idealistic as one might reasonably wish. From this higher ethical standpoint it is of course grievously unfortunate that any race should have to seek through such balances and checks what should be their inalienable rights. But I dare to have a present faith in these improvements because I have not lost faith in the ultimate progress upward of human nature. While it remains for the Negro to raise himself to higher standards of living, it remains for the thousands of broad-minded whites, North and South, to try to raise the general white population to higher standards of thinking. A shifting of the Negro problem, in part at least, to the North should serve to stress the urgent need for thought—touched with sympathy and kindliness. *WILSON JEFFERSON.*

CHARLOTTE, N. C. Observer

JUL 30 1923

A LITERARY DIGEST SELECTION.

Wonder what the Southern admirers of The Literary Digest think of its treatment of the negro exodus from the South and its causes? The Digest is supposed to be a publication which gives weekly summary of the best thought of the people; in many respects it is a valuable paper, but in copying a full page cartoon from The Liberator and in its selection of causes advanced for the migration of the negro, it has inflicted a dent in its own reputation. The cartoon represents an army of negro men, women and children fleeing the South, from a scene of burning homes and three negroes hanging from a tree, a picture representing an impossible condition in the South. The Literary Digest was circulating a picture which must inevitably establish a false impression in the minds of thousands of people who, not knowing the South, will ever think of it as a land of savages who burn negro homes, hang the negroes to trees and drive them out of the land. There are many vicious negro papers in the North and West, and there is an incendiary organization known as the National Association for Advancement of the Welfare of the Negroes, but the combined evil influences of all these would never work the injury to the reputation of the South that The Literary Digest publication has wrought.

NASHVILLE, TENN. Banner

JUL 22 1923

THE NEGRO AND THE NEGRO EXODUS

By F. Q. HOLLINGSWORTH.

While the propaganda to stop the exodus of Negro labor from Southern to Northern states is engrossing the attention of the press and, incidentally, disturbing the employers of colored labor, it is indeed comforting to not efrom the great mass of opinion on the subject the expression of at least one authority who manifests a thorough familiarity with the race question and possessing at the same time, the courage of his convictions.

I refer to the writings of the Hon. Jas. T. Flint of Alexandria, La., whose valuable contribution to the discussion of this "vital issue" should be carefully read by every student of the race problem as well as by those who have never given the subject serious consideration. Above all, it contains the essential element of truth, devoid of prejudice, frank and conservative. Mr. Flint says:

"I was born before the civil war, in Rapides parish, surrounded by the Negro on all sides. A have been an abolitionist all of my life, and for this reason I have felt a deep interest in them. This is one of the largest plantations in Rapides parish, and from observation and association with them, I must admit the Negro, as a race, has improved but little mentally and morally, and has degenerated immensely physically since freedom. No race can hope to rise in the scale of civilization with the female sex lower in the scale of morality than the male.

No race on earth has had the opportunity to advance their condition in life that has fallen to the lot of the emancipated slaves of the South, but they have been coddled and coddled by those who want to make something out of them, until now they are nothing more than children. And now, to my mind, it matters not whether they are paid one dollar or one dollar and

fifty cents per day, it would go in the same way, into other pockets, ninety per cent of it, for something to eat and tobacco."

The above is so literally true of the great mass of the Negro race that I have taken the liberty of reproducing, and now, whether the prevailing unrest among the colored people can be attributed to low wages, as it is claimed by the leaders, or to lack of social recognition, as alleged by the New York Times, and other disturbing factors, or to maltreatment by their white neighbors and employers, as set forth by other so-called authorities, we are still confronted by the cold-blooded fact that the average Negro laborer has degenerated physically as stated by Mr. Flint, and admitted by many of the more intelligent and fair-minded negroes. Therefore he is less capable today to perform manual labor than ever before since his emancipation, to say nothing of his stack of conception of his duties and responsibilities as a citizen.

Every planter, every mill-owner, every employer of Negro labor knows this to be true.

But that every element of doubt as to the truth of the above statement may be removed from the minds of the skeptical, we have only to refer to the recent physical tests of the draft army in the state of Virginia, where ninety-five per cent of Negroes failed to pass the examinations, white men making a far better showing. In Petersburg, Va., Negroes were disqualified in overwhelming numbers, leading the whites by a wide margin.

Then, notwithstanding the sensible attitude of the colored leaders who are opposing the exodus as being detrimental to both races, it is surprising to note the resolutions recently passed at a colored mass meeting in this city, which assigns as a cause for the prevailing unrest that: "Wages in the South do not afford the Negro a decent and honest living, and that the pay of the Negro laborer has not been advanced in keeping with the gigantic strides which have been made in the living cost of these same laborers." Just here it might be well to inquire of those responsible for this agitation, if they know of any white laborers whose pay has been advanced in keeping with the high prices of the necessities of life. Certainly the Negro is not alone called upon to shoulder the burden of high prices.

The writer, like the great majority of employers of Negro laborers in the South, has a warm place in his heart for every well-meaning Negro; in fact, has always indulged his shortcomings. Not only is this true, but from an observation and experience of thirty years' duration is absolutely convinced that the Negro as a rule is the best paid laborer on the face of this green earth, in proportion to the services rendered. In fact, those instances where a Negro in the South is underpaid or maltreated in any manner whatsoever, are so rare that they hardly deserve mention.

The best Negro labor engaged in public works receives $1.50 to $1.75 per day, and in many instances work hours have been shortened, the writer having personally witnessed mill hands sitting around waiting for the time to begin work, when the sun was high in the heavens.

It is not true, as has been alleged, that the wages of the Negro laborers is the same as it was before the cost of living advanced. Farm hands who formerly worked for 75 cents per day are today receiving for the same service $1 to $1.50 per day, including a house in which to live, a garden spot and fuel free.

In the city, it is true, he pays house rent in many instances, but a large percentage own their own homes and the tax roll discloses the fact that property valued at nearly two million dollars is owned by the Negroes of Caddo parish.

The committee on resolutions at the colored mass meeting doubtless meant well, though seemingly unmindful that the prevailing distress is general, and is NOT confined to any nationality. The zeal manifested in the interest of their race is commendable, but it would be well to remember while engaged in the campaign for the betterment of their condition that increase in wages usually means increase in efficiency. This phase of the statement is assuming just as much importance to the employer as the increase in pay to the employe.

The alluring prospect of higher wages in the North may arouse the spirit of wanderlust and tempt the colored man from his allegiance to the South, but he will inevitably return in course of time to the soil of his nativity.

No one familiar with the characteristics of the Negro race entertains the idea for a moment that a campaign of persuasion will deter him, having once made up his mind to desert. Legislation against labor agencies will only facilitate the exodus through the United States mail.

The Northern race riots will also hasten their return to their old homes.

The writer has talked with many farmers and stock raisers in the Northwest to whom the farm labor system in the South is a genuine "bugaboo," and this alone is deterring many home-seekers in the North from investing in Southern lands. Yet the South needs the Negro, and but for his failure to measure up to a higher standard of efficiency as a farm hand, he would be beyond compare.

The South has entered a period of transition, but the Negro has, so far, utterly failed to comprehend that fact.

Shreveport, La., July 13.

Savannah, Ga. NEWS

JUL 17 1923

Negro Exodus North.

Jesup Sentinel: Many sections of Georgia are beginning to view with alarm the constant exodus of negroes from the big plantations in Southwest and Middle Georgia. This, however, is in parts of the state where the negroes do most of the work in the fields and the common laborers in many of our industrial plants. These are feeling the effects.

Happily, here in Wayne county, where the shiftless kind of darkey never did amount to much, we have been freer of this menace than any other section in the whole state. For the most part, we are glad the better class of white home owners are settling among us on tracts sufficiently large to do all the work themselves and in their own way without interference from labor agents or what not, are entirely independent of the roving negroes.

The Sentinel believes that the going of negroes will add untold millions to the wealth of our section, for it will reduce our production and wonderfully increase the price of that which we produce.

Let the absorption of the overflow of the negro population by the North continue until this top-heaviness under which we have labored for years has been relieved, and the minute this is accomplished Southern prosperity will start up in full blast, and the benefits accruing will not only be to the white men, but alike to the negro who remains.

We do not know just how much negro population Wayne county and this section is credited with by the last census, but it's mighty small. If the negro who is with us wishes to remain and is industrious, he will find that the white folks of the South are his best friends. It is the shiftless kind of darkey that is leaving, and for all we care, he is welcome to go.

THE SOUTHERN BLACK MAN

EDITORIAL FROM THE CHATTANOOGA DAILY TIMES

Tennessee has been less affected by the northward exodus of the Negro man than any of her sister states. James D. Burton, the well-known statistician, has gathered information showing that during the last year 32,000 Negroes left Georgia, 10,000 left Alabama, 22,000 left South Carolina, while only 4,500 left Tennessee. Dr. W. W. Alexander, of Atlanta, attributes this northward movement of the Negro to the "showing of the south" rather than to the pull of the north. Which is just another way of saying that certain sections of the south are withholding from the Negro certain rights and privileges which undoubtedly belong to him.

It is not simply the lure of the high wages in the north that impels him to leave the south. It is the promise and prospect of an opportunity to secure for himself a fair education, the chance to work at trades under wholesome conditions, freedom from mob violence and a square deal in the courts. Of course, all this is no more than a prospect and much of it can never be even slightly realized, nevertheless the very suggestion stirs up the spirit of adventure and gives definite form to the feeling that he is not getting an altogether honest deal in certain sections of the south.

It ought not to be necessary to state that the Negro is entitled to fair play in the courts and protection from brutality at the hands of officers of the law. In every human there is a deeply seated sense of justice. An offense against this innate and universal sense cuts deeper and arouses more prejudice, bitterness and treachery than anything else in the whole of human economy. Injustice is the meanest of all iniquities. Its fruits are often disastrous beyond measure and its wounds are the hardest of all to heal.

There is no doubt at all that if these sections of the south that are disturbed at the Negro migration will see to it that he is accorded simple justice in his desire for an education, in the field of industry and before the law, he will stay where he belongs and become a constantly increasing asset to our industrial, agricultural and educational life.

Tennessee has demonstrated the practicability and value of such a program. Labor agents have had hard sledding here because our colored people are confident that the forces now operating to promote a clear understanding of our common purposes and responsibilities furnish the only possible hope of contentment and happiness for everybody. Such men as President William J. Hale, of the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal are invaluable in the development and maintenance of harmony between the races. He understands his own people, knows their needs, their strength and weakness, and has an unusually intelligent conception of the fundamental, moral and mental attitude that dominate both colors. He is training up a generation of colored teachers and workers who understand the great unchangeable racial principles and who will not be swept away by the false notes that are too frequently raised by reformers with whom "reforming" is a profession instead of a philosophy based on vital human necessity.

But the responsibility is not all on the Negro. Let the white man understand that. The intelligent whites of this state must see to it that the Negro is protected in his God-given rights. They must see that he is afforded intelligent leadership; that things are set before him in their true perspective and right proportion. The destiny of the white man and the black man must be worked out by the white man and the black man and it must be done right here in the southland where both must live and do their work. Patience and intelligent co-operation will do the job and make possible the continuance of the amicable relations that have always existed between both races in this state.

President Hale's recent address at the State Normal and Industrial school is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject of racial relationship in Tennessee, and affords the Negroes of this state a convincing argument for remaining at home. While in some localities and in occasional incidents, the Negro has been made to suffer because of his color, no such treatment has been the rule—in recent years, at least—however—

citizens by pursuing their constructive ways with hope and confident perseverance."—Chattanooga Times.

received the sanction of public approval. The sentiment in Tennessee is progressively for the betterment of the Negro's condition and for guaranteeing him a "square deal." The growth of that sentiment may seem slow, but men like Hale are sure and they are showing their faith in the justness of their white fellow

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

Colored Americans, Victims of Raw Deal, Deserting Southland

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill.—That migration is bringing Northern cities a race problem of serious proportions which can only be solved satisfactorily by the united effort of the best thinking people of both groups, was the sentiment of the conference on race relations held here May 6th and 7th under the auspices of the Chicago Church Federation, at which Dr. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, Dr. George E. Haynes of New York and Miss Mary McDowell, commissioner of public welfare of the city of Chicago, were the principal speakers.

The several meetings held during the two days' session studied the problem from various angles, one of the most interesting being the report upon the Negro in industry.

The Migrants Are Coming.

"Negroes are on their way North. Make up your mind on that fact," said Dr. Haynes, "and they will continue to come as long as the chance for well-paid employment and greater opportunity for development holds out. The present expansion of business and consequent demand for labor suggests that the coming summer and fall will witness a real flood of colored people to industrial centers such as has never been seen before and it is well for communities to prepare themselves so that the newcomers may be assimilated easily and reduce possible friction.

"Between 1910 and 1920 there were, estimating roughly, about 340,000 colored people in the North. Eighty per cent of the men in earlier days and 90 per cent of women workers were restricted to domestic employment. During the past ten years, however, the race has gained and held places in five or six of the basic industries of the North; such as meat packing, iron and steel plants, clothing trades and the building trades, while a growing number are fitting into mechanical lines.

Can Negro Labor Make Good.

"The continuation of the migration depends solely upon whether the Northern industrial employer finds Negro labor profitable. Our investigations covering a number of cities and plants show that in some it has been a success and in some it has not done so well." Dr. Haynes pointed out a number of reasons for this; unsympathetic foremen, lack of the habit of making time, other than c. p. t., a tendency to lay off after pay day, poor housing and home surroundings and misdirected leisure time, all which he said could be corrected if the proper interest is taken by colored and white citizens, welfare workers and churches. It is their responsibility, he said. Making these newcomers potential good citizens and preventing trouble is much cheaper than correcting it after it happens.

Opinions of Employers.

When asked, "Do the Negro workmen show ambition for advancement?" thirteen gave an emphatic "Yes," one of them adding "to a marked degree," four said "Yes" but two said "Same as whites;" four replied with an unqualified "No," twelve gave such answers as "Not as a rule," "In some cases" and "Not generally," and for three there was no reply. The question of ambition in the sense asked here is, of course, bound up with the question of the hope for advancement offered by the employer. This may be inferred in the case of these employers from the fact that 18 employers said they admitted Negroes to skilled occupations without restriction or according to their ability, while 19 others limited their admission to such occupations. From one there was no record on this point.

The opinions of 38 employers who were employing 108,215 white workers and 6,757 Negro workers in 1918-1919 give a fair picture of the impression made by Negro workers upon Northern industrial employers during the world war period.

When asked, "What difference, if any, there was in the loss of materials due to defective workmanship of white and Negro employes," 25 said there was no difference; four said "The same or about the same," one said "Greater for colored" and from eight there was no report.

When asked what difference if any between the time required to break in white and Negro workers to the jobs of their plants (the comparison was based in each case upon the usual time the employer set for such breaking in), six replied equal time for both, four said "The same," three said "About the same," seven said "No difference," four said "Longer for colored or less for white," one said "Depends upon person" and for thirteen there was no record.

Conspiracy of Silence.

"Secret methods of dealing with the race problem in America, such as employed by the Ku Klux Klan, will tend only to spread and stir up elemental passions in communities where this question is acute," said Dr. W. W. Alexander, a distinguished white Southerner.

"Racial difficulties grow largely out of mental attitudes," he continued. "Only by bringing intelligent white and colored men together by frank and friendly discussion can the chasm between them be bridged.

"In the South there has been a conspiracy of silence on this question. There is nothing that makes for danger more than whisperings behind closed doors. You in the Northern cities need to be warned that secret organizations and secret methods applied to the problem will only fan the fires of race hatred. The problem is one that needs daylight."

Miss Mary McDowell, whose interest in racial matters has always been keen and helpful, depicted the housing situation in Chicago, with its lack of houses, crowding, sore spots and its relation to better living and neighborly relations.

The 10,000 colored people who lived in Chicago ten years ago had been consigned to a definite district, but when it swelled to 110,000 it burst these invisible boundaries, resulting in friction, she said. Better homes, cheaper rents and the bearing of a good home upon the way the migrant succeeded with his job and his life in a new community must be given consideration, she insisted.

As a result of the conference a committee on findings was appointed which will reduce the proceedings of the conference to a "summary and recommendations." These will be formulated and published in the very near future.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

The Birmingham [illegible]

With the statistics of the Government available with respect to the migration of the colored people from the South to other sections of the country, some of our substantial and leading publications are willing to express the thought that the travel of these weary souls is not particularly signficant of anything, and in this manner much of our force has blundered along in an effort to fool themselves and fool the public. Such expressions on the part of our leading publications and leaders of any race simply encourage persons who desire to leave and give added strength to agencies that are at work in the South to move the colored labor to other sections.

The Negro, as we have said in other articles, is powerless to check this exodus, unless he has the co-operation of white people who can guarantee the protection of life and property and provide a reasonable chance for the education of his children. The Negro is not asking that the white people change their position, he has decided that if they don't he will. Those who are fair and courteous and who treat the Negro with human respect need not worry as to his disposition respecting such men and concerns. But where labor is ill-treated and poorly provided for, anything might happen. It is unfortunate for our citizens, white and black, that we fail to agree on a uniform and just program, one that will make for the happiness, peace and prosperity of all the races. The Negro is asking for no place or position that he does not justly merit or that he is not entitled to and he knows that with things under the control as now, he will do well to get a portion of the things that he merits.

This publication advocates a sensible and helpful relation. The black man is powerless to be the friend to the better element of white people as he would like to be because he has been denied his civil rights, his rights to place in power men of noble purpose, cultured hearts and human dispositions. These rights are guaranteed him in other sections and he is seeking sections where they may be exercised. He is running from abuse, the lynch law, the mob spirit, poor educational facilities. He is trying to find a place where when the day's toils are over he might rest in peace under the shade of night and not be disturbed by secret conclaves.

This is not to say that the Negro has no friends in the South, because he has many thousands of them, and they are making sacrifices every day and going against stubborn opposition in order to give the Negro protection, happiness, peace and education. At times these individuals are powerless to act, even to utter a word in the interest and protection of a black man, but every chance that is offered where they can come in without making the situation more serious for the black man, they are doing so. But for the strong friends of the race, conditions would be far more intolerable than they now are. Things are getting better as indications show, but they are far too bad to be tolerated by those who can find a better place and a more substantial livelihood.

The white south can change this condition regardless of what might be said to the contrary. Birmingham and Jefferson County have the matter under consideration and the proper steps are being taken by companies and individuals and the already happy relation will be increased as the time goes on.

N Y C POST
MAY 11, 1923

Migration North and South

The industrial revival and the rising wages in the manufacturing centres of the United States are drawing farm labor from both the far South and the far North. Just as the Southern States are beginning to show anxiety over the steadily increasing migration of negro labor to industrial districts so Canada is disturbed over the drift of a portion of its population in the same direction. The Winnipeg *Free Press* estimates that during the past winter 6,000 of the inhabitants of that single city migrated to the United States. Restrictions on immigration and the accelerated trade activity of the manufacturing districts of this country have created a vacuum in the labor market, and the migrations of workers from Canada and the South represent a natural tendency to establish an equilibrium.

These migrations have both their beckoning and their driving causes. Among the beckoning causes may be cited the high wages for factory labor as compared with the remuneration of farm labor and the general attractions and advantages of urban life. The chief driving cause is to be found in the fact that the agricultural industry has lagged behind other lines of business, and as both Canada and the Southern States are predominantly agricultural they have been slow in working back to normal. Canada's principal agricultural product is wheat, and the price of this commodity has not advanced as much as that of other staple farm products. While there has been a rapid advance in the price of cotton, this has been offset to a considerable extent by the small yield in the regions badly infested by the boll weevil. It is from these regions that the northward migration of negro labor has been most pronounced. In the case of negro laborers there is another obviously driving cause in the form of the social and civic disabilities to which the negro is subject in the South.

There is every reason to believe that so long as these inequalities continue in any degree like that now prevailing the redistribution of the supply of workers will continue. Meanwhile the news that Great Britain's quota of immigrants for this country for the current fiscal year has been filled is being received in Canada with much satisfaction, for it is believed that this will result in some very desirable immigration from the British Islands to the Dominion during the summer and that this will tend to counterbalance the migration from Canada to the United States.

N Y C EVE WORLD
MAY 8, 1923

ECONOMICS OF LYNCH LAW.

MIGRATION of Negroes from the South t the North is causing serious concern in th districts affected. Fear of lynch law is a reaso commonly assigned as an important factor in mi gration.

We may soon witness the reverse of this factor the effect of migration on lynching. The social consequences may prove important.

Suppose Negroes should organize to foster migration from lynch law districts. Suppose each lynching were followed by a general exodus from the vicinity involved. Such a policy might easily prove more effective than any legal prohibitions on lynching or efforts to instil principles of social justice and responsibility.

If farmers and planters of a county were certain that a lynching would be followed by the immediate departure of every field hand, the more responsible would find it profitable at least to elect sheriffs who would insure against such a walkout at a time when cotton demanded cultivation or when the crop was ready to pick. Certainty that labor would be expensive and hard to find would be a real deterrent to lynching outrages.

There are Negroes enough in the North now to organize such a movement. It could be financed without great difficulty. Given the organization, plus publicity for its purposes, and only a few examples of effective action would array economic force against the shameful custom.

Economic considerations have a powerful bearing on social and political questions. Lynching has always been primarily social and political and only slightly economic. The change is in progress.

N Y CITY WALL ST. JOURNA
MAY 9, 1923

SOUTHERN FARM LABOR LEAVING THE LAND

Skilled Workers in Cities Also Go North—Places Filled by Farm Workers—Weevils Discourage Farmers

CHATTANOOGA—Negro labor is leaving the south in large quantities. From a quantity standpoint the cities have not yet been affected adversely, but from a standpoint of quality there have been sharp consequences.

Skilled workers of Chattanooga and other industrial cities are flowing northward, where wages are higher and competition for workers keener. Places of those who have gone are being filled by unskilled farmhands, who have left the cotton farms where they made such poor livings last year.

Result is that Chattanooga's colored population is only perhaps 500 less than it was a year ago; but a vast number of skilled moulders, boiler-makers, and technically trained negroes have gone north; their places have been filled with partly trained or untrained negroes from the cotton belt.

THE NEGRO WORKERS' PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of negro labor in the south has been arrived at by manufacturers after many years of experimentation. If the rate goes up considerably, the negro worker begins laying off; when he has gotten as much as he thinks he needs to live on a week, he waits until he has spent his money before going back to work.

The northern manufacturer, accustomed to dealing with immigrants from Europe, keen after the fat pay envelope, regardless of length of time put in at lathe or mould, do not understand the negro psychology of just wanting enough.

THE TENANT SYSTEM

One of the main causes of shortage of unskilled labor in the cotton fields this year is the tenant system of farming. The southern planter hasn't done his full part by the negro tenants who farm his fields on shares. The main difficulty is lack of training of tenants by the owners as to the best ways to beat the boll weevil, diversify crops, and bring success out of apparent adversity. The bulk of cotton is raised by negro tenants on "share," the owner of the land to receive from a quarter to a third of the total yield, the tenant to put in his time, labor, etc., for the balance.

Last year the ravages of the weevil were such that over wide areas only 20 to 40% of the normal yield of cotton resulted. The share of the tenant was so small that he couldn't live upon it, and was forced to move or starve.

Conditions for some planters were bad, but they generally were able to obtain banking accommodation and pull through. But the tenants could not. Southern leaders believe means must be provided for teaching the negro tenant to diversify his crop, and raise enough foodstuffs to feed himself and family.

Cotton takes labor. Thus far there have been no successful pickers marketed. Labor must be paid on a system which insures it enough to get along on—or the south will periodically suffer from these negro exoduses from the fields to places where work as common labor at liveable wages can be secured.

N Y CITY WALL ST. JOURNA
MAY 5, 1923

NEGRO SHIFTING SOUTH

About 7,000 Farm Laborers Leave Mississippi Since Autumn for North—Workers Enough Left

GULFPORT, Miss.—D. A. McCandliss, statistician of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, after investigating the labor situation of Mississippi, reports about 7,000 negro farm laborers have left the state for northern points since last autumn; about 2,100 more have gone to other states of the south. He finds 4,900 have shifted within the state from one county to another.

The majority of those leaving this state are young men and have gone into industrial work in northern cities. Many of those who have gone to other southern states have located on farms; many have gone to southern Missouri to raise cotton where the boll weevil has not yet penetrated. Others have gone into industrial and railroad work. Most of those who have left the state have gone from the Delta section.

In his opinion, farmers will have sufficient labor to care for the crops if weather is favorable, but if bad weather comes the shortage will cause fields to be neglected. He also finds a considerable number of white farmers have moved into the state from other sections, many from the north.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement

THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH.

There is an awakening of sentiment in the South regarding the Negro and speaks much for those of us who remain in the Southland. In Tuesday morning's issue of the Savannah Morning News, there was an assuring editorial upon the vexing problem which showed that the people of the South are waking to the realization of the direful results which must come to this section of the country if the causes of the disturbance of labor is not moved. The Savannah Journal Savannah, Georgia

We will admit that it is not the leaving of the Negro per se that gives alarm. It is the leaving and the impossibility of securing labor that is docile, pliable and adapted to the conditions peculiar to the South and its people. The South has been free of strikes and undisturbed by the destructive devices which are parts of the appeal of the foreigner. It matters not what the trouble between whites and blacks at the South, the white man can go to bed and sleep soundly as if nothing had occured to disturb the peace. In fact, it matters not what happens to the Negro and by whom there is never any fear of being dynamited or bombed on the part of the white man. The Negro has not been accustomed to strike back whatever the provocation. No other race under the sun would act in like manner. The foreigner answers such indignities by the use of death-dealing implements. The Negro has been occustomed to answer them by prayer and song. These, it seems, have not been remedial and rather than fight he flees. He seeks and always has sought the peaceful solution. And practically, the entire Negro popupla-tion of the South now uses the theme of the old black woman who said:

"I can but perish if I go,
I am resolved to try;
For if I stay away I know,
I must forever die."

This is the sentiment of the colored brother upon the matter. But underneath all of this is an economic status that is not stressed by the writers upon the subject of migration. After all it is a wage condition and the never yielding high cost of living. Rent is yet sky high, the cost of commodities stands practically at war rices while wages have fallen to the pre-war level or nearly so. For instance,—men right in our immediate neighborhood who make $1.50 per day are paying $12.50 per month for house rent for houses which before the war cost only $4.50. Out of this pittance of salary they must pay rent, feed and clothe families and buy all incidentals. There are many who are out of work and cannot get work to do. If these who would work if they could get it to do are caught on the streets too frequently they are threatened with arrest and if they protest they are run in for insolence or some other cause. These things are really disturbing and as soon as a week or so can be made, they plan to escape this odious tyranny—this impending misery, as they term it and they leave for the North.

As has been said, the white people of the South can relieve this situation. They alone can do it. Our big daily, here, has several times hit the kyenote of the situation and if its dictum was heeded there would be at least a surcease—a kind of rest from the restlessness that has seized upon the real labor of the South.

True, there is much floating labor here yet—men who could work if they would—men who will not work when they might. For this class of men we have no sympathy and make no plea. They support nothing that others create and create nothing that others may support. For such a class we have no time nor tolerance. But for those who brace the props of the city and the state with honest toil, who measure their tasks by the rising sun and at its setting, sink into rapt repose, happy as the consequence of fatigue earned by honets labor—these are the men and the women who will make th pace and the progress of any community grow. These are the forces which speed our progress on and aid in making any city, county or state an enviable place in the life and the consequence of the nation. These are the people around whom should be thrown the cordon of the law and the encouragement of its stalwart exponents. If these things were done—and they are not—the Negroes of Georgia would break forth in one triumphant song:

"I'd rather, far, a 'fiddler' be,
And spend a dank eternity
Amid the slushes of the sea
Of Georgia.—
Than leave her pure alluvial soil,
Her mills which grind with ceaseless moil,
Where profit gcshes forth from toil
In Georgia.

A NEW NEGRO MIGRATION.

One of the results of the stoppage of immigration, first by the war, then by legislation, has been the increased demand in the north for Negro labor. The Negro is the only native American who can be counted on in large numbers for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Until very recently he has been almost wholly an agricultural worker, sometimes as a laborer, sometimes as a share cropper, but practically always at a low economic level. That this is not his fault, and that he has made remarkable progress since the abolition of slavery, does not alter the essential fact.

During the war thousands of Negroes migrated into the industrial districts of Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and other northern states. After the war there was a slackening in this movement, with which the depression of 1920 had much to do. In recent months, however, it has been resumed, and reports from Tennessee, Mississippi, and other southern states tell of considerable anxiety among the white residents who see their principal source of labor slipping away from them. In some localities the northern labor agent meets with a rough welcome, and Negroes found in employment offices when their services are wanted on the plantations are likely to be arrested for vagrancy and given the choice of staying at home and working or of going to jail. In other southern localities, where the black man is a competitor rather than a servant of the whites, there is no hindrance to his departure. Indeed, there are mountain counties in Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas where Negroes are hardly allowed to enter.

Students of the problem do not believe that the emigration from the south will permanently displace the centre of Negro population to any great extent. Those who migrate are comparatively few in number beside those who stay at home. But the economic and social effect on those who stay as well as those who go, and on those who go north and later return is important. For the first time since emancipation the Negro finds his services actively competed for and receives wages that often compare favorably with those of white men. In such southern cities as Birmingham the plantation hand quickly becomes industrialized, earns a fair income, and raises his standard of living. The same process goes on more rapidly in the north. In the steel industry the Negro may soon become a large factor. A good deal of friction, both north and south, will inevitably accompany these developments, but in the end its results cannot but be good. Certainly the edge will be taken off the color problem when white employers everywhere learn that it is to their interest to guarantee for the black man at least the legal rights that the constitution guarantees to all citizens.

Abbeville Negro Workmen Leaving

ABBEVILLE, S. C., May 11.—Jerry Green and 15 other negro workmen left for Northern fields Wednesday. Part of the contingent walked to Darlington, Turn-out and boarded the Southern there, having entanglements in the way of planted crops, contracts and debts of one kind or another. Ransom Fair, an old-time negro, says he is not going away to seek his fortune because they tell him even in Atlanta it is not safe to sleep on the ground floor without fastening down the windows and he does not want to live any place where he might "wake up and find himself dead." The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

WHITES AND NEGROES MEET

Mississippians Confer On Exodus of Labor from State.

JACKSON, MISS., May 12.—Joint meetings of whites and negroes in every county [illegible] been called by a special state committee to check the exodus of negro laborers from Mississippi. It was estimated by D. A. McCandis, federal statistician that 9,000 negro farm hands have left the state since last fall. Many farms are idle because of the lack of laborers and it is generally predicted that many farmers will curtail their crops next year for lack of tenants. The Montgomery Ala. 5-13-23

MAY 6 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

There is much sane optimism about the effects of the negro migration to the North in an article by Mr. ROBERT R. MOTON, President of the Tuskegee Institute, printed elsewhere in today's issue. He looks upon this racial movement as a good thing for North and South alike, and more especially for the negroes in both sections. He points out that those who go North benefit from new contacts as well as from better wages and living conditions, and the those in the South who have left the farms to replace the negroes formerly working in industrial centres who have gone North have not only themselves benefited from the change, but have indirectly helped those who have stayed behind by relieving the surplus of labor and thus bringing better wages to the negro farmhands.

In examining the causes for this migration Mr. MOTON has found that they are not all purely economic. He admits, of course, that the lure of higher wages has been a great incentive. But he believes that the desire for greater social freedom, the wish to be rid of the haunting fear of mob violence which is an ever-present though suppressed heritage of the negro in the South, has been a large contributing factor. Although the negro, on the whole, is happiest in the South, where he is best understood and where he is most at home, yet the latent unrest is often stilled by this northward movement. He does not, of course, escape segregation in the North. He is not, so Mr. MOTON believes, really welcomed by his fellow white laborers, and especially by the labor organizations. But the opportunities in the North are greater, school facilities are better, and housing and living conditions more satisfactory.

For the whites Mr. MOTON also sees benefits. He believes that the shortage in labor in the South will induce them to turn more toward mechanical devices. The South has so long had an ever-ready supply of extremely cheap negro labor that comparatively little effort has been made to go in for labor-saving devices. Undoubtedly the best result of the migration is that attention is being directed afresh to the position of the negro in both sections. The South, in particular, is concerned about it, and not only Southern State Departments of Labor but Chambers of Commerce and other bodies are studying it carefully and thoroughly. Unless the movement is checked it bids fair to create great economic and social transformations in all parts of the country. It is still too early to foresee clearly the ultimate outcome. Any great racial migration always has its repercussions. Race prejudice, unfortunately, is only too easily stimulated.

Negro Migration North Grows Alarmingly; Southern States Seek Means of Ending It

The New York Times

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., May 3.—The emigration of negroes from the South to the North, because of the promise of better wages, has begun, and 552 passed through Chattanooga yesterday in charge of Northern labor agents. They came from Memphis, Tenn., Corinth, Miss., and other points in that section.

5/14/23 N.Y.

JACKSON, Miss., May 3.—Joint meetings of white and negro citizens will be held May 19 at every Court House in Mississippi to discuss the exodus of negroes to the North and the labor situation. The meetings were called by the State Chamber of Commerce.

Three hundred negroes bound for Chicago and other industrial sections in the North passed through here this forenoon.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., May 3.—Activities of certain labor agents here were under investigation today by M. F. Nicholson Chief Inspector of the Tennessee Department of Labor, on the heels of complaints by Southern planters of a wholesale exodus of negro laborers from the cotton fields to Northern industrial centres.

The arrival of the State official came in the wake of the arrest of several agents on a charge of operating without meeting license requirements, and the arrest recently of a number of negroes found idle about employment agencies, notwithstanding appeals by Southern planters for help.

WHITE LABOR LEAVING.

5-4-23 Commercial Appeal

Young Men From Cities and Farms Attracted North.

JACKSON, Miss., May 3.—In the discussion of the labor exodus at the state-wide meeting here yesterday it was developed that the movement is not wholly confined to the negroes, but a considerable proportion of white labor is also leaving, mostly young men from the towns and some from the farms. In the discussion of the matter by the special committee, it was stated that the work now being offered by the northern industrial plants is only temporary at best, and the work and high wages being offered is made possible by the present revival of industry all over the country, which, in the opinion of experts, Mr. Hartfield says, has about reached its height and that a recession will follow, with a consequent curtailment of products and laying off of surplus labor.

President Crosby stated that the activity in the lumber business was due largely to the buying by railroads which are speeding up under pressure of the government to rehabilitate their roads by the first of October, next, and that lumber prices will probably fall after that time. Negroes are especially warned that the tempting offers of high wages at this time are "specious promises"; that such wages will soon slump with the slackening of industrial activity after the present crest is passed, and moreover, that even with the higher wages they will not materially better their conditions, because of a greatly increased cost of living in the northern centers.

It was also freely admitted that some concerted effort must be made on the part of southern employers to better the labor conditions here by allowing labor to earn more; increasing the productivity of farms and encouraging greater efficiency on the part of the laborer. It is proposed also to encourage thrifty habits. Mr. Crosby said, that after comparing our methods with those of the northern and western employers, he did not think that Mississippi, with all of its splendid resources and possibilities, was more than 40 per cent efficient.

Forced to Give Up His Fortune to Leave South

5-4-23 Chicago Defender

East St. Louis, Ill., May 4.—One of the iniquitious ways in which Southern whites interest themselves to obstruct laborers leaving the South has been revealed in the case of Henry Fielding, who has just arrived here from Marked Tree, Ark.

Fielding let it be known to a few friends in his home town that he was about to go North, where he had relatives. The report got to the white people of the town. The suspected emigrant had considerable property in the town. The whites were determined that he would not take any of his wealth away. While he was in the business section of the town trying to dispose of some legal matters, Fielding was picked up and thrown into jail, charged with shooting at a white man.

Letters were then sent by his white persecutors to his brother in the North, demanding large sums for Henry's release. Nothing came, so finally they told him they would let him go after he had signed away to them a horse and wagon, nine head of cattle, a cook stove and a grafonola. He was turned out of jail and given 15 minutes to leave town.

Fielding is in this city now, prepared to turn his back on the "Sunny South" and start life all over again.

THE EXODUS AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE

In the past few months the editor of this publication has had occasion to be on the trains and travel in various sections of the country. During this time we were able to see the movement of the colored people as never before, and what gives great concern is the class of people who are leaving. Almost invariably thy give the one excuse: better treatment, a more human disposition of their affairs.

The Birmingham Reporter

Some few years ago the exodus was an experiment and none could say what the effect would be; now it is a business and has been figured out economically and by trained agents as well as by the persons who are willing and ready to accept the invitation.

5-12-23

The business men, the industries, the churches, the fraternal organizations of the South will suffer materially from this movement and whatever is a needed remedy should be done and that without hesitation. In discussing this matter we do it with a sense of the responsibility attached and the eagerness of the colored man to find a place that he may deem secure for himself and family. None can change this situation except the law makers, law administrators, white pulpits and press constituting themselves an open forum for fair play and justice.

Birmingham is a wonderful city. Jefferson County is one among the most wealthy of the country, and while we have plenty of labor of the most substantial kind, we cannot afford to lose any of it on account of ill-treatment or inhuman respect for the humblest labor within the County.

Just a few of our constructive men and concerns are able to realize the human element that must be considered in dealing with labor, and this reference is made especially to Negro labor. There seems to be a tendency to regard this part of humanity as a machine or some instrument. This is wrong. And when the human element is left out, all other considerations are insecure and cannot be permanent.

The Immigration Act is also a greatly discussed question, and in this the Negro figures greatly. His loyalty here is somewhat forgotten. His strong power as the best resource of the labor market is slightly considered, and maybe his relation to this big subject is practically overlooked.

The Pittsburgh Courier, a very ably edited journal, and one of the most sane sent out from that section of the country published by Negro people, discussed in its last issue the immigration and spoke pointedly of the big steel industry and Judge Gary's position respecting the same. The Courier makes the following statement:

"The big steel industry may be speaking through its leader, Mr. Gary, when he says we need more liberal laws on immigration to this country. Be that as it may, there is something else to be said on the subject.

"Mr. Gary ought to know a little more about the Russian idea and its progress in America. He ought to know that in Pittsburgh within the past week a raid on Reds disclosed that there is already established in this country a system of education; that schools are being operated by Reds whose avowed purpose is the overthrow of the United States government.

Mr. Gary thinks his industry can make more money, perhaps, if the government allows more immigrants to enter this country. He has forgot what an embarrassment the foreign blood offered Mr. Gary's government when we were at war with Germany. Mr. Gary has forgot all the bombing parties that waved the Red flag in the face of the Stars and Stripes. He is simply thinking about labor—cheap labor—for the steel industry.

Then, too, Mr. Gary is very unmindful of the duty this country owes the American Negro, who, when the life of President Wilson was threatened by the foreign blood in this country, took his place as a body guard of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation. Mr. Gary forgets that there is enough Negro labor in this country to supply all the immediate needs of the combined steel industries of the country. The one and only thing needed is a little investment in the labor we have. This country has never spent one-third the money in the development of Negro labor that has been wasted in foreign blood which has not been assimilated.

We suggest that Mr. Gary read anew the telegram sent him by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

COMBATTING NEGRO MIGRATION

Press dispatches in Sunday's newspapers told of the plans of white Mississippians to hold monster meetings in every court house in that state on Saturday, May 19, to devise ways and means to check the migration of the colored people to the North and East.

It is stated that this movement may become sectional, especially in those states where the labor shortage is precipitating an acute economic situation.

It will be indeed interesting to see just what steps and actions these mass meetings will take regarding this exodus of the oppressed and repressed colored citizens of "Bam," many of whom opine that they "would rather freeze or starve to death in the North than to be burned to death in the South."

Mass meetings and resolutions will not solve this problem, for the die has been cast.

Once the colored man was satisfied and contented on the farms of Dixie, but injustices, inequalities and inhumanity have contrived to change his attitude, and, while all are not going North, there is a noticeable increase in the urban population and alarming decrease in the rural population.

It appears that quite a number of Southern communities not only do not know that slavery has been abolished in this country but on the contrary they are maintaining a species of peonage far worse than anything conceived or practiced during the period of human bondage.

Previously the black man endured these evils and ills because he had no other alternative, but once other sections of the country began to bid for his services and offer better living and working conditions, the colored brother did what any other sensible man or race would have done under the circumstances.

For nearly sixty years the colored man has been fed up on promises of "better times" and "a better day" in the South, but he is beginning to fear that he will have to live to attain the age of Methuselah before this "promised day" can even be discerned on the distant horizon.

All of the colored people are not going to leave the South, but already sufficient numbers have migrated to other sections of the country to seriously affect the labor field. This is noticeably true in those Southern states that have treated the colored man the worse.

Poor old Mississippi! Once upon a time her colored population exceeded her white population, and instead of trying to make good and worthy citizens out of the large black contingent, every conceivable and inconceivable plan and devise was resorted to in an effort to maintain these unfortunate and well nigh helpless people in dense ignorance and virtual servitude.

The moral tone of the race was lowered by white men cohabiting with colored women (and Miss Mississippi is and was not the only Southern commonwealth guilty of this particular species of nocturnal and clandestine "social equality") and Judge Lynch was invoked to "keep the nigger in his place."

Large appropriations were made for the education of white children, with hardly a pittance set aside for the training of colored youths.

Colored people were counted IN for representation purposes, but counted OUT when it came to voting for these same public officials. Here again the entire South is just as guilty and culpable as Mississippi.

It seems like the very irony of fate that Mississippi, the erstwhile and even present oppressor and bitter foe of the colored race, should lead out in a movement to combat the exodus of her colored subjects.

We wonder what steps will be taken to check this migration?

Will mob-law become even more rampant in that state?

Will ticket agents continue to refuse to sell tickets to colored people who desire to leave the confines of that hellish domain?

Will shacks house colored scholastics and will short terms characterize the inefficient and rotten school system of that state?

Will the courts of justice still deny the black man a fair and impartial trial and will peonage continue to thrive in its most degrading and shameful form?

Will force be invoked and employed to combat this hegira or will the issue be met squarely and fairly by the white leaders of that state?

And the whole South had better wake up and give this matter of treatment to the colored brother some earnest and sincere consideration or else depopulation of the farms and industrial plants will continue and the South will ere long become economically paralyzed and financially embarrassed.

The only successful way to combat the exodus is for the South to accord the black man the same rights and privileges enjoyed by the other races in Dixie.

The colored man must have nice school buildings, efficient teachers, better living conditions, higher wages, justice in the courts, the right of suffrage; in fact, a man's chance.

If the South is unwilling to grant these rights and make possible a better day for the colored race in the South, then as long as other sections make more inviting and alluring offers to these maltreated, underpaid and overworked colored laborers, they are going to migrate to such centers and no amount of coaxing nor number of mass meetings can stop them.

The South is face to face with a real, honest-to-goodness problem and not a mere theory, for without man power very little can be accomplished on the farms and in the industrial plants of this section.

The greatest drawback and hindrance to the solution of this vexing and perplexing problem is lack of moral courage.

Moral cowardice never has settled an issue amicably, satisfactorily, and permanently and never will; and as long as the South dodges the issue and tries to evade the real point at issue, the present situation is going to obtain.

"Nothing is settled until it is settled right!" This is an inexcapable truth that needs to be brought very forcibly home to the South; for if conditions are ever to grow better in the South between the races, the South must accomplish this job, and the sooner this task is undertaken the better it will be for the South and nation.

The South, in its policy of not wanting the black on one hand and not wanting him to leave on the other, reminds us of the lines in one of the familiar "blues" hits: "I don't want nobody who don't want me—don't you leave me here!" Selah!

N Y C TELEGRAM
MAY 4, 1923

Negroes Rapidly Quitting Southern Cotton Fields

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Friday.—M. F. Nicholson, of the Tennessee Department of Labor, acting on the complaints of Southern planters that there is a wholesale exodus of negro laborers from the cotton fields to Northern industrial centres, has begun an investigation here of the situation.

The arrival of the State official came in the wake of the arrest of several agents on a charge of operating without meeting license requirements, and the arrest recently of a number of negroes found idle about employment agencies, notwithstanding appeals by Southern planters for help.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Friday.—The emigration of negroes from the South to the North, because of the promise of better wages has begun, and 552 have passed through this city in charge of Northern labor agents. They came from Memphis, Tenn.; Corinth, Miss., and other points in that section.

The Lure to Negroes

Commercial Appeal 5-8-23

Negroes are going away to the north under inducements that they would do well to look into.

The labor question is a serious one all over the country.

Scarcity of labor has little to do with price. In prosperous times in the past foreigners came here and did much rough work. If business became slack they went back home.

Purely American labor is constantly employed.

The negroes are being induced to go to the north now under the promise of high wages and fine living conditions. They are being shown houses wherein they will live. They are also being told what they will get. If they will look at these houses carefully and compare them with Memphis houses they will find that they will have to get twice as much as promised in order to pay rent. Memphis, Tennessee

Rents are higher in Chicago, Detroit and other northern cities than in Memphis. Even if the negroes get the wages they are promised it will take all for them to live. If work becomes slack, and it will, they will be the first to lose their jobs. Landlords don't wait on you in the north—you either pay or get out; neither do doctors, undertakers nor anybody else.

Of course, the negroes have a right to go wherever they want to.

By and large they have done mighty well down here. Now and then they have been exploited, but so have white people, and in the north they will be exploited as white people have been.

Opportunity is better for the negro in the south than in the north. We know two or three negroes in the St. Francis Basin near Memphis who own over a thousand acres of land. They are out of debt. They are making money. They have money in the banks. Their white neighbors are proud to see thm getting along.

There are a hundred negro men in Memphis right now who 25 years ago did not have a thousand dollars; now they are worth from $20,000 to $200,000. In the last three or four years a number of negroes lost their fortunes, but if they will look into it they will find that their white neighbor lost his.

There are no dives any more in Memphis where white people exploit negroes, where they ruin their body and their souls. There are hundreds of such places in the north.

A decent, God-fearing negro in the south will find a better chance for his children here than he will in the north.

Where in any other place in the United States does the negro get a better break than he does in Memphis? Where is there a better chance for him anywhere else than there is in this Memphis territory?

Here and there negroes have been robbd and they have been exploited. This business is stopping. It does not pay in the long run. The next place, the negro is becoming more intelligent, but, more than all, a majority of the white people in any community frown on such a procedure.

The Commercial Appeal during its long history has never attempted to deceive negroes. It does not take much stock in the old sentiment about the old mammies and old uncles. It has never condoned a lynching and never will; the lynching of a white man and the lynching of a negro are violations of the law, and when any group of men start out to do something that is unlawful they do a harm to the republic which, if persisted in, will destroy it. The Commercial Appeal believes that a negro under the law should have his rights, he should have the property that he earns. Down here we believe that he is coming into these things.

We do not want to cajole the negroes, we are not attempting to persuade them, we are just laying down a few facts and the most sensible of their own people will tell them that these facts are the truth. Ask Fuller, ask Griggs, ask Isaiah Montgomery, the wise old man of the Delta: ask Booth, the lawyer.

N. Y. CITY MAIL ST. LOUIS MO.
MAY 1923

Colored Migration

From the agricultural statistician of Alabama comes announcement that over ten thousand colored laborers have left farms of the state for northern centers within the past few months. This is only one of the many reports showing a migration of colored people from the farms of the south to northern industrial centers. The movement has reached such proportions that now, whenever a southern negro buys a railroad ticket to the north, he is adding his mite toward reducing the cotton acreage.

A survey by the Department of Agriculture showed that in the past few months southern farms had a net loss of 324,000 laborers, mostly in the states east of the Mississippi River. Some went to towns and cities of the south, but many left for the north, where the high wages paid in some industries appeared like boundless wealth to those people. The movement is still going on and will permanently deprive the south of much of its agricultural labor. This means much to the cotton trade, for cotton cannot be successfully raised without colored labor; neither is it like wheat or corn, which yield to mechanical invention. It is essentially a hand-produced crop, and the loss of a few thousand laborers in any southern state would seriously affect the cultivation of the ordinary acreage of cotton.

If present intentions can be translated into achievements, the south will plant about 10 per cent. more cotton than last year. What the crop will be is merely guesswork now. The most we can do is to look at extremes and the average of past years. The lowest yield per acre in the past five years was 124.5 pounds and the highest 178.4. An increase of 10 per cent. in the acreage of last year might mean a minimum of less than 10,000,000 bales or a maximum of 13,800,000. The average yield in the same period was 153.3 pounds. This yield would mean something less than 12,000,000 bales.

The world is now using American cotton at the rate of 13,000,000 bales a year. At the end of this season, July 31, 1923, there will be only a small surplus in the world to begin a new season. At the maximum estimate, the new crop will be a little more than sufficient to feed the spindles of the world, to say nothing about leaving a surplus to carry over into the next year. Therefore, the supply condition next year bids fair to be as bad as now, and may be worse.

This brings us back to the question, can the expected acreage be made? Not more than a third of the planting has been done yet, so intentions are not yet converted into planted cotton. If it can be planted and cultivated, and even picked, which seems doubtful from the present labor supply, the long look ahead is not cheerful. This movement of the colored people is not like the spring migration of the birds that go north for the summer, but is mostly a permanent change of habitation. A continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future while demand is on the increase. Like the boll weevil the negro now is to be counted in the market as a bullish factor.

MISSISSIPPI'S LABOR SITUATION DISCUSSED

JACKSON, Miss., May 2.—Mississippi busines men met here today at the request of the state chamber of commerce to discuss the labor situation growing out of the migration of negroes from this state to industrial centers of the north. The meeting was called, advices said, Secretary Lusk, because the exodus of labor had caused alarm in the agricultural and industrial counties.

Seven thousand negro farm laborers have left Mississippi since fall, according to W. D. Lusk, Jackson, Miss., federal statistician here, and approximately 5,000 others have moved from one county to another within the state.

DETROIT MICH. FREE PRESS
APRIL 25, 1923

A MATTER OF WAGES.

Judging from widely scattered reports, the rush to the cities now in progress is equal to that which caused so much protest and anxiety four or five years ago. The south reports that Negroes are leaving the farms and flocking into the industrial cities of the north at a rate which has already caused a labor shortage, and threatens to reduce the agricultural output. It is reported that the exodus from western Canada to regions of high wages in the United States is causing grave concern. In eastern Canada similar complaints are heard and Premier Taschereau, of Quebec, is quoted as saying that the movement of French Canadians to the United States constitutes a "heart rending problem." These regions are all distant from the great manufacturing towns of the United States, but the problem is not theirs alone. Every part of this country is contributing more or less to the movement, and it comes right up to the doors of the manufacturing cities themselves and depopulates farms that ought to be selling produce in local markets.

Accompanying this movement there is the usual inquiry as to what can be done about it. The obvious reply is that nothing can be done that will have any immediate effect. As long as there is more money in city work than in farm work the tide of labor will turn toward the city. It will stop when conditions are equalized and equalization will be the natural result of a serious shortage of farm labor.

Labor—1923.

Migration Movement.

REACTION AGAINST NEGROES IN THE NORTH.

No better evidence is needed to support the opinion long ago held and still held by many Southern newspapers, the Morning News includ[ed] that thousands of negroes who went [illegible] could be [illegible] of it than an editorial in the St. Louis Star of Sept. 14. It may be impossible to prevent other thousands of negroes from going North, but it may save many negroes a lot of trouble and expense and suffering if the leaders of the race will disseminate among them just such information as is contained in the Star's editorial, which follows:

Dublin Ga Herald
Sept 19, 1923

The movement of negroes from the South to the North and West is developing about as much annoyance in the new homes of the immigrants as in their former abiding places.

The health authorities of St. Louis are very much disturbed by the conditions here. City Health Officer Starkloff is freely stating the difficulties he finds from a sanitary standpoint, especially because of the dangerous congestion in those parts of the city that are given over to the negro population.

It is to be hoped, however, that the situation may not develop here into such an acute condition as in Johnstown, Pa., where thousands of negro laborers have gone to work in the great iron and steel industries. The Philadelphia Ledger says that an edict of expulsion against all negroes in Johnstown who have not been resident there for at least seven years is reported to have been issued by the mayor of that city as his reaction to recent disorders there.

The news of the disorders there have not attracted attention in this section like those in Chicago, but it is evident that they must have been most serious, when such a radical remedy is about to be put into operation. How it can be carried out legally is difficult to understand, because the fundamental rights of citizenship are involved.

It would seem likely that just as serious friction would arise in effecting the proposed expulsion as that step is planned to stop.

However, there is another ray of light upon this troublesome problem. The Chicago Tribune has had a special correspondent traveling in the South to examine into this whole question of the negro exodus. He reports that in some sections numbers of negroes have returned to their former homes, declaring that the stories of $3.50 and $4 a day for common labor and other utopian conditions, which had induced the movement North, had turned out to be false; that the wages to be had up this way were not so high and would not pay for the increased cost of living.

The return of such dissatisfied negroes to the South is the surest means of stopping the movement. But though the saturation point for negro laborers may have been reached in most Northern cities, the question is how many of the disappointed will return, or can return, to their old homes. No matter how willing they may be, they are usually not able to buy return tickets.

Apparently the situation is ripe in more than one Northern center for associations of Southern farmers and industrial operators to play the same game some of their competitors north of the Ohio have played—to send out agents to gather up the discontented and pay their way back South. That may be one solution of the congestion of negroes in many Northern cities.

It is a matter which Southern newspapers might well ventilate, in the hope of relieving the labor shortage on the farms and elsewhere.

This was printed in a city where many negroes went after leaving Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi. It is sufficient evidence that St. Louis has been no Promised Land for them, and it is of a piece with what has happened in other cities in respect to housing, sanitation, labor conditions, and the like. The North does not want the negro; it is willing to exploit him, use him, abuse him, but it doesn't offer him a fine living. Of course some members of the race will make successes in the North, have good homes, own automobiles, and so on, but many negroes have fine homes and own automobiles in the South. The point is that the big cities of the North cannot assimilate such a great and sudden increase in their negro population without causing suffering, crime, trouble and sickness and death.

The same story that comes from St. Louis is repeated even in New York and Chicago, the nation's largest cities. If living conditions in the South are often bad for negroes, they are worse in the big cities of the North, and especially is this true in the winter time, when fuel is very expensive. There is and will continue to be for a long while a new migration, and this time the negroes who have gone North in the hope of finding a Promised Land will be coming South much wiser than they left here.—Savannah News.

The Southern Point of View

(From the Birmingham News.)

10-14-23

One paragraph from Colonel George Bailey's column on The Houston (Texas) Post reflects the attitude of most Southern folks regarding the negroes who have gone to other climes:

As we read the news of the first snow and ice in the North, our prayer is: Lord, remember with mercy and loving kindness the poor negroes who are huddled in cold and filthy hovels and tenements without fuel in a land where the wintry winds are cruel and the December sun has no warmth for the suffering poor.

Houston Post

Poor creatures! They have been fed with promises by labor agents; been embittered against the South by the lies of these gentry, turned against the people who know them and make allowances for them, their real friends, who will help them, if help is needed. They have gone North seeking a Utopia. They have forsaken the substance for the shadow. They have been encouraged to believe that they had license there instead of liberty—and in many communities in the North there is open revolt against the newcomers, flaring into malignant and violent hate.

Houston, Tex.

Two thousand—all negroes who have been in Johnstown, Pa., less than seven years, have been ordered out by the mayor and he is seeing that they go. Negroes are being laid off first in all the jobs. Winter is shutting down on outdoor work where unskilled labor is in demand, and many of the elated darkies who thought they had reached the Promised Land will find it was mostly promise. Many of them were resentful against the South and Southern people, being encouraged into this frame of mind by labor agents and fool members of their own race who have proven that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." It is probably just as well to allow these members of the race to go North, stay a while and get some of the spleen out of their systems. Zero weather and short rations have a very mollifying effect upon hate of the sort.

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE
NOVEMBER 25, 1923

South Awake to Rights Of Negro, Says Dr. Moton

Tuskegee Head Blames Economic Conditions, Housing and Klan for Migration

Economic conditions, the need of better housing, "Jim Crowism" and the Ku-Klux Klan were blamed for the migration North of 500,000 negroes in the last year by Major Robert R. Moton, head of Tuskeegee Institute, Tuskeegee, Ala. He spoke last night before the Quill Club.

The speaker said the South was awake to the seriousness of the migration and that business men in all of the Southern States had awakened to the importance of a square deal for the negro. He added that while the Ku-Klux Klan was responsible to some extent for the movement of negroes to the North, more white persons have been hanged, murdered or tarred and feathered in the South than negroes.

"The South, as represented by the best sentiment expressed in the Southern press, is determined to wipe out mob rule and the disgraceful practice in certain sections and among certain groups of lynching," said Dr. Moton, "and is eager that the negro shall be given his rights and privileges as an American citizen in proportion to the measure of his merit."

Dr. Moton said the migration had been in some degree beneficial to the negroes who had come North and to those who remained in the South. He explained that it would mean greater diversification of agriculture, the breaking up of large plantations and increased respect for labor of the hands on the part of whites as well as negroes.

TRYING TO REPLACE THE NEGRO

From the Chicago Daily News

In several southern states, according to the federal department of labor, the continued drift of the colored population to the morth is creating serious problems. A labor shortage is developing in the cotton industry and, while movements have been launched to attract immigrants from Europe, no palpable results are expected in the near future.

Southern chambers of commerce and agricultural associations have been giving earnest thought to ways and means of checking the present exodus and keeping at home the more industrious and desirable workers. One interesting consequence noted by intelligent observers is the growing hostility among business men toward the Ku-Klux klan, which is held responsible to a considerable extent for the northward migration of the colored population, although high wages, and better educational opportunities are more important factors in the movement.

In certain influential southern newspapers and magazines the question is being discussed with candor and breadth of view. The planters and manufacturers are told that the way to keep the colored race in the south is to pay much more attention than has been paid to their housing conditions, to their schools and to their material and moral welfare generally. For years the inadequacy of many of the special schools provided for colored children has been deplored by educators. The lynching evil, too, has played a part and so has the Jim Crow Car. Negroes settled in the north and enjoying legal protection and general recognition of certain fundamental rights of citizenship write of these advantages to relatives and friends in the south, and it is only natural that the more enterprising and discontented among them should decide to try their fortunes in northern cities.

Some students of the problem believe that after a time many colored people who have come north will return to the south because of its more genial climate and other considerations, but this optimistic view is not likely to produce an impression on the practical leaders of southern business opinion. The advice to study systematically the needs and legitimate aspirations of the colored race and endeavor to satisfy them is sound from every point of view.

RURAL MISSOURI IS HELPING THE NEGRO MIGRANTS

The Industrial Commission Makes Survey Of Several Counties. Finds Agencies At Work to Help Newcomers In New Environments

Urges Workers To 'Stick" to Their Jobs. Better School Advantages Offered.

By Robt. S. Cobb

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Dec. 26.—The year 1923 has been a good year for the Negro farmer in Missouri according to a statistical report issued by Robtert S. Cobb, Secretary of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission. While the Negro population has probably increased by 20,000 since the last census, very few migrants from Southern state have been refused employment, the counties of Pemiscott, New Madrid, and Mississippi, Cotton Counties, have shown a decided increase in Negro population.

Cape Girardeau, through its Chamber of Commerce, has aided materially in helping the Negro migrant to become adjusted to his new environment in that section.

While the farming counties along the Missouri River have not shown any substantial increase in Negro population, yet there is an appreciable drifting back to farms by those who have some training in agriculture. The State of Missouri has continued to encourage this by adding additional Smith-Hughes Farm agents thru the College of Agriculture at Columbia as the occasion demands.

In 1922 approximately 85,000 Negroes both male and female were gainfully employed in the various industries in Missouri most of the time. In 1923 100,000 (one hundred thousand) Negroes are gainfully employed. Where ever the Negro has shown ability and reliability, the labor turnover has been very small.

The following factors have contributed largely to the large influx of Negroes into the Northern districts The Negro has been found to be a dependable laborer by Northern industrialists. He stays on the job and sends money back home for his relatives and many times friends.

(b) Scarcity of foreign labor due to rigid migration laws.

(c) The superior educational advantages found here also cause many to come. Missouri ranks high in expenditures on Negro schools: the per capita for the white child in Missouri is $22.24, and the per capita expenditure for the Negro child is $19.40, which shows that Missouri is endeavoring to give the Negro child an equal break in education.

There are seventeen states who have a higher percentage of illiteracy among Negroes than Missouri.

Imperial, progressive Missouri is keeping "Just a step ahead" of the other states. She is proving to be the industrial and educational Mecca for all who come seeking to improve their educational and economic status

NEGRO MIGRATION.

For some time there has been a growing uneasiness in the South over the movement of Negroes to the North, and now, when it appears that, this year, 300,000 will leave the cotton belt, there is something like panic in some sections. That it creates a very great problem for southern agriculture cannot be denied. On the other hand, it can no more be denied that it is the Negro's right to go North if he so desires. The various legal measures which have been proposed as preventives are ill-considred and will prove ineffective. The only thing which will keep the Negro in the South is for him to come to feel that, all things considered, he can live more comfortably in the South than he can in the North. Better wages, better living conditions, better schools and even-handed justice will go much further toward keeping the Negro in the South than any proposed, or possible, legislation. While the movement doubtless will work a temporary hardship on the South, it may, in the end, prove a blessing in disguise. It will distribute the Negro more widely throughout the country, and whatever problem his presence creates will be more evenly shared by the various sections of the country. Other people will have to be admitted into the South to take the place of the Negro, and the South will gradually lose that fear of possible Negro domination which has been a sort of obsession for years, and which has been responsible for various repressive measures. Whether the South likes it or not, the movement continues. Not much satisfaction is to be derived from the fact that a certain per cent drift back South. Granting the largest estimates for this backward movement, the fact still remains that there are largely increased Negro populations in other parts of the country. which will make the work of industrial agents less and less necessary in securing large movements of Negroes to those sections. Their friends, living in those sections, will be more effective in luring southern Negroes thither than the offers of an industrial agent of whom they know nothing except what he offers in wages.

Race Problem Remains Unsolved Over South

Vigorous Attempts Being Made to Keep Colored Folk on Dixie Plantations.

The South is going in a vicious circle, writes Frank Tannenbaum, discussing possible solutions for Southern problems in the Century. It fears the Negro, and yet is even more afraid to lose him. Any one acquainted with the impediments that were put in the way of labor agents, with the fact that in places labor agents were driven out by mobs during the war, that legislation was passed, making it difficult if not impossible for agents to come into the rural South and move the Negro away—any one who knows these things will recognize the fact that the South is afraid of losing him. This resistance to the departure of the Negro did not come to an end with the war, but is evident today. There is at this writing legislation pending in many Southern states impending the free movement of the Negro from state to state.

"And yet that movement of the Negro to other parts of the counry is the first step in any alleviation of the racial situation in the South, he declares.

"With the disappearance of fear and the growth of anxiety to keep the Negro in the South because the South wants the Negro and knows him, must come a gradual attenuation of feeling, a newer and broader sympathy for the Negro.

"The communities relieved of the fear of Negro dominance will strain themselves, as they are already doing in places, to keep the Negro by giving him better schools, better homes, better conditions of life and labor, a better social status.

"The migration of the Negro will have other far-reaching consequences," continues Mr. Tannenbaum, in The Century. "It will make the Negro problem a national rather than a sectional one.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

SALT LAKE (UTAH) TRIBUNE
APRIL 28, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION.

Approximately 32,000, or 13 per cent, of negro farmhands, or laborers, in Georgia, have moved north in the past twelve months. Since September of last year, 32,750 negro farmers have left South Carolina, constituting a loss of about 3 per cent of the negro farm population.

These figures are presented by the department of agriculture following a special survey of southern farming districts to check up the reported general movement of negro farmers to northern industrial centers. The situation in Georgia is said to be more serious than generally realized.

High industrial wages are given as the chief reason for the migration of negroes from the south to the north. Boll-weevil conditions last year which made cotton growing unprofitable for several negro farmers, unrest among returning troops who experienced more attractive living conditions away from the farms during and after the war, and breakdown of the contract labor system are given as contributory causes.

The movement of negro farm labor from Florida is estimated at 2 per cent of the population of this class. Alabama has lost 3½ per cent of her total negro farm population. Figures from Arkansas show a loss of 15,000, or about 3 per cent. The movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no movement is reported. Louisiana has lost about 1 per cent of her negro farm labor, and since April 7, 1922, Tennessee reports a loss of 4500 negro farmers. In Texas the farm labor situation is not as serious as in the eastern cotton states.

The movement in Georgia and certain other states goes on, although crops for the present season have been started. A large abandonment of acreage is reported and labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season.

Christian Index Proposes to End Exodus of Negro

A large part of the current issue of "The Christian Index," Georgia Baptist weekly is devoted to a discussion of the migration of negroes from Georgia to the cities of the north and west, and to suggestions as to ways of remedying this situation, which is described as a vital problem, both economic and moral.

A front page editorial calls upon the Baptists of the state to use their influence in ending those conditions which are driving the colored population out of the state, under the heading "Let's Stop Shoving." It ascribes the exodus to the "shoving of the south," rather than the "pulling of the north." The state legislature, in this editorial, is asked to "leave off lobbying for one day during the fifty of its approaching session," and enact a law which will stop lynching in Georgia. Georgia, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana are cited as southern states conspicuous for the number of lynchings which occur every year, and it is declared that South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky are free of the lynching evil. This condition is ascribed to the fact that the latter group of states have anti-lynching laws on their statute books and that they enforce them.

Farms Are Abandoned.

An article written by W. W. Alexander, of Atlanta, occupies half a dozen pages of the issue and deals exhaustively with the question. It opens with quotation from a recent report made by the state college of agriculture to the effect that within the past six months 100,000 people have left Georgia farms, 80,000 of whom were negroes. The result of this shift in population has been, it is asserted, to leave 11,840 abandoned farms.

The negro baptist organization of the state is quoted as confirming these figures with the added startling statement that in the same period its rural churches in Georgia have lost over 50,000 members.

Much of the influence which has lured the colored people away from the farms is stated, in this article, to be the desire for education of children. While admitting that much progress has been made in the development of rural negro schools in the south, it is charged that there still remain many local school boards which are indifferent, and even antagonistic to this need. It is said that a large proportion of the negroes leaving the rural south are doing so in order to find better educational opportunities for their children.

Mob rule, "peonage," and the terrorism inspired by anonymous warnings to leave the community are mentioned as other things driving the negro away.

Houston Holds Blacks.

Houston county, Georgia, is described as one section where the negroes are not leaving. Splendid work done there for the education of the colored population, the support of a negro community nurse and a negro farm demonstration agent and the fact that the county has not had a lynching since 1913, as well as general immunity from mob violence, are given as the chief reasons why this county is not losing its colored population.

The state legislature is offered a "minimum program," which is proffered as suggestions for remedying the evil. It calls for a state police force and the provision that the Governor may remove sheriffs from their office who are delinquent in protecting prisoners. Amendment of the labor cantract law to remove all possibility of peonage is also urged.

Then the state is asked to provide proper institutions, including schools and high schools, hospitals for the feeble minded, the tubercular and for girl delinquents. Employment of more colored farm demonstration agents and public health nurses is requested.

Ask For Money.

The article concludes with the statement that state finances are admittedly in bad condition and that political expediency may cause many politicians of the state to refuse their support for such a program as this. Therefore, it is urged, private citizens will probably have to initiate such work in order to prevent, for business if for no other reasons, the huge economic loss to the state which this abandonment of farm lands and migration of negro workers involves.

Among many letters endorsing the article, which are published in the same issue, are some from Rev. E. J. Forrester, member of the state education board; J. Phil Campbell, professor at the State Agricultural college at Athens, Ga.; W. N. Ainsworth, Bishop of the tenth district Methodist church, south; Walter W. Sheppard, judge of the Atlantic Judicial circuit; Hugh M. Dorsey, ex-governor of Georgia; Dr. M. M. Parks, state superintendent of education, Governor Thomas W. Hardwick, and others.

GALVESTON (TEXAS) NEWS
APRIL 30, 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

The recent report issued by the department of agriculture has brought out more widespread comment than that reporting an exodus of negroes from the agricultural regions of the South to Northern industrial centers. Editorial comment in Northern newspapers reflects greater alarm at this movement to deplete the South's labor supply than do those in the Southern territory affected.

Two principal causes are assigned for this movement, which duplicates that of 1915-16. They are the boll weevil and the attractive offers of Northern industries. Restricted immigration is, of course, largely responsible for the diminished supply of industrial labor. Industries are competing with the farm for labor in a greater degree perhaps than ever before. The reported scarcity of farm labor in the North indicates that, in a general sense, industry is the successful bidder.

The New York Evening Post regards the northward migration of negroes as a benefit to both sections and races. With 9,000,000 negroes in the South and 1,500,000 in the North at the last census, it remarks, there is room for wider distribution, adding that "the negro is an asset which must not be merely well treated, but must be competed for."

While the Post is right in assuming that a more even distribution of the negro population is desirable, there are fundamental reasons why the negro's greatest opportunity must always remain in the South. Concentration of negro population in the South was not the result of chance or political differences. Physically, the negro is suited to a warm climate; temperamentally he is fitted for an agricultural life.

The South is outgrowing the idea that profits in cotton raising begin with the use of cheap labor. The agricultural future of theSouth depends upon getting away from the kind of conditions which formerly shackled it to one crop, and based that upon production at the smallest possible labor cost. The day of cheap labor, as it used to be understood, is past. It has forced readjustments in cotton prices and still greater readjustments are inevitable. Doubtless changed conditions will have a bearing on the concentration of negro population in certain states and localities; doubtless also the redistribution will leave a labor surplus that may profitably be absorbed into Northern industries.

The South is not alarmed at the negro migration. Similar migrations have occurred before, but a large proportion of the immigrants found the new environment not to their liking and drifted back to the South. Those who stayed have been absorbed into the industrial life of the North. The redistribution of negro population will take care of itself.

RALEIGH N.C. NEWS OBSERVER
MAY 9, 1923

NEGROES IN THE NORTH.

The need for additional heavy labor in the steel mills and other plants of the North has caused agents of those concerns to induce quite a number of negroes to go north. How many of them will remain? And how are they received? In last week's *Nation* Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, who in his ideas about the negro in the South takes the opposite extreme from Booker Washington, does not hold out much hope for negroes going North. He says that the position of the negro group in the North "is not strong economically nor socially," and goes on to say:

"Its security depends largely upon the non-agitation of the race problem. If racial differences are not emphasized by newspapers or by new facts, the Northern negro becomes gradually a citizen, judged by his individual deserts and abilities. If, however, there comes a sudden new migration, the level of intelligence and efficiency in these new-comers is almost inevitably below that of the negro already established in the North. Public opinion lumps the new with the old without discrimination. New racial irritation, hatreds and segregations arise. The problem of new dwelling-places becomes severe and it is a double problem, for not only must the new black men have homes to shelter them, but the white home-owners must, as far as possible, protect the beauty, moral level and value of their home."

Which being interpreted means that the negro now living in the North does not give welcome to new-comers of his race. In fact their own position is better if none others come. If there is a large influx, it will be bad for the older settlements of negroes in the North and for the new-comers. High wages are attracting some labor, but many of them will return to the South next winter. Supply and demand of labor, rather than any other consideration, will govern. But most negroes know their future welfare will be better preserved in the South than in the North.

INFLUX OF NEGROES FROM SOUTH STILL A BIG INDUSTRIAL FACTOR

Executive Secretary of Urban League Says All Have Been Pr

Placed in Jobs—Estimates that from Twenty to Thirty Arrived Here Daily Last Month.

That negro immigration from the South continues to be an important industrial factor here and that all coming at this time are promptly placed was stated today by William M. Ashby, executive secretary of the Urban League, who is assisting some groups who come North without definite employment in view. From twenty to thirty colored men have arrived daily during the last month, according to an estimate made by him.

Most of the men come in groups, the larger parties usually with definite employment in prospect, having been recruited by agents of railroads or other large employers. Up to within a short time these have been directly organized by company agents, but the feeling against such recruiting is now so strong in the Southern states that laws are being strengthened against it, or where they are sufficiently strong are being rigidly enforced, Mr. Ashby stated.

The railroads found the Southern workers satisfactory, Mr. Ashby declared, and offered special inducements, giving the men free transportation and in some cases promising, if they continued in employment for six months, to bring their families also. Men with families are preferred, he said, as likely to prove more permanent in their positions.

The work of facilitating the northward migration of colored workers continues, Mr. Ashby asserted, but it is carried on with less directness. Often the would-be employer operates through some employee who has previously come from the South, suggesting that he communicate with friends there, telling of advantages gained by coming North. Usually there promise of refund of traveling penses, etc.

A vivid picture of rural sections of Georgia almost depopulated of workers was given in a letter recently received from a supervisor of colored schools, Mr. Ashby told. Deserted little houses with doors swinging wide and birds flitting in and out where human dwellers lived a few months ago were described.

Small groups of migrants are frequently organized by the colored men on their own initiative, said Mr. Ashby, hearing in their Southern homes of higher wages paid here, and in some cases these write to the league secretary asking him of the opportunities here. Many such groups have been placed by the employment bureau of the league either in this city or elsewhere in the state.

Ready adjustment to employment conditions here is made by the newcomers, Mr. Ashby says, citing the fact that one hod carriers' union in less than a month this spring had received 130 new colored members. Georgia, Florida, Alabama and South Carolina are the native states of most of the Southern immigrants at this time, it was said at league headquarters.

There is little exploitation of these people, Mr. Ashby asserts, and housing conditions, while not wholly satisfactory, are much better than a few years ago, when the Southern negroes first began arriving in large groups. Overcrowding is often only a temporary condition, it was said, and is largely due to the more recent arrivals being taken into the homes of relatives and friends until they can find separate quarters for themselves.

NEWARK N J EVE NEWS
MAY 29, 1923

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE
MAY 9, 1923

SOUTERN FARMS AND THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

If, every time the big industrial centers of the North and East need unskilled labor, the farms of the South are to lose thousands of negroes, the Southern farmer must take steps to protect himself. Crittenden county, one of the richest of the alluvial counties of eastern Arkansas, proposes to take these steps at once. There is no acute labor shortage in Crittenden at present, but there may be soon, so some of its leading men have organized to bring from older farming sections white farmers who will be given opportunity to buy farms and to make the money to pay for them through their labor as farmhands. The plan is entirely feasible.

Many people in the farming regions of the South, particularly in those sections given over chiefly to great plantations, fear the South's farming industry would be ruined if the negro left. The fact is that an exodus of negroes would eventually be the making of the Southern farm country. And this is said in no disparagement of the negro. The negro has certain characteristics that the Southerner understands and for which the Southerner makes allowances. As a result of this understanding, the negro gets along well in the South.

Unless the South begins now to prepare for emergencies, a big exodus of negroes will mean a period of readjustment during which there will be great financial losses to Southern farmers. But these losses may be prevented by foresight.

The negro is moved to migrate from the South by two promises—higher wages and better social conditions. If this migration took to the North a large part of the Southern negroes the country would see a race question a thousand times intensified, for the people outside the South do not know the negro, and therefore will not make the allowances for him that the Southerner makes. This, however, is a problem for these non-Southerners and the negro. If the negro wants to go to new fields, that is his affair. There will be no effort to keep him in the South against his will.

The more white farm labor we have in the South, the fewer big plantations we shall have. The South would benefit greatly by the cutting up of these plantations. It is, of course, better for a county to have 10,000 100-acre farms than to have 100 1-000-acre plantations. In the agricultural states of the Middle West there are many thousands of land-hungry farmers too poor to own farms. These could be brought to the South if sufficient inducements were offered.

Farming in the South has many advantages over farming in the colder regions of the United States, and these land-hungry folks would gladly come if they could win farms by their labor. The one necessary thing is absolute truth and fairness on the part of the agents who go after them. The picture should be painted less rosy than it really is, so that the newcomers will be agreeably surprised when they come South. The one barrier to be removed is the mistaken idea that the South is unhealthy and that every one who comes South is attacked by malaria. The newcomers will learn that malaria is carried only by the mosquito and they can be taught easily to protect themselves against the mosquito. Elimination of the mosquito already has been accomplished in many Southern communities and we must believe that it will be accomplished in all of them before many years have passed.

The possibilities for Crittenden county under its new plan are vast and alluring. Years ago Crittenden was a backward county because the Mississippi river overflowed it. Now it is protected by levees. It has fine roads and has a big city market right at its door. A truck farm or dairy in the eastern part of Crittenden county, Arkansas, is nearer to the kitchens of Memphis, Tenn., than most of the Tennessee truck farms or dairies that serve Memphis. Crittenden county soil will produce almost every agricultural crop. A few thousands of thrifty, hard-working farmers on 40, 80 or 100 acre farms would make Crittenden a garden spot, and a very prosperous garden spot. These farmers would have many days in the year for work as farmhands for their neighbors. Crittenden county has started something big.

MEMPHIS, TENN. SCIMITAR
MAY 18, 1923

As It Affects Negroes

There is a phase to the question of negro migration to the North which ought to suggest to the negroes themselves the necessity for action among their own leaders. It is one that has not been commented on before so far as we have observed, but the Times, a negro paper printed in Memphis, makes this pointed observation:

"The exodus is hurting negro business and professional men in the South possibly more than it is white. Negro churches are hard hit in some places, the membership is decreasing so fast until the financial standing both locally and generally, is largely affected, and presents a problem indeed difficult to the pastors.

"In large cities like Memphis, where there is a large number of negro doctors and professional men in general, the migration, if continued for a reasonable length of time, will force some of these men to either quit the field here and follow up the crowd. Of course there will be in evidence the survival of the fittest.

"The negroes have no way of stopping the exodus. He is helpless. He dare not open his mouth against it. To speak against the going of our people would be to commit suicide."

It is an admission of extreme peculiarity on the part of the race if protest on the part of the white people against migration is attributed to selfishness and protest on the part of the negroes is construed as a conspiracy between the white people and the negroes of prominence for ulterior purposes.

We can not, however, agree with the contention that the negroes have no way of stopping the exodus. Some of their leaders have preached the doctrine of injustice so long that it has become a fixed conviction and the result is that negro business and professional men are losing their trade and clientele. As stated in the article quoted, there are many negro business firms and churches, and a number of doctors and lawyers. Their trade and business are dependent entirely upon the members of their race and the loss of patronage is a serious menace to all of them.

The migration of the negro is a subject of more than passing concern to the negroes themselves, and the business men, lawyers, preachers and doctors ought to organize among themves to overcome and defeat the opaganda that is being spread by bor agents who have no interest in the matter other than to earn a commission on the Southern negroes sold o Northern industrial plants.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

NOV 25 1923

MANY HAVE GONE INTO NORTHERN STATES RECENTLY

KU KLUX KLAN TO BE RECKONED WITH

ORGANIZATION MAY HAVE BALANCE OF POWER IN DOUBTFUL STATES.

ALIGNMENT UNKNOWN

Klan Might Be Swung to Either Party, Depending Upon Circumstances.

New situations and new factors are ready for injection into the presidential campaign of 1924, Mark L. Sullivan points out in the article published below.

First of these is the negro migration from the South to the North during the last three or four years and its possible effect upon results in States that normally are classed as doubtful before election day. The possibility is that in such States as Missouri, Ohio and Illinois the increased number of negro voters will be a source of such strength as to swing those States, as well as others, into the steadfast Republican column.

The fact that the negroes are friendly disposed toward McAdoo for certain actions of his in handling the railroads during the World War also is to be taken into consideration in figuring the strength of the various candidates.

Then there is the German element and the Irish element, both of which for special reasons might give support more readily to the Democratic cause next year than they did in 1920.

What will the Ku Klux Klan do? This question is one upon which party leaders are pondering these days. As it stands, the klan could go with either party, or divide and go with both parties, but candidates at the time of election and expressions of the individual candidates probably will have much to do with winning or losing the klan vote, it is believed.

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BY MARK L. SULLIVAN.

One of the factors counted on to help the Republicans in the election next year is the redistribution of the negro population of the country. For example, it is said that there are in Missouri 75,000 negroes of voting age, more than were in that State before the recent immigration from the South began. Inasmuch as the negro voters are almost universally Republican, it can be realized the effect this addition of 75,000 Republican votes will have on Missouri, which up to less than twenty years ago was a safely Democratic State and recently has been a doubtful State.

What is true of Missouri is true of several other States. In Ohio and in Indiana it is estimated that the negro vote of those States is the decisive factor every time those States go Republican. That is to say, it is claimed that these two doubtful States have never gone Republican except by majorities less than the amount of the negro vote. This is the equivalent of saying that in every election for a generation Ohio and Indiana would have gone Democratic if the negro voters of the State would either refrained from voting or had voted with the Democrats.

In Illinois it is estimated that upward of 150,000 votes have been added to the Republican strength in that State by the migration of negroes into it during and since the war.

The entire negro vote outside the solid South—that is to say, the negro vote in the States north of the Mason and Dixon line, and also in such border States as Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee—runs into millions. In the past these millions of votes have always been a permanent asset to the Republican party. In every election they constitute a handicap against the Democrats. Some politicians of a thoughtful turn of mind are begining to see the possibility that this condition may change. The reason the negro voters are always on the Republican side is founded wholly on the memory of the Civil War. Sooner or later this memory will fade; sooner or later the negroes will vote according to other dictates—according to specific issues in the pending elections, or else they will come to distribute themselves between the two parties normally.

Negroes for McAdoo.

Some politicians who have little interest in the deeper economic and philosophical aspects of the negro problem and are solely concerned with it as an incident of practical politics, think the Democrats have a chance to bring about this revolutionary change next year. They say that if McAdoo were nominated it might turn out that the negro voters, either as a whole or to a large extent, would turn to the Democratic ticket. This idea is based on the certain fact that McAdoo is more popular with the negro voters—or, to put it another way, suffers less prejudice from the negro voters—than any Democrat who has run for office since the Civil War. The reason lies largely in a single act of McAdoo's public career, when he was in charge of the railroads of the country.

For fifty years, under the private management of the Southern railroads, it had been the custom in the South to pay one rate of wages to white firemen and white brakemen and a lower rate to negro brakemen and firemen. This was an accepted institution. The management of the railroads practiced it as a part of the custom of the country and the negro workmen did not resent it. It was a normal incident of the law of supply and demand in Southern communities, where negro labor is more abundant and therefore to be had at a lower price than white labor.

But when McAdoo took charge of the railroads he changed all this by a single ukase. He had a slogan, "Equal pay for equal work." He declared that negro brakemen and firemen should have the same wages as white brakemen and firemen. (He also decreed that both races should have higher wages than before.) The news of this action on McAdoo's part has spread by word of mouth throughout the entire negro population of the country. They think of McAdoo as having a point of view toward their race more friendly and more just than any leader they ever knew, either in industry or in politics. Travelers occasionally meet negro families, which, in a familiar way of expressing honor, have named their children after McAdoo. This is a tribute frequently made to Republican Presidents and Republican candidates for President, but probably never before paid by negro families to a Democratic candidate for President.

Inasmuch as many of the negro voters of the country are railroad men—Pullman porters and whatnot—and inasmuch as the negro colonies of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and elsewhere are largely railroad men, it is possible to see the potentialities in favor of McAdoo in this situation.

Ku Klux Klan.

Another large body which in all probability will vote as a group and which will contribute a factor of uncertainty to all guessing about the result of next year's election is the Ku Klux Klan.

Estimates of the number of members of this organization vary. It has been either claimed by the leaders of the klan or charged by the enemies of the klan, depending on the point of view, that there are as many as 600,000 members in Ohio and as many as 400,000 in Indiana.

Even if the number is only half these figures, it would be a fact that this large a group, voting solidly one way or the other, would determine the result in these doubtful States.

Nobody pretends to guess which way the klan will vote. So far as anything can be said a year ahead of the election, the klan might as readily vote for one party as for the other. What they actually do when election day comes will depend on something in the personalities or associations of the candidates, some utterance or other from one of the candidates, some plank or other in the platforms.

It may readily turn out that the decision which will lead the klan to vote one way or the other may be brought about by some irrelevant accident of the last two days of the campaign, like the famous phrase "rum, Romanism and rebellion," which defeated Blaine forty years ago.

The existence of the Ku Klux Klan will add an extra burden of nerve-racking apprehension to party managers and party candidates. It will increase the danger inherent in last-minute accidents. Last year in Indiana the incident that caused the Ku Klux Klan to vote against Beveridge and thereby bring about his defeat occurred within the last six days of the campaign. If the election had come a week later the klan might as readily have voted for Beveridge as against him or might have distributed its vote in a normal ratio between the parties on other issues.

Practical Politics.

All of this is within the field of the more sordid part of national politics, the field of so-called "practical politics." Thoughtful persons to whom it is distasteful to think that the national election next year may be determined by such considerations as this will hope that some one or the other of the candidates will have the genius to elevate the campaign above this level by raising an issue within the realm of thought, so that argument on the issue will be so energetic and absorbing as to cause the public to vote on the issue rather than on the basis of racial, religious or other affiliations.

And yet can one ever be sure that any issue in the world of the intellect or in the world of idealism can ever be sufficiently elevated to be safe from the disposition on the part of the practical politicians to bring about mass voting based on prejudices that either are related to the issue or can be related to it?

Probably there was never a more exalted issue than the question whether or not America should join the League of Nations. And yet it is perfectly well known that in the election of 1920 large masses of people voted on this question not on its altruistic aspects, but rather on the relation of the issue to racial cleavages. The Irish voted largely with the Republicans. So did the Germans, the Italians and most of the other racial segments of our population, except perhaps the comparatively minor units composed of Poles and Jews. (So good a Republican authority as Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge wrote the other day: "In the last presidential election Mr. Wilson, by his stand on Fiume, lost to the Democratic party the bulk of the Italian vote.")

In this respect the Democrats see some hope next year. They have observed that the settlement of the issue between Ireland and England has tended to remove this as a factor in the voting of the Irish on American domestic issues. They have observed, also, that, while the Irish in America quite generally voted against the League of Nations in 1920, yet the Irish in Ireland have since that time actually joined the league. For these two reasons the Democratic leaders hope that the Irish next year may come back to their normal political affiliations.

Germans Coming Back?

Also, the Democratic leaders believe, and in fact it is generally so reported by competent political observers throughout the country, that the German voters are coming back to their normal political affiliations. The Democratic leaders claim that the German voters, who compose an exceptionally intelligent section of the American electorate, have come to a change of sentiment. In 1920 they voted against Wilson and the League of Nations because they believed that Wilson had been a party to the peace conference, which imposed what they regarded as too harsh a peace on Germany. The theory is that the German voters now see that Wilson and the League of Nations meant to do better by the Germans and would actually have brought about an earlier and more satisfactory peace than has happened in a situation where Wilson is absent, where the League of Nations is not operative and where the Republican party is in power.

Some Democratic leaders think that the Germans next year may act in a manner which has some analogy to the way the Irish used to vote. The Irish occasionally voted against the party in power because they felt it had done nothing to help this oppressed Nation. In the same way, according to this theory, the Germans will feel that the homeland of their ancestry has been cruelly bedeviled during a period when the Republican party was in power and did nothing effective to help.

The Democrats who think this way are quick to be suspicious about the recent gesture of the Republicans looking toward buying

some $20,000,000 to $50,000,000 worth of wheat and giving it as a present to distressed Germany. These Democratic leaders, thus moved by suspicion, refuse to see in this maneuver an ordinary episode of either statesmanship or charity. They see it as a device designed, on the one hand, to placate the distressed wheat farmer in America, and on the other hand, to placate the German voter.

It is not possible to make any dependable surmise as to just how the League of Nations or anything within the whole field of foreign relations will figure as an issue in next year's elections. When Mr. Wilson on Armistice Day gave out an utterance which seemed to affirm completely and passionately his old stand on this issue the cry immediately arose that he had by this utterance brought the League of Nations to tthe front again as an issue.

It may be said that this cry emanated less from Democrats as an expression of faith than from Republicans as an expression of a kind of malevolent hope. The fact is that the number of Democrats who either expect or are willing that the issues next year shall be determined by Mr. Wilson is comparatively small. The sentiment of reverence for Mr. Wilson is practically universal among the Democrats. But most of the Democratic leaders and most of those who are close to the situation feel that while Mr. Wilson is a venerable figure who must command immense respect and devoted sympathy, yet the nature of his isolation is such that his occasional utterances do not and can not form the basis of party doctrine.

Wilson Not Platform Maker.

There are some Democrats who are willing that Wilson should have to the party the relation of authoritative expounder of its doctrines. The Democrats who feel this way are persons of the highest type of mind and conscience. But, relative to the party as a whole, their number is not large. The great bulk of the Democratic leaders, while they have the most devoted reverence for Wilson and rank him with Lincoln, nevertheless feel that his isolation, his inability to relate his utterances to actual conditions throughout the country, must make them unwilling to yield him the position of authoritative platform maker.

This feeling has percolated throughout the country so generally that the Democrats do not feel committed by Wilson's occasional utterances. To a large extent the Democrats have lost the fear that the Republican strategists may—as they undoubtedly will—single out sentences from these occasional pronouncements of Mr. Wilson and insist that they are fundamental doctrine for the Democrats in the next campaign.

And yet, even though Mr. Wilson in his isolation is removed from that direct contact with party affairs and from that understanding of sentiment throughout the country which would enable him to dominate the platform, nevertheless, the ideas with which Mr. Wilson has been associated have such potency that they are going to be embarrassing to the other Democratic leaders.

For example, in Tennessee recently there has been a senatorial fight in which Wilson's friends have sought to proscribe Senator Shields of that State because he was not a supporter of Wilson during the latter's presidency. In the course of this Tennessee fight it was commonly said that for the Democrats to go back on the faith of 1920, or to pussyfoot on it, would be "to admit that Shields was right and Wilson wrong."

A similar embarrassment to the Democrats is sure to arise in Missouri. In that State in 1920 Senator James A. Reed sought to be sent as a delegate to the Democratic national convention. He was defeated because he was disloyal to Wilson and Wilson's doctrines. Next year undoubtedly the same situation will arise. Senator Reed will again seek to be a delegate to the national convention and his party will have to determine whether, on the one hand, to keep Reed at home and thereby affirm the faith of 1920, or, on the other hand, to give Reed this function and honor and thereby go back on the faith of 1920.

Cox for League of Nations.

Of rather more importance really than the fact that Wilson is still for the League of Nations is the fact that, as commonly believed, ex-Gov. Cox of Ohio is still for it. Mr. Cox is in perfectly good health, is very energetic, is high and active in the party councils, knows Democratic sentiment throughout the country and has a considerable personal following. If Mr. Cox next year, in addition to Mr. Wilson, should insist that the Democrats reaffirm their faith of 1920, it will be extremely embarrassing for those other Democratic leaders who prefer to forget 1920.

In the recent State election in Kentucky in which the Democrats won a decided victory, one of the leading causes of that victory was the presence of Ex-Gov. Cox, who stumped the State, and in his speeches reaffirmed the faith of 1920. In his Kentucky speeches, Mr. Cox said:

"If the world is to progress, if good is to triumph over evil, light over darkness, reason over strife, then civilization will put an end to war. And no method can be adopted except the accord of nations. If the Republican party wants to subscribe to a policy of darkness and desolation that is its own affair. But it will find one of these days that it can not commit the country to a program that opposes everything which common sense, education and religion suggest. I am convinced that the Democracy will continue its sponsorship of the greatest moral cause the world has ever known."

100,000 NEGROES HAVE GONE NORTH, SAY SOCIOLOGISTS

Associated Press Report.

NEW YORK, Nov. 5.—Surveying the present migratory movement of negroes to the North, which has stirred students of sociology, the National Industrial conference board, an organization affiliated with many large manufacturing concerns, tonight issued a report asserting that this year about 100,000 negroes had left their homes in the South. The present movement, the report set forth, "is almost wholly industrial and has been to a considerable extend induced by the shortage of common labor in the North."

The board found that the normal annual movement was about 10,000. During 1916 and 1917, however, it was estimated that, in a wave of hysteria, approximately 400,000 negroes had left the South, as "whole communities, entire streets of people and even church congregations headed by their pastors moved North and located as units in the important industrial centers."

Discussing the present movement, the board reported that negroes had been induced to come North either by employers sending into Southern States labor agents who in turn employed local agents, or by migrating friends who either voluntarily or upon request had spoken or written to friends in the South, urging them to move.

Two definite problems, the board said, had grown out of the migration; first, the relation of the white and negro races, "by no means an insuperable problem," and second, housing.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
News
DEC 3 1 1923

MR. SAUNDERS TAKES WHIRL AT THE RACE QUESTION.

W. O. Saunders, the facile editor of Elizabeth City, recently wrote an article for Collier's weekly paper giving his reason why the black man is migrating from the south to the north. Mr. Saunders in his vigorous style opens his article with this statement: "I am a southern white man, born and raised in an old-fashioned southern country town where the population was about half black and half white. I have lived nearly all my life in the south and close to colored people. When I was a child I loved my 'ole black mammy' and played with negro children without prejudice. But I grew up to dislike negroes generally, just as almost everybody in the south does, for no particular reason at all except that a 'nigger is a nigger.' I came to manhood with a southerner's dislike and contempt for black folks."

Editor Saunders' unequivocal confession leads the Manufacturers Record, printed in Baltimore, to rise up in its wrath and challenge the editor makes the point that all southern people dislike the negro.

"The Manufacturers Record knows no language that would fitly answer these statements," begins the Record's reply. "There are, indeed a certain class of people in the south, as those known by the negroes of old times as 'poor white trash,' who hate the negro. They will hobnob with him and drink with him at times, and place themselves on a social par with him, although the negro is really far above that class, and then they will as occasion offers fight the negro, or sometimes shoot him. But these people no more represent the real people or the real sentiment of the south than the vilest black criminal represents the real negro element in the south."

When Mr. Saunders grew into his nonage, we believe it was the practice among certain elements of white people of the south to hold an aversion for the negro, it was the thing to do. But the old order passeth.

The people of the south, especially in North Carolina, are realizing more each day that the negro is in America through no fault of his own; he is now well entrenched among us, he is here to stay. Now the question that confronts every intelligent man is: How can we best adjust ourselves with respect to this African race. It is up to the white man, as ruler of the land, to educate the negro along industrial and sanitary lines; he must do this for his own self-preservation. If the negro is allowed to live in ignorance and in insanitary places his degeneracy makes its impress upon the whites. It is much easier and much more humane to lift him up than let him pull us down to his level. "Social equality" is a term not employed by intelligent white people, in connection with this situation; and the attitude of intelligent negroes is one of resentment to its use. It is a concept of aliens and fools.

Today the negro is enjoying a few benefits of life that 25 years ago were absolutely alien to his being. North Carolina is doing much as any other state in the union of states to bring about better relations, a better understanding between the white and black men. The state has not suffered any appreciable exodus of the negro to the north which speaks well for the state's progress in dealing with the question.

We do not believe that the white boy of today is taught any such nonsense as to "dislike" the negro. In some communities, he may be, but it is conspicuously an exception to the rule.

In recent months many negroes have ventured into the north. Large numbers are returning to the south after learning that the glamorous tales of how the black man is treated in the north are nothing short of bosh.

The south understands the average negro better than any other section in the country, and is therefore better qualified to deal fairly with him. And yet there is much ground to cover before the ideal is reached.

Education moves slowly, but it moves surely; not many years will pass before the negro will be given his rightful place in his community—and that means his "rights," things to which all are entitled and which may not be denied in a government of law. It will be a place the occupation of which by the negro can injure neither the white race as a whole, the white man's civilization, nor the individual white citizen. Racial prejudice will continue, to preserve racial integrity. Of course: everybody knows that.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

THIS PICTURE, PAID FOR BY "BLOOD MONEY" OF SOUTHERNERS, IS LURE TO OPPRESS YOU

Chicago Defender 10-13-23

Good Times North A Myth Colored Man Finds

This Is Not a Picture Drawn From Imagination of What Happens to the Negro Who Leaves His Happy Home in the South and Goes North. It Is Based on Solid Fact. Read Below Stories Taken Not From Southern But Northern Newspapers.

We show above for your benefit a copy which is a true reproduction from another page advertisement printed in a Southern newspaper as a message to you direct from the Southern white man. You in the South are doubtless familiar with this paper, the New Orleans States, and ought to know its policy toward our Race. First, we would call your attention to the newspaper which is put into the hands of this Race man with its advertisements. Aside from the fact that the price of shoes is made about three times as high as they actually cost and coal twice as expensive as it really costs in Chicago, this little effort to show conditions might be all right. Of course, if you must wear $16 shoes and $40 overcoats one thing is sure in Chicago or anywhere in the North, the salesman has no objections to trying them on you and you take the kind of shoes you really want, and not the kind the white salesman thinks you ought to have, as you do down South.

Then we want to call your attention to the man pictured on the river bank fishing. You will notice that he has no shoes at all. Yet he is supposed to be happy. Even a wild Indian wears moccasins. Now if a white man will lie about one thing it is a pretty safe bet that whatever else he says is a lie as well. All he wants is to throw dust in your eyes. This is the kind of man he wants you to be—with blue jeans and with bare feet. But is he bringing up his own children to go without shoes? Then why do you suppose he thinks your children can get along without them? Look around at your cabin in which you were born and reared. Look at the dirt floor and the windows without glass. Then ask your folks already up North about the bath rooms with hot and cold water all the time and the steam heat and the electric lights and the glistening hardwood floors which down home you only see when you polish them for "Mr. Charlie." Then ask yourself if all these things which self-respecting, ambitious men want and ought to have are not worth almost any price the people who provide them may put upon them. How do you suppose the Race people already here stay here if it was not for the fact that they make enough money to pay for these things?

What chance has the average Race man to get these things down home? And if he does get them how would he be sure that some night some poor cracker will not get his gang together and come around to drive him out without any particular reason other than that the rednecks think he is getting along too well? This paper does not tell you of the magnificent churches and clubs which you and your people have bought and run to suit themselves. It fails to mention the fact that your nickel is worth as much as the other fellow's nickel on the street cars and that you ride wherever you can find a seat. Or that you don't have to wait 25 years for the white folks to build you a school house as the people in Atlanta have done. You just send your child to the nearest school where all the other children go and ask nobody's permission. You tip your hat to no white man unless you know him and desire to do so. Your wives and daughters walk the streets unafraid and without any danger of being called by their first names by some strange white man. There are no special regulations for Race men and no particular part of the sidewalk for you to walk on. You are a man and expected to carry yourself as such with the privilege and opportunity of paying for what you want and what you don't want you don't have to take.

You know that the white man's idea of a decent, God-fearing Race man is one who does as he is told and submits to the slightest wish of a white man because he is white, and not for any good reason. We are through with the "hat in hand, yessir, boss, Race man." We want them all to have a chance to live and act as other men do before they die. We want our women to love and respect us as their protectors and not have to protect us from other men with their honor and very souls. You will not be fooled by these lying tales, and you will come North when you get ready and times are right to see for yourself what it is that brings the foreigner across the ocean to a strange land, when all you have to do is to step on a train and ride for a night and a day to freedom and opportunity for yourself and your children. If you get nothing else but a good time out of it that is your fault. And, at least, you may have that good time without asking the permission of any white man as to how to spend your money. If that Southern white man could get along without you he would not be spending his money for these special messages to you. He needs you now because you are making yourself scarce. Keep him in need of you and you can bargain with him. Let him do the praying for once, while you rest a while and look on. It will do him and his wife good to try out the sun and and sweat in the cotton field as you have done. Perhaps he may be more willing to pay something like what it is worth to the next Race man he hires.

Negro Migration Problem Discussed at Big Bethel

ATLANTA, GA., Constitution — SEP 10 1923

The negro migration problem, which is now occupying the attention of leaders of both races in every section of the country, was discussed from every viewpoint at a meeting held Sunday afternoon in the auditorium of Big Bethel church as a part of its educational and thanksgiving anniversary.

The program included addresses by prominent white citizens and by leaders of the negro race, and proved one of the most instructive yet held in the interest of creating a better understanding between the races.

There were more than 1,000 people present when the meeting started at 3 o'clock, a large number of white people being present. The program lasted from 3 until 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and no phase of the migration situation or causes leading up to it was left untouched.

Clark Howell, Jr., Speaks.

After the invocation had been offered by Dr. R. H. Ward, pastor of Allen temple, Clark Howell, Jr., business manager of The Constitution, delivered an address in which he dealt with the problem facing Georgia in a clear and concise way, stressing the economic and social disadvantages to be met by negroes in a foreign section of the country and contrasting them with advantages of southern institutions.

He stressed the fact that the white man in the south sympathizes with the negro and understands him, and that he is more willing to work for his best interest than is the case with people in a section in which the negro has lived only a short time.

Law Enforcement Urged.

An address by W. Woods White showed the relation of the southern negro to the law. He said that many negroes attempted to escape the duty of assisting in the enforcement of the law, but that this percentage is now decreasing. His advice was for the Georgia negro to carefully consider any change of residence and to weigh all the possible disadvantages with the apparent advantages before making a decision.

"Think the whole thing over slowly and then make your decision," he said. "Show an interest in your brothers and care for them. That is the only way to build a nation and a great civilization. Be patient and wait for the great nation which is in the making."

Judge George Hillyer, who was to have presided at the meeting was detained and A. Montgomery, of the Coca-Cola Bottling company, acted as chairman. Judge Hillyer, however, arrived in time to make an address in which he said that the problem of the races was an old question, and one that would take the best thought of leaders of both to successfully solve.

"Up until 1865 there were probably not five separate churches for negroes in the entire south," said the speaker. "Then the negroes sat in the gallery and white people downstairs. A better feeling was felt between members of the two races then.

"Not more than 300,000 negroes were brought from Africa to America. At the end of the war census reports showed that there were between seven and eight million. Now there are nearly twelve million in the south. Nothing in history rivals this growth."

Dr. Richard Stinson, of the Atlanta Normal Industrial institute, said in his address that the normal work in Atlanta needed more money. The school, according to the speaker, always has been ready to help every boy and girl in Georgia and has done much to eradicate illiteracy.

A report that Atlanta churches would help rebuild Big Bethel church, which was destroyed by fire February 16, was made. One report said that more than 600 members of the church had left for the north since the migration began. A collection was taken at the meeting for the building fund.

Rev. R. H. Singleton yesterday said that many of the negroes who had left had returned after they found the true conditions which existed there. The best of the southern negroes are remaining in the south, he said.

The Migration About Ended

Presumably, very little more will be heard of negro migration from the South to Northern States until such time as there is further need of labor in the industrial districts which European immigration can not supply. Houston Post

Thousands of the negroes are said to be homeward bound, due to the hostile attitude of the people of the localities to which they migrated. Several months ago labor agents from the North were scouring the South Atlantic States telling the negroes of the greater industrial opportunities which awaited them in the North, plus equal rights before the law, "social equality," no jim-crow cars or separate schools. The prospect was more than thousands of them could resist, and away they went. Houston, Tex.

The other day, threatening letters received by some negroes caused about 1500 to leave South Bend, Ind.

Now the mayor of Johnstown, Penn., has given orders for all negroes who have not lived there seven years to move on. And this in Pennsylvania. 9-20-23

We wonder what has become of the Constitution of the United States in Pennsylvania? Wonder if Johnstown has ever heard of the Bill of Rights? Conceivably, many negroes included in the seven-year period have good jobs, possibly homes. Yet, the order tells them peremptorily to move on.

Within recent weeks Southern newspapers have received propaganda from many Northern and Middle West centers urging negroes to remain away, that there was no work for them and they were not wanted. The Post has printed none of this stuff, feeling that the negroes were within their rights in seeking to better their condition in the North, if they felt that they could do so.

But The Post has doubted that there was a welcome in the North for these migrants, save in exceptional cases where cheap labor was in demand. There is nothing new in this Northern attitude toward negroes. Labor unions, which are strong everywhere in the North, have never been friendly to negroes. Economic opportunities there have been scant for the average negro workman. The jim-crow cars are lacking, as are separate schools, and the Northern people have not been unwilling for the negro to vote, as his natural inclination is to vote the republican ticket. But when it comes to work, that is another matter.

Moreover, as negro colonies become denser in the larger cities, race prejudice in the most acute form makes its appearance. It would not be accurate to say that our Northern brethren do not like negroes any better than Southern people do. The plain truth is, the North does not like them at all, whereas in the South there is an ancient friendship for them that has survived all the influences which have arisen to destroy it.

There is a Southern objection to the negro's activity in politics, but this is not confined to the Southern democrats. Southern white republicans, most of whom formerly lived in the North, in some of the Southern States have almost barred him from political activity in party affairs. But there is no economic bar to the negro's progress and wellbeing in the South. Thousands of them are home owners in the cities and farm owners in the country, and so far as The Post knows there is not in the South anywhere an industrious, law-abiding negro who is without kind and influential white friends.

But in expressing itself as not surprised at the turn matters have taken in the North as a result of the heavy migrations of the negroes, The Post feels that it has not said all that should be said about the action of the mayor of Johnstown, Penn., in ordering out all negroes who have resided there less than seven years. It was an act of atrocious brutality that violates every consideration of mercy and justice, and tramples under foot the most sacred guaranties of the Bill of Rights.

WINSTON-SALEM N. C.
SEP 21 1923

The Migration Explained

Writing in the September Atlantic Monthly on the fundamental causes of the negro migrations, E. T. H. Shaffer, a Northern man who has lived for years in the South, shows that the ravages of the boll weevil and the subsequent diversification of crops have not only made the labor of negroes in cotton growing sections to a large extent unnecessary but that "the presence of the helpless mass of unneeded tenants and serf-like laborers" had become "a matter of grave concern."

And he adds that "as there is no place for such a class either in the new scientific warfare required to grow cotton under boll weevil conditions or in the intensive struggle which it takes to bring to success a modern diversified farm," and as the negro "has never taken any part in industry" in a great many of the States of the South, that is worked in cotton mills, it can be understood why "the agricultural upheaval in the South today is casting forth tens of thousands of negroes to distant corners of the Nation."

This is a very different picture from that presented in the newspapers which attribute the exodus to the fear of lynchers and to ill treatment in general. But even admitting that there is basis for this latter view, it remains to be said that the migrating colored people are hardly likely to find themselves much better off in at least some sections of the North.

For example, we cite again the situation in Johnstown, Pa., where the Mayor ordered all negroes not resident there for as long as seven years to leave at once and two thousand of them are said to be hurriedly departing, not including the large number of them now in jail. We read that the Mayor's stern order "followed rioting in the negro and Mexican colony, in which three policemen were killed and two others wounded." Negroes entering Johnstown hereafter are ordered to "report at once to central police headquarters" so as to give an account of themselves, and "assemblages of negroes, except in church, are forbidden." Has the South ever been convicted of such treatment of all negroes for the sins of the few

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., News
JUL 23 1923

Negro Leaders And Those In Whom The Race Has Confidence Have A Duty.

With the fiscal year just beginning, and a quota of 71,565 aliens being admitted to these shores each month, and of the number about 25,000 being workers in lines demanded by Northern industries, it would be well for the negro preachers, leaders and others who can reach the ears and understanding of the drifting portion of their race to do so.

Many of these aliens are skilled men—men of experience in steel and other industries. They either went home to their national colors during the war, or else remained here and accumulated money during the war and after, and then went back to see about their kin, or in attempt to live in luxury there upon their accumulations. Depreciated currencies and war taxes have made the United States preferable—and they are returning in great volume and slipping back into their places in the industries.

Cleveland, Ohio, where many negro laborers have journeyed and which has absorbed thousands of them, has requested the Ohio State Department of Labor to issue a warning to negroes that more of them must not come to that city; the midsummer dullness is on, and the point of saturation has been reached. Moreover, the authorities of Cleveland point out that while many of these negro migrants are obtaining temporary work at unskilled labor out of doors now, it is not ninety days until this class of work will be curtailed greatly by weather conditions, and thousands will be out of employment and charges upon the charity of the city. Being out of work in the Winter time down South and up North is a vastly different proposition, as many of these colored folks will find out to their sorrow.

Information from Michigan, from Illinois and West Virginia is of the same tenor; that the labor shortage has been overcome and there is beginning to be accumulated a surplus of labor, increased by continuing accretions of colored migrants from the South.

The United States Department of Labor, which maintains a bureau in Birmingham jointly with the city, has given warning of these conditions. If negroes continue to go North expecting ready employment at high wages, they will find themselves in a desperate condition. Those among their race capable of conveying the message to these possible victims of circumstances should lose no time in doing so.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

The City Club On Migration

Atlanta Independent

The City Club is a civic organization of white men which spends a deal of its time in the discovery of economic inefficiencies and inadequacies in the community life, with a view of discovering the causes and effects and applying remedies. Of late, the club has been giving its attention to the migration of the Negro as an economic deficiency, and published its findings a few days ago in The Daily Constitution. But the report did not go beyond the fundamentals underlying the movement set out in the **state-wide address** issued from a **state-wide conference** of Negroes which convened in Atlanta, Georgia, July 4, 1923. Atlanta, Ga.,

The club seems to content itself to restate in substance the findings and remedies suggested by this state-wide conference, and to give a resume of the bankers' report of migration made by the Honorable James S. Peters, President of the Georgia Bankers' Association, some time ago. In fact, the club both admits and confesses in its report the correctness of the fundamentals set out in the address of the state-wide conference and the bankers' report.

First—In a way of counseling patience and to ease economic alarm, the club takes the position that migration is in no sense sectional, but national.

Second—That the movement is not new, but old, and goes back fifty years.

To the first position, we answer that the movement is sectional, and that the Negro is not migrating from but one section of the country, and that he is migrating from that one section to the other three sections—east, west and north.

9-13-23

To the second position, we answer that the movement is new—that the distribution of ten thousand people a year from one section of the country to another is in no sense migration, but is natural distribution, and will not disturb in any sense the economic or social welfare of any section; but the moving of one hundred thousand people from Georgia, and, as a whole, five hundred thousand from the south, to the north, east and west, is a new feature, growing out of the consummation of old conditions. which has presented the Negro with a new problem, namely:

First—The lawless element has grown bolder and bolder each day, until the average Negro lives in a state of terrorism.

Second—His housing conditions on the farm have gone from bad to worse.

Third—The unequal enforcement of the law.

Fourth—The prevalence of mob violence.

Fifth—The lack of economic opportunity to earn bread.

Sixth—The labor contract system.

Seventh—The general unfriendliness of the white man.

The club's report states our whole case when it says:

"At a recent conference of Negroes from every section of the state, presided over by Bishop J. S. Flipper and substantiated by informed white citizens, the industrial vacuum found a maximum of labor in the south at just the moment when there were few, if any, attractions to counteract the eonomic pull, and that the local causes which are impelling the Negro are as follows:

(a) Low wages for farm labor.
(b) Poor housing conditions.
(c) Bad working conditions on farms managed by overseers.
(d) Lack of educational facilities.
(e) Inequality in law enforcement.

The report further says:

"But these causes are symptoms only of actual conditions, which are basic.

"We must admit without hesitation that Georgia has paid too little heed to the improvement of its educational standards, and this is as true, comparatively, for the whites as for the Negroes. Until our whole plan for education has been thoroughly modernized, we cannot hope for an influence on this migration issue from the schools.

"It matters not whether this inequality be grave or petty, nor whether it proceed from judge, jury or contracts with white business men, it is none the less an element to be reckoned with. Certain it is that the Negro cannot be blamed for our failure to accord him that measure of justice to which he is entitled, regardless of race or color. It is true that the Negro finds in the southerner his most understanding friend, and a degree of helpfulness which he cannot find elsewhere, but it is also true that too little heed has been given to material comforts and conveniences for the Negro."

The report further surmises that

"There can be no question but that there are two means by which migration may be retarded. One is to open wide the gates to immigrants and thus fill up the labor vacuum with foreigners, and the other is to change completely the conditions in Georgia to put them on par with those of the industrial centers. Neither of these will stop the movement, for the Negro has himself learned his adaptability to industry and the ease of life with a fixed wage to the uncertainty of existence on the farm.

"And yet, because of the Negro's natural inclination to 'stay put,' North Carolina has so changed conditions that migration has practically ceased. Individuals here and there in Georgia, recognizing the need, have had no difficulty in holding their Negro farm labor and their tenants.

"In other words, it is an absolute economic situation which can only be changed by altering the conditions, both primary and secondary, which brought about the functioning of the economic law."

Georgia must follow North Carolina in these respects, as pointed out by the club, and migration will cease in Georgia as it has in North Carolina.

First—The equal enforcement of the law—affording protection to life and property.

Second—Adequate school facilities for the education of the Negro youth.

Third—Better housing conditions and a living wage on the farms.

Fourth—The suppression of mob violence and the elimination of the labor contract law, which reduces free men to peons.

Fifth—More economic opportunities to make bread and save a dollar.

Sixth—To grant the Negro at once every economic, industrial and political right enjoyed by any other citizen. The repeal of the segregation and zoning laws in the cities that seek to deprive the Negro of every decent community in which he seeks to build his home and become a permanent fixture in the community life.

Seventh—Satisfy him in the country by removing the fears from his mind that his church, lodge rooms and school houses will be burned while he sleeps, and fix it so that he has the same right before the law any other man has, and an equal opportunity in the fields, in the shops and everywhere else where men work to make bread and butter, at a wage that will enable him to take care of himself, educate his children, buy a home and sit down himself with the comforts that every American citizen who works is entitled to.

Labor — 1923.
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SHERMAN'S march to the sea cost Georgia no more than the loss she is suffering from the migration of her Negro population, according to the Georgia Bankers' Association, which is worried over a threatened reduction of State wealth by $27,000,000 this year, with 46,674 farmhouses left vacant, $55,524 idle plows, and a labor shortage already of 70,843 persons. If the present rate of exodus keeps up, the number of persons lost this year will equal the population of the average mid-Georgia counties. Land that brought from $40 to $75 an acre in 1919 now meets no demand at all and weeds are the only crop. President William A. Winburn, of the Central of Georgia Railway, wants more cheap labor from Europe and is bombarding members of Congress to let down the bars to immigration. While the Georgia Legislature dallies with a proposal to make it "a felony for any person or concern to solicit labor in Georgia for other States" and amends the general tax so that each labor agent in the State must, in addition to paying a $1,000 tax, give a bond to protect creditors of each person sent out of the State, the Negroes have held a State-wide conference. These Negroes, who represent 45 per cent of Georgia's population, point to discrimination in the distribution of agricultural relief, to the crowded tenements and farm shanties, to the unspeakable Jim-Crow cars, to the absentee landlord system with its indecent overseers, and to the $15,000 spent on Negro schools while $735,000 goes to white schools. And, they add, the Negro's life is too cheap; in the midst of mob violence no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble, and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe overnight. Too often he is made to feel that the law was designed solely for his punishment, but not for his protection.

THE fundamental error has been, the Negroes say, in attempting to run a democracy without all the people:

The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization. This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us. . . . We lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, has maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good white people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scarecrow of "social equality" and "Negro domination." . . . We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give. . . . We challenge you to join us as Christian people in the task of working out a program of justice, equity, and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both fullest opportunity . . . so absolutely essential to a w rounded humanity.

On August 17 a mob battered down the doors of the ja Cochran, Georgia, seized Aaron Harris, colored, hanged on a tree where others have been lynched, and riddled dy with bullets. The same day officers taking Lee Green, red, to the jail at Perry, Georgia, were forcibly stopped, and Green, a rope tied around his neck, was forced to climb a tree and then told to jump. When he refused, 300 shots were fired into his body and he fell lifeless from the limb. Is this to be Georgia's only reply to the Negroes?

Thomson Daily Sentinel

NOV 12 1923

Emmigration Of The Southern Negro.

The Sentinel has not had anything to say about the exodus—so called—of the Southern negro to the Northern and Western States, for the reason it thought the negro was as free to choose new homes for himself and his family, as were the white people who moved.

Just now, there seems to be a decided change of heart on the part of many who left the South for the dazzling wages offered, mostly for work which few negroes were capable of doing skillfully. Many tales are coming down from the States where the Southern negroes went in such numbers, but the most amazing of all comes from Pennsylvania—that wondrous State in which the City of Brotherly Love is situated; that State which did so much to encourage the runaway negroes before the War; that State which is filled and overflowing with a class of immigrant from Europe that few self-respecting Southern negroes would associate with, "back home."

In Georgia, the planters and small farmers suffered hardships in more than one way, when the farm hands and their families joined the train of negro "movers." Many of those who owned land woke one morning to find a plantation which had been supposedly safe for the planting season, on which many dollars had been spent for food and clothing for the hands, without a single tenant, and the resultant loss to be borne with no chnce whatever of a come back in payment.

But the employment agents from the North continued to come South, fill the ignorant negroes with tales of great wealth, social equality with the white working folks in the Land of Dreams, and the bait was swallowed. The reaction has set in! just when the average farmer had adjusted himself to the changed conditions, and when farms were being tenanted b more white hands than had been the case for years——along comes the S. O. S. from many of the travellers, and urgent plea is made for return tickets to home—and comparative comfort; at least, out from the frozen North, which takes such heavy toll, every winter, of its poor.

But to get back to Pennsylvania: the Mayor of Johnstown had ordered all negroes who have been residents there for less than seven years, to leave—and spend little time in the leaving. One of the professors of a negro college in Washington, took a trip to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and this is what he reports, the conditions affecting a negro population of 4,000.

"The population consisted largely of raw recruits from the South without the wholesome influence of home, church or social agency. The men lived largely in stockades, where dampness, dirt and disease were their constant companions. I visited a stockade with 100 inmates. There were no modern sanitary provisions. The sheets and pillow cases, judging from appearance, had not been changed for six months. Smoke and dirt and grease had accumulated upon the floor half an inch thick. My soul sank within me as I saw splendid specimens of physical young manhood, fresh from the open air of the South, immersed in this dreadful environment, destructive alike to body and soul.

"I visited one shanty in one of the remote hollows with four rooms and 37 inmates. There was a single lamp without chimney, whose dense smoke stifled the air. I was driven through the red-light district, which was too loathsome to attempt to describe. Dirt and dampness brooded over the place and made it pregnant with disease and death. Pneumonia took its daily toll. Human life is simply impossible in such an environment as this.

"Under such circumstances only two modes of pastime are predicable: immorality and gambling. These men were all employed in the mills at remunerative wages. The surplus left from the exactions of the boarding house keepers and stockade tax was spent in carousing and gambling. When a set of men gamble among themselves, one man's loss is supposed to be another man's gain. But in Johnstown all the men are broke and no one seems any better off after the game is over."

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Atlanta, Ga.. Constitution

JUL 1 1923

Prominent Men Discuss Negro Migration Problem

Ex-State Senator Perry Gives His Views on Migration of Negro

Editor Constitution: At a meeting in Jackson, Miss., H. W. Stone is quoted as saying: "I have lived in the delta for sixty years, I have lived among and handled negroes, and the reason the negro is leaving Mississippi is because some white men are swindling them. I know lots of folks who have become rich in this way."

I am not familiar with the people of the delta and do not dispute Mr. Stone's statement about the people of that section. I have lived in Georgia and worked with negroes and employed them for seventy-four years and I most emphatically assert that Mr. Stone's statement does not apply to this section of the south. There are men in all sections who will cheat a negro or a white man, but they are the exception. The people generally are willing for the negro to have all that belongs to him. The negroes for a long time have been sufficiently educated to know when a man cheated them and soon that man could not hire any negro. The men who treat them right are the ones who get the labor. Neither has the negro left the south through fear for the mob law or any ill treatment.

He has not migrated in search of better schools or better houses, with city water and baths. He prefers to go down to the rock shoals on the branch where the alders grow thick and step down into the clear, running water and take his bath. Many folks are imagining many things that moved the negro from the south, but most of the reasons are purely imaginary. Two things moved the negro from the cotton fields and his beloved sunny south.

The first was the deflation movement forced on the country in 1920 by our national financiers at the time when cotton was selling for 40 cents per pound, and when the south had paid the largest price for making a crop of cotton that had ever been paid. The negro had his all staked on 40-cent cotton. When the price of cotton dropped from 40 cents to 10 cents the negro farmer's all was swept away from him—he was "busted." But, as he had a pig for Christmas and enough corn to do him until credit opened up and a few landlords and supply merchants were willing to risk another crop, the negro went to work to make a big crop in 1921 and pay his debts and get another start. Cotton was again good price.

That summer the boll weevil came to the cotton plant and the result was about three hundred pounds of seed cotton to the plow to pay fertilizer bills, mule feed, etc. The negro was not only broke, but his credit was gone. He loved cotton because cotton gave him credit, but the boll weevil had robbed him of his credit. The supply merchant and the landlord had lost all they put in and could not help the negro. He could not get help—he must do his best to live. He left the south unwillingly, but forced by necessity.

Do you wonder that he was ready to listen to talk from the north and west about high wages? More than 90 per cent of those who have left the south were moved by deflation and the boll weevil and, in my opinion, the south can stand this migration better than some other sections.

The negro has largely clothed the world while he and his family went bare of clothes for want of money to buy them. The negro will never again be forced to work so cheaply. The world must pay more for cotton. The money-makers of the east, the spinners of New England and the world, the bankers and business men of the entire country do not realize the cut that is obliged to be made in the production of cotton on account of the migration of the negro from the cotton fields. Not only have the negroes left, but deflation and the boll weevil have moved many of our white men who could get a job in the city or another state away from the south.

What are the land owners of the south going to do? First, determine to make a living at home for man and mules and cattle and hogs and chickens.

Do not try to make so much cotton. The south can stand on a short cotton crop much better than the world. Under the system of farming that we have followed for many years the negro cannot make a living without cotton. We must help him to learn to make something besides cotton and corn. The land will not bear making corn year after year. Help the negro all we can by giving him all the work we can. The land owners can afford to have his cotton lands drained. Hillside ditches dug around the bottoms to keep water from going over and injuring the bottoms. Do all we can to keep up and improve our land. Keep negroes in buildings to take care of them. Keep land from running down while we cannot make much out of it. Plant peas and other legumes on all the land we can. Have land in better condition when times get better. Where land is in grass—let it grow. Work on the bare places and get it covered with some crop. Help the negro by finding employment for him and teaching him to make something else but cotton. We need the young white men to take hold and utilize the negro.

Too many young men here left the farms. We need them back in preference to foreigners. The sawmills are giving many negroes employment now. This will not last. Make ready to use the labor when the sawmills leave, so the negro will not be forced to leave the country to make a living.

G. D. PERRY.
(Ex-State Senator.)

Madison, Ga., July 9, 1923.

Judge Blanton Fortson Agrees With Jacobs On Negro Exodus

Editor Constitution: I have read with profound interest Dr. Thornwell Jacobs' article in Sunday's Constitution on the negro emigration and hasten to endorse it and to congratulate you upon opening your columns to so full a discussion of this most vital question to the south.

De Tocqueville, writing in the year 1832, remarked in his "Democracy in America" (Vol. Chap. XVIII.) that "the most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory."

Viscount James Bryce, writing sixty years later, said in his "American Commonwealth" "But for one difficulty the south might well be thought to be the most promising part of the union, that part whose advance is likely to be swiftest and whose prosperity will be not the least secure. The difficulty, however, is a serious one; it lies in the presence of 9,000,000 negroes."

All discerning foreigners who have made a study of the question have reached the inevitable conclusion, so far as I am aware, that this section will be perpetually retarded in its development so long as it contains so large a proportion of this inferior race.

Our own thoughtful observers have reached similar conclusions. Thus that distinguished Virginian, Philip A. Bruce, in his "The Plantation Negro as a Freeman" expresses the almost universal opinion of those who have thought the problem out in its larger aspect, when he says:

"It would be far better for the whole country if he (the negro) were withdrawn, even though withdrawn so suddenly as to wholly blight for a time the material interests of the south. It would be better, indeed, for that entire section to be relegated to its primeval condition with a view to its being settled again exclusively by a white population just as if it were virgin territory, than for it to maintain its present position partially through the manual exertions of the blacks, but with the individuals of that race increasing so rapidly as to threaten the extinction in the end of every element of prosperity, with no hope of subsequent revival."

The old theory, not often heard now, that white men cannot work in the southern climate has, of course, been utterly exploded. Most of the cotton, I believe, is now made by white labor; in fact the southern summers do not have the intense heat of those of the western and mid-western prairie states.

Indeed it cannot, I believe, be questioned that with our climate, soil, forest, minerals, waterpower, harbors and other natural advantages, had the south been populated only by white men of the Nordic strain it would be today, instead of the least, the most advanced section of our country. So firmly have some of our thinkers been convinced of this that they have seriously advocated compulsory emigration of the negro.

And now, as it seems, when in obedience to economic laws there is beginning to be a voluntary and orderly bringing about of this most desired consummation, some of us are inclined to view it with apprehension and others even to thwart it.

Should we not, on the contrary, do all that we can, legitimately, to promote it? Can we not see ahead of the immediate and temporary depression of agricultural paper and the value of farm lands to our ultimate deliverance?

I believe that we can. I believe that the convincing logic of Dr. Jacobs' position will be recognized and the conferences that have been called to consider the question will come to his conclusions. I also believe that if the thought and energy now being marshaled in an effort to stop the negro exodus be directed rather towards alleviating the temporary distress it is entailing the migration will be accompanied by a minimum of financial disturbance.

Perhaps the solution lies in further amending our immigration laws so as to admit a proportionately larger number of northern Europeans and to reduce the number of all others and then endeavor to divert the desirable immigrants to the south.

But whether we get immigration or not, and we certainly do not want any that cannot readily be assimilated, the present exodus of the negro, if it be maintained at its present rate for the next ten years, will be a transcendent benefit to the south.

BLANTON FORTSON.
(Judge Superior Court, Western Circuit.)
Athens, Ga., July 9, 1923.

NINE REASONS WHY THE NEGRO QUITS THE SOUTH

EVENING WORLD
JULY 30, 1923

Conference in Atlanta Lists Causes of Exodus to the North.

PAY NOT ONLY ONE.

Lure of Industrial Plants Is Great, but Can Be Overcome.

By Robert T. Small.

Evening World Special Correspondent.

(This is the record of a series of despatches by Mr. Small, dealing with the Negro migration from the South to the North and West.)

WASHINGTON, July 28 (Copyright).—How is the South to put a stop to the exodus of the Negro—the worker who has been the backbone of the industry of the Southern states?

It is admitted now that the granting of certain reforms that the Negroes have been fighting for will not check the swelling flow to the North because the main impelling force behind the movement at this time is the big pay offered for common labor in many of the industrial centres.

The prospects dangled before the eyes of the Southern Negroes by the labor agents who get paid "by the head" are generally beyond the wildest dreams of avarice and nothing can stop the Negroes thus influenced from making their way as best they can to the promised land.

Government agents in the South, investigating the movement, have reported that in some states they find the only way to stop the migration and get the Negroes back to the farm is to pay them higher wages.

What the leaders of the Negro race in the South actually want from the whites, however, is best to be understood by the address just issued from a statewide conference of Negroes held in Atlanta. Bishop J. S. Flipper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Georgia, presided. Disclaiming any effort at incendiarism or radicalism, the Negro declared their sole intention to be a citation of the conditions which are causing Negroes to leave Georgia for Northern population centres. These are the causes given:

Lack of credit facilities for Negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for Negro children.

Poor accommodations for Negroes on the railroads.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is requested.

Mob violence.

These then are from the mouths of the Negroes themselves, the questions that the Southern people as a whole have got to study and to meet as they deem best and proper. The Contract Labor Law unquestionably is one of the serious problems in Southern States. The Government agents have reported that a breaking down of the contract system has contributed largely to the exodus of the Georgia Negroes. Under the contract system the Negroes could not leave an employer who had advanced them money and the system was so devised that the Negro generally was in debt. If he attempted to leave while in debt he was promptly arrested and brought back.

The Government agents also report that in certain Southern States there is no question but that soliciting and advertising have been important factors in getting the migration under

...es in the boll weevil district ... have caused the Negro farmers to give up the struggle in the South and speed away to the promised riches of steady industrial employment in the North.

The World War must stand its full share of responsibility for helping the migratory movement of the Negroes and this, of course, is a psychological problem with which the South is helpless to deal. Government agents are inclined to put the unrest caused by the war at the very top of the contributing factors in the labor movement. Returning Negro troops who had seen something of the world, were not content to live again on the farm. They had had a taste of city life and the contentment they once knew in the country was theirs no more. With the Negro as well as the white it has in truth been a question of "How are you going to keep them down on the ... after they have seen Paree?"

In most of the Southern States where opinions have been gathered within the past two days, there is a disposition to feel that the present condition is one that will right itself. Not many Southerners believe in the efficacy of restrictive legislation. They rather feel that such acts will aggravate rather than ameliorate the situation. Such legislation it is felt will be used as a vehicle for propaganda against the South.

It is admitted everywhere that the migration has become a problem more or less serious for the big plantations, lumber mills and other industries employing much common labor. There is talk even that many of the big plantations may have to be broken up. People in the North do not realize the size of some of these farms, but may get an idea of their extent by the declaration of a Georgia legislator that forty families had left his farm and others were preparing to leave.

Carrollton Ga Times

JUL 12 1923

Negro Migration to the North and Boll Weevills in the South

We have been greatly impressed since getting home and back into the harness at the manifest interest and activity of the people along certain lines and have been made to wonder at the lack of active interest along certain other lines.

First, we find here at home that our business men are seriously in earnest and really desire to help the farmers of Carroll County fight the impending disaster in the destruction of the cotton crop by the boll weevil. So interested are the business men of the town that many of them closed their doors in order to hear men of experience discuss this destructive pest now threatening the cotton crop.

Men of experience have been called and have come to confer with our farmers with a purpose of helping destroy the weevil.

This is well, since the farmers are not more vitally interested in the production of cotton than are business men and we trust that a mutual interest will unite all and result in the complete routing of the weevills, driving them from our midst, and forever and a day.

The other question that is eliciting unusual interest is that of the migration of the negro from the cotton fields of the south, where he was bred and born, to the over crowded labor centers of the north. A situation alike hurtful, as the public sees it, to the farmers of the south, who must have farm labor as it is to the negro himself; who is forcing himself upon communities that are already over crowded with unskilled labor, and particularly southern negroes. The situation is alike serious to the cities north as it is to the cotton planter of Georgia who cannot farm and cultivate his lands without labor of the negroes, who hav gone north. However, there does not seem to be that widespread interest among the people on this latter question that its importance demands.

It is now like locking the stable after the steed has been stolen. In some sections the negroes are practically all gone, and the farmers are in doubt what to do. We were told a few days ago that in one South Georgia community where the farms are very large and labor scarce that the farmers were going to go up into the mountain sections and try to get the white men to go down and cultivate their farms.

They will not do it. They will not live in the houses that the negro tenants lived in. They will not become tenants when they have heretofore been the freest people on earth. They will not quit their mountain cabins.

There is but one thing to be done unless the negroes return and many could be induced to do so, if proper steps were taken.

These steps should have been taken sooner. Better houses should be built for them—better living conditions should have been provided—more intelligent systems of farming should have been required of them. Lands should have been conserved and made more fertile year by year, instead of being depleted and run down daily.

Our farm demonstration agents should work on the landlords of the country; it is they who need education and who should be taught how to farm.

Recently, we have seen thousands of acres of land that were being cultivated that have been so depleted, so run down, that it is a crime for any man to waste his time trying to cultivate it, because it is so "poor" that under most favorable conditions it cannot produce enough to pay the expenses of the farmer.

Did you ever, friend reader, see one of the little cabins built for a tenant? No garden, no fruit trees, no pasture for cow or pig; no home life and nothing to look forward to.

All of these conditions are unnecessary and could easily be corrected as they should be at once. It is pityable to see some of the houses and environment of the average tenant on a Georgia farm.

The present exodus of negroes is primarily a result of the boll weevil infestation of the south. When they came the blow they hit the cotton planter was terrible, but the effect on the negro tenant was even worse. He not only lost his year's labor in the crop destroyed, he lost also the opportunity to make another crop, his home and all that he had relied upon for a livelihood, because few farmers had the hardihood, when the weevil first came to attempt a second crop and the poor negro tenant, penniless and homeless had to see new fields of labor, many of them went north, others continue to follow.

Had a more humane policy been adopted toward these tenants conditions would be different today.

It is not yet too late to change and it behooves us to do so. Better living conditions should be provided; life on the farm should be made worth while, and above all different methods of farming should obtain.

Lands should be built up by a system of rotation; pastures provided and more comfortable homes provided. Muchof the land cultivated in Georgia is too poor to produce profitable crops of anything grown; these can and should be built up easily by proper rotation of crops, pasturing etc.

Too much land is cultivated, one half of it intensively cultivated would yield more and better crops, while the other half could be built up by planting to leguminous crops.

The business men of our towns and cities should take up these two subjects, and they are closely allied, and in a proper adjustment of them lies the solution of most of the ills now complained of.

Houston Ledger

JUL 23 1923

Sure, Put the Law on Them

Records of the present session of the Georgia legislature fail to disclose any effort as yet to repeal the law of gravitation, but Georgia statesmen are not idle. Other laws little less fundamental are not escaping, and the session is young yet.

Georgia is bothered by the migration of the negroes, so to put a stop to this practice of the negro looking for a better job somewhere else, one solon has introduced a bill making it a felony for any labor agent, licensed or unlicensed, to recruit labor in Georgia for out-of-the-State employment.

In the face of the State's need to retain its negro workers, neither the law of supply and demand, nor the little matter of the right of private contract is to be allowed to stand, if this statesman has his way. The expansion of industry shall not affect Georgia. The influence of the growing demand for labor will be stopped at the Georgia line. The category of crime will be enlarged to encompass the offense of offering a Georgia citizen a better job outside the State.

The State, in case the bill were to become a law, would take up a form of peonage. Georgia would out-isolate the isolation the senate bitter-enders would fasten on the United States.

Yet the bill is not so ridiculous, relatively speaking. Aren't the legislatures and the courts being called upon to remedy all ills and grievances, real or fancied? The Georgia proposal is in harmony with the spirit of the times. It is only another manifestation of the mania for law. Georgia needs these negro laborers. Therefore, put the man in the penitentiary who would give them a job elsewhere. If that doesn't stop them from leaving, perhaps an injunction could be obtained.

Singularly enough nobody seems to have suggested the only plan that will really keep the negroes at home—wages and living conditions to meet the competition of out-of-the-State employers. It is much easier to regulate such matters by law.

478,700 NEGROES TREK NORTHWARD IN TWELVE MONTHS

Telegram

10-25-23

Washington, D. C., Oct. 24.—A study of the northward migration of southern colored men and women, made by the labor department, indicates that 478,700 Negroes left thirteen southern states in the year ending Sept. 1. The figures were compiled from state, municipal, and industrial sources. The migrations by states were as follows:

From Alabama, 90,000; Florida, 90,000; Mississippi, 82,600; Georgia, 120,600; Virginia, 10,000; North Carolina, 25,000; South Carolina, 25,000; Louisiana, 15,000; Tennessee, 10,000; Arkansas, 5,000; Kentucky, 2,500; Texas, 2,000, and Oklahoma, 1,000.

Southern observers have advised the labor department that during winter months, in their opinion, large numbers will return south.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

MACON GA TELEGRAPH
JUNE 5, 1923

NEW ENGLAND AROUSED

The news comes from Boston that New England is disturbed over the exodus of Southern Negroes who are arriving there, and the Boston Chamber of Commerce has made an appeal to the New England Governors in which it points out that it is well neither for New England, the colored people who are already there nor for the Southern Negroes themselves for large numbers of them to seek employment and residence there. It is set forth that forty per cent of the thousands of Negroes who have arrived there from the South this year are now unemployed and are dependent upon charitable organizations.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce concurs in the statements of Governor McCloud of South Carolina that "it is well for the thoughtful colored people to bear in mind that the exodus of the Negro from the South is by no means entirely the Southern white man's problem. He can, of course, in time recover and will. It is primarily the problem of the Negro. He goes to a new home, different occupation, different climate, different surroundings and must find his way among another people than those among whom he has been accustomed to live." The Boston Chamber of Commerce also agrees with the Governor of South Carolina that race prejudice exists in New England. While the ordinary New Englander will be slow to admit this, the treatment that is being accorded the Negroes en masse furnishes the proof.

An editorial in the Philadelphia Bulletin of May 1 calls attention to the fact that "thirty-eight people living in less than a dozen small rooms, seven of them sick with small pox, no preventative vaccination in the group," threatens the health of Philadelphia. These thirty-eight people came from the South. "Hundreds of others of the same class have come; there will be thousands coming to Philadelphia before the present demand for labor is satisfied; and many of them are coming into just such housing conditions as were discovered in the infected dwelling."

The editorial goes on to state that there are no proper housing facilities available in Philadelphia for the influx of Negroes coming from the South. They will be taken into houses already crowded beyond the possibilities of sanitation.

While The Telegraph would like to see the Negroes who go North do well there, and feels that the distribution of the race problem will be in the interest of the whole country, the truth is that going North does not admit the average Negro into the kind of a paradise that he is looking for. It is difficult for anybody to migrate, especially to an old civilization or even to where the land is all taken up and all desirable things except the air owned by somebody. It is especially difficult for those who are not wholly welcome to the life they are entering.

The settlement of a new country makes one a pioneer and calls for special daring and resourcefulness. America was originally settled by those in quest of freedom of religious worship and freedom in government and freedom of opportunity. America gathered the daring spirits of the Old World, and the primitive conditions here gave the environment for the development of a great people. The conditions have so changed that America is not attracting the same kind of immigrants that she did in the beginning, and they are not receiving the same kind of a welcome now that they received when the country was calling so loudly for more settlers and home-builders. The fact that the doors are being barred against immigrants, and the demand for workers in Northern industry, are causing attractive offers and appeals to the Southern Negro to go North. But while the industrial captains want the Southern Negro, he is not welcomed by the Northern people as a whole. While the Southern climate suits the Negro and while the Southern white man has come to understand him better than anybody else, and while the best people of the South are heartily interested in securing justice and opportunity for the Negro, the problem is such a big one that a scattering of the Negroes all over the country will tend to bring about a kind of a common understanding that will enable the nation as a whole to pull together instead of work at cross purposes.

OCT 11 1923

WHY SO MANY NEGROES LEAVE GEORGIA

Savannah, Ga., Oct. 6, 1923.
Editor Commerce News,
Commerce, Ga.

Dear Sir:

The subject of migration is constantly being discussed by newspapers all over America. Negro farmers have left Georgia by the thousands, are still leaving and if our economic conditions in the rural districts do not change, others are likely to follow.

At first only the shiftless farmer left, now the best farmers are going. We do not want them to go. Not only because we believe Georgia is the best place for the law abiding, thrifty, industrious negro farmer, but because we believe that the law abiding thrifty, industrious negro farmer is best for Georgia, and that when he is made to see this point, all other things being equal, the negro farmer will plough his field with contentment, harvest his crops with satisfaction and make the soils of Georgia yield forth abundant crops, and it is with this thought in mind, I write to you, seeking your earnest co-operation, knowing that the press of the country directs the thoughts of the people and as a result largely influences their actions.

The newspapers can do more to control migration than all the laws passed by the State Legislature to prevent the operation of labor agents by simply publishing from time to time, something definite and concrete, showing where negro farmers all over Georgia are progressing, making good crops ,owning land and receiving the proper protection due any law abiding citizen. Force will not make a man live in a free country, but hpapiness and contentment will, and when thousands of negor farmers read in the daily and weekly papers of how John Doe did this or that, they will become encouraged to do likewise and hundreds who have left, will read and return to their native land, many of whom were forced away because of dire necessities of life.

The negro extension staff with its agents located at the Georgia State Ind. College, working under the supervision of Mr. J. Phil Campbell, Director, Extension work, State College of Agriculture, Athens, Ga., publishes once a month, a bulletin showing the progress being made by the negro farmers, farm women, boys and girls. From this bulletin, concrete statements will be released monthly and we will appreciate if you will use this matter in any way you see fit in your valuable paper.

Thanking you in anticipation of a reply at your earliest convenience making suggestions as to how we can best serve you in making these reports, and assuring you of our sincere appreciation of your co-operation, I am,

Very truly yours,
E. A. Williams,
State Agent for Negro Work.

N Y C FINANCIAL AMERICA
OCTOBER 27, 1923

MIGRATION OF NEGROES

With the announcement by the Department of Labor of how many negroes migrated from the south to the north from thirteen states during the year ended on September 1, it is not difficult to understand the why of the very evident worry below the Mason-Dixon line. The total is put at 478,100 with Alabama furnishing 90,000, Florida 90,000, Mississippi 82,600, Georgia 120,000, Virginia 10,000, North Carolina 25,000, South Carolina 25,000, Louisiana 15,000, Tennessee 10,000, Arkansas 5,000 Kentucky 2,500, Texas 2,000 and Oklahoma 1,000.

From these figures it is clearly shown that efforts to curb the migration by such means as forbidding northern labor agents to operate openly and cheaply and other schemes promulgated, did not have the effect desired. It is quite likely that with shivering weather on the way, thousands of these southern negroes will again turn their faces toward the sunnier clime. The north can expect their return however, in the spring unless wages are raised in the southern states to a level more in conformity with those prevailing in this section of the country. It is this fact of insufficient remuneration for service which is responsible for the flocking to the north of colored labor, and the heavy migration will be continued until the south offers the negro worker some incentive to stay there.

"WHY SHOULD LABOR EMIGRATE FROM ALABAMA?"

Birmingham Reporter

Why should labor emigrate from Alabama? Such a question is going the rounds of the State and a checking program is offered.

In The Birmingham News Thursday, October 11th, an entire page was taken by a narrative from the subject, "Why should labor emigrate from Alabama." The article is the expression, as stated, from economic leaders of Alabama and is to be one of a series. We cannot say whom the economic leaders of Alabama are. But whoever they be, we must bow in congratulation for what they have had to say. This publication has long been wedded to the principle of absolute justice to all humanity and we believe that that justice can be had in one section of America as well as in another when the dominant race decides that it will be and the humbler group protests against everything except justice. There is no feeling on our part for any special association or particular arrangement for the colored man's comfort, save the arrangement that is provided in our laws and so sanctioned by our Supreme Courts. It is not a question of new laws. It is a question of obeying the old ones and properly administering them. 10-20-23

The article by the economic committee makes an attack upon the South or its system of government. The attack is drastic and yet we must admit that the charges are true and the remedy is in the hands of the dominant forces. The Negro desires no place more than his home. This is a natural disposition of humanity and all animal life. He leaves home reluctantly, desires to stay, but will not continue under oppression when he finds satisfactory means of escape. The South needs every sensible native Southerner, whether that man be white man or black man. The South needs to consider more progressive measures and these measures can best be carried on by a fairer consideration of all the people in our states.

Whatever the troubles are and disadvantages offered in other sections, the Negro is going to continue to leave the South unless the policy of the South is materially changed respecting his interest.

In a page of matter on this subject two very striking paragraphs are used. While we do not certify to the truthfulness of all the utterance, it runs close to the situation and so nearly describes the condition that we here print the paragraphs: Birmingham, Ala.

"There are no laws on the statute books to which the leaders of Negroes, and they speak for their race, object as discriminatory. They have no quarrel with the Jim Crow laws. They want segregation. They know the white and black must live apart, but they want their observance of racial legislation matched by that of the whites. They want the spaces set aside for them by law kept inviolate for them.

"This desire extends beyond the simple divisions in street cars. It reaches down to the fundamentals of their existence here or wherever they may go—the home. When sections are reserved for their habitation, they want to be assured of this permanency, in order that when homes are builded and accepted as secure they may be kept so, and not moved on because the ruling race suggests they do so."

We all agree that greater opportunity is offered for the livelihood of the Negro in the South than elsewhere. Customs and methods are easy for him in the South. A living is hardly a question. Full civil protection and educationa advantages are denied and there is where he suffers. This remedied and there is no place on earth to equal the South for the Negro. While the economic committee has severely arraigned the South, using for its subject, Alabama, i might be said in a sense of fairness that conditions have been worse than they are and they are growing better every day, and such expressions as were made by the economic committee may aid in advancing the spirit, and yet such exposure almost always has the tendency to create more enemies for the present than the making of friends. In a battle for justice and fair play there is no better rule of action than to go forward with a knowledge of the condition and a desire to do right.

Alabama is a great State, one of the richest in the Union. It has a large Negro population. It is marked for its notable Negro history in commercial progress, literary training and military daring. Alabama is great because of her possibilities and the inspiration of her past history. It is almost entirely in the hands of the white people themselves to continue prosperity, save the State by saving its population and especially that group of dependable men and women who have proved loyal and faithful during all the ages. Every Negro of intelligence and character should get close to every white man of intelligence and character. The covenant should be renewed for co-operation as it once was when the association for the protection of the whole was so necessary. If we can unite to save ourselves against others—a foreign foe—then it should not be hard for us to work out a program to save ourselves from ourselves.

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION
JUNE 6, 1923

WARNING TO NEGROES.

The newspapers of the industrial centers of the north and central west, into which thousands of negroes from the south have flocked during the past few months, are becoming greatly alarmed at the situation, and are holding out no encouragement to the emigrants.

These papers reflect public sentiment, and not only sound a note of warning to the old population of these centers, but unhesitatingly, and with utmost frankness, raise the red flag of danger before the negroes, and those responsible for their movement into their communities.

The Philadelphia Public Ledger, in a very candid editorial discussion of the negro movement, declares:

"So far as the north is concerned, the incoming labor is being readily absorbed, but practically no provision has been made to solve the housing problem created by the addition of upward of 100,000 negroes within six months to the various industrial centers. One result has been the increase of an already serious congestion in those sections of this and other cities inhabited by colored folk, with an increase of rents out of all proportion to the value of the accommodations furnished. This city has already experienced the dangers to public health that attend this sudden, unregulated influx of labor and the neglect of adequate preparation for and precautions against the introduction of contagious disease. It is a danger that cannot be ignored."

There is no mistake that the movement forbodes hardships, diseases and deaths to the negroes to a staggering extent, and the southern leaders among them—those in whom they have confidence—should spread the warning, not as seen alone from a southern viewpoint, but from the northern viewpoint particularly.

When newspapers of these northern industrial centers frankly admit that cost of living for the negro is rapidly advancing, and that housing congestions are most menacing to his health, those who have not made the serious mistake should "stop, look, listen," and weigh carefully the costs before they make the step.

The negro should be treated fairly in the south, of course, and the negro should be fair to the south. But aside from any sentimental or sociological considerations, as a matter of conserving material welfare and physical health, the negroes should be acquainted with conditions as they are, and not as they hear them from emigrant agents who are paid by the head for their delivery like dealing in chattels.

Negro Migration Solution Declared to Rest With Whites.

Atlanta, Ga., July 5—[Special]—Declaring that the negro, as a race, does not desire to leave the South, and asserting that the remedy for the conditions causing his migration to other parts of the country is in the hands of the white man, a state-wide conference of colored leaders meeting here today issued a statement to the state legislature calling attention to some of the reasons for the present situation and asking that steps be taken to keep colored laborers on the farms and in the factories of the South.

Among the causes given for the present migration are:

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.
Low wages for farm labor.
Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and rural districts.
Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers in the absence of the owners.
Lack of educational facilities for negro children.
Poor accommodations for negroes while travelling.
Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.
An unfair labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.
Mob violence.

In connection with educational facilities, it was pointed out that of the $750,000 spent by the state of Georgia for higher education, only $15,000 had gone to negro institutions during the past year.

The legislature was urged to enact an anti-lynching law, leading negroes preferring to have it come as a state enactment rather than as a federal law.

More than 500 colored people and leaders from all over the state attended the meeting, and the petition to the state legislature bore the signatures of many colored leaders.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Picayune

NOV 26 1923

NEGROES COMING BACK.

Copiah County Planting 12,000 Acres in Vegetables.

Hazlehurst, Miss., Nov. 25.—Many of the negroes who went North are returning home in time for the making of a vegetable crop this year. It is indicated that Copiah's labor shortage is not to be as great as it has seen in former says. More than 12,000 acres will be planted in vegetables this season. Hundreds of acres of carrots are planted and coming up. Cabbage are being planted in the hotbeds and will be coming up in a few days.

Manufacturers Record 7-12-23

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

OCT 6 1923

HELPING THE NEGRO.

Editor W. T. Anderson, of The Macon Telegraph has addressed a letter to a number of Georgia newspapers—daily and weekly—concerning the so-called "negro exodus" from Georgia; how it came about, and how to remedy it.

Mr. Anderson takes the position primarily—which seems sound—that nothing is to be gained by suppressing authoritative information touching that phase of things in Georgia; that the remedy is to be found in frankness and intelligence, publicly expressed. Mr. Anderson contends—and this writer again thinks he is correct—that the negroes have been leaving Georgia mostly because the inflow of foreign labor has in the North been stopped and Northern manufacturers have been forced more or less to "take on" the Southern negro as a laborer. Whatever may be the collateral causes, that is the nub of the thing, Mr. Anderson things. He is right.

As an initial something to corect that, Mr. Anderson suggests that "the newspapers of the state give special attention to the work being done under the direction of Professor Phil Campbell, at the State College of Agriculture." In that capacity, Professor Campbell has throughout Georgia a number of negro farm demonstrators at work improving production by negro farmers, thus enabling them to become more prosperous—more nearly satisfied and content. And that's all right; good work.

Mr. Anderson's final advice in respect of the matter is significant. He says: "Carry stories in your paper of negroes who have ben conspicuously successful in their efforts.... that will inspire other negroes with the confidence that they, too, can do well, and possibly get their names into the paper, which, by the way, is a great incentive even to white people."

And that's all right, too, this writer thinks. And by way of supplementing Mr. Anderson's conclusion, I submit this thought, which well may be borne in mind: In order that the newspapers of the state MAY carry conspicuously stories of successful enterprise and effort among the negroes, that the negroes generally thus may be inspired with confidence and hope, it is essential and necessary that he variouts communities throughout the state CREATE such stories.

Successful negro enterprise and effort will not "just happen." It must, in the very nature of things, be encouraged, openly and aggressively—in many cases actually inaugurated—by the whites. But when such a co-ordination of enterprise and effort IS effected and developed successfully and to the especial credit of the negro, then the newspapers are in position to proceed, upon the facts, to the publication of the good news—for itself and for the further good that may come of it.

—Atlanta Georgian

THE NEGRO'S VIEWPOINT

A SCORE of the leading Negroes of Georgia have issued a statement to the White people of the State as to the exodus and conditions in general, a part of which statement is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia: Greetings:

We, the undersigned representatives of forty-five per cent of our State population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously favored this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the entire globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our Southern States. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our State, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic, and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and it is possible to be for a longer period than either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of Negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for Colored people, than our own Southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last fifty years, may be greatly retarded, and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if conditions could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away, might return.

Of these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy, if you are willing so to do. . . .

In a democracy, one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the Colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The Colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of a ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show, that as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the White people among whom we have lived for centuries. W lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good White people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scare-crow, "social equality" and "Negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the Colored man in the governmental affairs in our State, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the White group to the end that the White man of big business and of big business capacity, may also be eliminated from the politics of the State, and the government left to the mercies of their rapacious ambition. How well they are succeeding, let the laws of the statue books and the condition of our State Government tell.

We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality or desire for Negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood this test, let the pens of your own illustrious worthies and the tongue of your own immortal Grady tell.

We, their sons and daughters, modestly though proudly boast that we are "chips off the old blocks." Our record of patriotism is common knowledge to all, and we only covet a fair chance to serve in the largest possible way, our fellowmen.

It is written that "Man shall not live by bread alone." We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to all well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest effort in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be,—the best and most beautiful of all the States in the Union. If you deny us this, and insist upon it, that we must continue our existence under the injustices which we have so much and so patiently endured, then we are frank to declare, that it were better for us, however sacred and enchanting the old home and church ground, however strong the ties that bind us to our good White friends of the South, of whom we know we have by far a larger number than have yet declared themselves in public, to leave these friends with a prayer of God's blessings upon them and to leave these homes and these churches and whatever other little earthly possessions we have accumulated within these years, to the ravages of fate, and as a "rendezvous for the owls and the bats," while we go forth empty handed to seek some spot upon this earth where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," we challenge you and await your answer.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Rev. R. S. Williams, D. D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D. D., LL. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D. D., Ph. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A. M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D. D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Industrial High School, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Weldes, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday school department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. S. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

The above was adopted unanimously as resolutions by the Negro conference in Atlanta last week.

GOING BACK TO DIXIE

The daily press of Dixie is carrying on an interesting but futile campaign of propaganda to stop the exodus of colored people. At first that press was openly alarmed and its editors viciously assailed the labor agents and the agitators, said by them to be responsible in part for the beginning of the movement. That press then, in turn, invented stories of racial crimes and inflamed the communities into riotous outbreaks in order to terrorize and intimidate the migrating colored folks. When this browbeating and brutal policy only drove an ever increasing number of colored people to leave, the Southern press decided to change its tactics. It then began the publication of fake letters from some of those who had left and who were made in these heartrending sham letters to appeal to their brethren in the South to stay there—away from the cold and hunger of the North. Colored preachers wherever possible were used and quoted to the same end. The most endearing and soothing Southern camouflage of "the Southern white people being the Negro's best friend," etc., was worked overtime in the mad effort to coax the persecuted black serfs that had not already left, to stay. Now the press of that benighted section of our country has adopted a slightly different policy. It now declares that the movement of the colored emigrants has turned back South again. Southern statisticians are further seeking to bolster up their lost cause by showing that the migration of the colored people has not lessened the acreage of tilled land. All of this buncombe will end some day and the Southern States will adopt a policy that will stop the wholesale exodus. The Southern States will realize that the way to stop their colored citizens from leaving will be to guarantee their treatment as equal citizens and not as chattel slaves. They will then guarantee their colored citizens the right to vote and the right to hold office. Those Southern despotisms will then abolish their unspeakable jim crow cars and their lynching bees and race massacres. They will then give colored children equal and adequate public school education and they will enforce the constitutional rights of the colored race to life, liberty and property. Then those colored migrants who have escaped from the bondage and baiting of the crackers will return if they please. But that will be generations hence, when the fiends who now infest and govern Dixie, and their children, shall long since have passed away.

New York News 11-10-23

CHARLOTTE, N. C. Observer
DEC 23 1923

Negro Migration And Its Effect On The Southland

Labor Conditions on Southern Farms Have Been Unsettled and Acreage Reduced—Anti-Labor Agent Legislation Has Not Been Able to Check the Movement of Individuals—Many of the Negroes Who Left Are Now Begging for Money to Return.

BY H. E. C. BRYANT.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—The negro movement from the south to the north has been along certain definite lines. Like sheep going over a fence, one following the other, negroes from a particular community have flocked together. For instance, a score or more Baptist congregations were transferred from Georgia to Cleveland, Ohio.

The negro migrants from the south follow accesible transportation routes. They have moved by stages, stopping here and there for a look-about or means of recuperating their traveling expenses. Memphis has been the principal clearing house for Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas negroes. Knoxville is a more western distributing point for them. In the eastern South Atlantic states Norfolk, Va., has been the first important stop, and from there the migrants have gone to Baltimore and Philadelphia, and on north. From Memphis thousands of them went to Cincinnati to be distributed to industrial centers north and west of there. The Illinois Central railroad has hauled more than any other carrier.

Anti-Labor Agent Laws.

Southern states have enacted anti-labor agent laws to protect their farmers from the outsider who gathers workers on commission. A license system is used. An agent pays $1,000 county tax and $500 city tax for the privilege operating. That is prohibitive in most counties, but in centers like Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham and Knoxville it works well and many of them pay it. But there is no way to stop the individual from going, and negroes follow the lead of some kinsmen or friend. Many schemes have been resorted to to land Georgia negroes in Memphis and other distributing points.

One well-known automobile manufacturer in the middle west has been very careful in his campaign for laborers. His instructions to agents have been that he would take none but strong, healthy men. This action was taken because of the fact that many sick negroes, some of them sufferers from tuberculosis and other fatal diseases, were found among the first shpiments to that section of the country. To get the sort of persons desired agents would have negro preachers send the applicants to doctors for insurance. This proved to be sufficient protection. In some instances employers deported diseased negroes back to their old homes.

Southern farmers have lost their laborers during a single night without ever havnig suspected any plan was on foot to take them away. This sort of movement was caused by well-known negroes returning from the north and west for the purpose of inducing them to follow their example. Colored churches suffered in these quiet movements. One church at Lone Oak, near Grantville, Ga., was 98 members short one Sunday morning following a Saturday night drive.

Some Individual Cases.

Mrs. Lula Powell, who owns a thousand acres of cotton land in the Newnan, Ga., neighborhood had tenants and stock for a large crop last spring. Every family disappeared between sun down and sunrise one day just before the crop was planted. B. F. Redwine of the same community lost 40 hands in a similar movement. T. E. Sanders, a neighbor of Redwine, had ten plows running one day, preparing for cotton, and none the next one. A school teacher, who conducted a farm with tenants, was well supplied with negroes for the year. One Saturday night in May he visited the farm, and found things moving on nicely. His four tenants were busy. The following Monday morning he went by to give some instructions, and discovered that his houses were vacant, and his mules had not been fed since he was there two days before. A little investigation convinced this farmer and his friends that a labor agent had taken his tenants away in the night on "transportation." From fifty to 75 per cent of the negroes in many counties in Georgia disappeared this way.

Judge W. A. Post, of the city court of Grantville, owns a large plantation in Merriweather county. It came down to him from his parents and he has farmed it after the fashion of a country gentleman. His negroes were treated well, and they liked him and his way of dealing with them. None of them left without notifying him of their purpose before hand. He employed from 10 to 15 families. The heads of two of these joined the "movement." One of them had been "mixed up in a little chicken" affair Judge Post explained, and departed. He wanted to come back, and right himself.

Had to Surrender.

"Now," declared Judge Post, "my negroes remained with me until I saw I could not afford to keep them. The boll weevil has made cotton farming a precarious business. When you plant you have no idea what you will harvest. I did not feel like backing my negroes at a supply store for provisions to make a crop. That was too risky. Therefore, with sincere regrets, I told them to look out for themselves. My best wishes went with them.

"Many of the negroes that left here went to Dayton, Ohio. Some of them have returned for visits, or to stay. They get more for their labor there, and report that they pay seven dollars for a room, by the month, and thirty or more for board.

"I expect to hear of much suffering among the negroes in the north this winter. They are not frugal, and have never learned to save anything for a rainy day. If they can keep at work they will make enough to live on. I have been told that large numbers of them do what they did here, work a few days, get a few dollars, and then loaf. That will not go well in the north."

Charles S. Culpepper, who owns a farm adjoining that of Judge Post, let all of his negroes go. Last year he worked a dozen families, and lost money. This year he had none, reduced his cotton acreage, and made home supplies and ten bales of cotton. The boll weevil did not do so much damage as he had been doing and Mr. Culpepper considers that he has done well.

The activities of the boll weevil and the migration of cotton-belt negroes are different phases of one big movement. The boll weevil struck the cotton producing section of Louisiana long before it began to show up in more northern states. Groups of negroes moved ahead of him.

Terrell and Sumter are leading plantations just across the river from here. Mr. Salisbury, who came here from Michigan 20-odd years ago, conducts a 65,000 acre cotton farm at Scott, Miss. He has more than 10,000 negroes on his lands. His business-like methods have brought to him a large measure of success. Less than 20 of his tenants joined the migration movement, and most of them have come back. He is successfully combating the boll weevil. Recently he has provided transportation for one or more families that left him to go to Chicago to return to Scott. One old negro went to join a son, who urged him to do so, taking with him $800 he had accumulated. The savings soon fell into other hands and now he is back on the old plantation to make a new start.

Reduced His Acreage.

Mr. Fontaine Martin, another Memphis citizen who owns large farming interests in the Missippi river valley lost 30 out of 40 of the families on one plantation last spring. He was forced to reduce his cotton acreage to one-fourth of that originally planned for the year, but he turned to corn and hay and made money because of the high prices for those products. A few of his old tenants are drifting back. One negro that received $4,000 as his share of the crop two years ago is now stranded in a Northern city, begging for money to get home on.

These are isolated cases, but they show what he is going on in the negro-bereft communities.

cotton counties of south Georgia

The boll weevil and the negro exodus have greatly decreased production there. From 22,000 bales Terrel has dropped to 10,000. Sumter has been cut in half.

Feared the Boll Weevil.

The first migration of negro cotton farmers in the south was from county to county to get away from the boll weevil. Then it extended from state to state. The last stand of the loyal producers of King Cotton is being made in North Carolina, and Missouri, states yet comparatively free from the destructive pest. Many well-to-do negro farmers have recently moved from the rich lands of the Mississippi valley to the new cotton territory of Missouri.

It is pointed out by southern land owners that the negro tenant prefers cotton to any other crop. That is the money crop, and if he is a good farmer, with a large family of workers, he can make a small fortune if left alone by the boll weevil and the price is high. This year many of those who remained, and were favored with dry weather, have done remarkably well.

What happened in Georgia followed in Mississippi except on a larger scale. The farms of the Mississippi river section are large as a rule. One landlord employs from a half dozen to ten thousand negroes.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

READING PA. TELEGRAM
MAY 8, 1923

Daily Editorial Digest

The increasing negro migration from the South is accepted as being due almost entirely to the shortage of common labor in northern industries which have resulted in wage advances which attract the worker from the farms. But there is a very decided difference of opinion among the editors of the nation whether the newcomers will be permanent residents, and whether, also, their leaving will seriously injure the South.

It is the high wages and better conditions that are attracting the negroes northward, the Boston Globe says, arguing that "if scarcity value begins to operate in the distribution of better conditions for the unskilled, the so-called labor shortage will not be without its benefits. When there are enough jobs to go round, those who work at them are not likely to be treated as hunkies." Other things directly responsible are "lynching" and "terrorizing," the Brooklyn Eagle thinks, but "if planters would compel fair play for the negroes, recognizing their rights under the Constitution no temptation would draw the negro away from the Cotton States. Climate, home ties, race inertia, all are powerful forces against wage-offers. But the planters have preferred a different policy and have only themselves to blame if labor is leaving them."

* * * *

In some respects this view has the endorsement of the Chattanooga News, which feels "the time is surely coming when living in the South will have to be made more attractive for the negro or else we are going to lose the advantage we have had because of his amiability as a day laborer." The exodus from the farm is in no way sectional, but the "South has no means of replenishing its depleted supply," the Philadelphia Bulletin points out, while "the limited acreage and reduced crops which are likely to result may be to the financial advantage of the favored ones who can carry on and possibly realize higher prices, but no section can prosper when a large part of its potential wealth-producing resources must remain unutilized." On this ground the Columbia State says the majority of negroes are leaving the cities and towns rather than the country and "less than half of those leaving have been farmers."

In the view of the New York Post, "as a whole the migration is a benefit to both sections and races. There is room for a wider distribution. Southerners still need to learn that the negro is an asset which must be not merely well treated but competed for; and they should make good their old boasts that they know best how to care for him." Whether that statement is so, or not, the Raleigh News and Observer holds "the negro's best chance is in the South. But a more general distribution is not to be feared by the South as it would lead to a better understanding of the race problem in other sections of the country." There also is little doubt in the mind of the Mobile Register that "the negro migration is unquestionably due to economic pressure, more than to any other cause, but critics of the South will not overlook the opportunity to point out that Georgia, which is notorious for its lynching record, has a much higher percentage of migration than any other Southern state." The movement also is "probably temporary," as the Dallas Journal sees it because "that type of laborer is at home in the cotton patch and not in the sugar beet field. When the wage schedules slump in the north, as wage schedules have a habit of doing, there will be some tall backtracking to Georgy and Alabam."

Negro Migrations

IN view of the increasing migration of Negroes northward to obtain higher wages and better opportunities, the work of the Committee on Race Relations assumes increasing importance. The Negro population of southern birth in the northern states has increased at the rate of about 10,000 per year, except in 1910 to 1920 when the average increase was over 34,000 per year. Shortage of labor due to restricted immigration points to a greater influx from southern to northern states this year.

Church leaders from eighteen cities in eight northern states met recently to discuss ways in which the problem of housing, employment, social betterment and religious needs may best be met. They recommended:

1. That local church federations, councils and other religious organizations cooperate to form strong interracial committees.

2. That these committees and the Christian churches study the situation in order to promote better understanding between the races.

3. That in each city one or more Negroes be appointed to aid Negro travelers in cooperation with the Traveler's Aid Society and the local churches.

4. That churches encourage movements for improving housing conditions among colored people, including Building and Loan Societies.

5. That the Interracial Committee interview employers, help to solve labor disputes, hold meetings for Negro laborers to increase their efficiency and morale, and discuss the subject with white people in meetings and through the press.

6. That the religious problem be studied and met by providing proper facilities for wholesome recreation, social centers, schools, church worship and young people's activities.

7. That training classes for colored leaders be formed in Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., churches and other Christian centers.

N Y C TIMES
JUNE 3, 1923

EXODUS A NEGRO PROBLEM.

South Carolina Governor Tells Them They Must Solve It Themselves.

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 2.—"The exodus of the negro from the South is more the problem of the negro himself and the community to which he goes than that of the Southern white man, Governor McLeod said today in a letter written to a negro leader in this State. Present economic conditions in the rural sections were held responsible by the State Executive for the migration of negroes.

"The most serious problem from the standpoint of the colored man," Governor McLeod said, "is whether or not his condition is going to be better and permanently improved by removal to the North. You must bear in mind the proven historical fact that while the Northern people love the negro en masse and as a race they have no affection or consideration for him as an individual

* * *

"It is well for thoughtful colored people to bear in mind that the exodus of the negro from the South is by no means entirely the Southern white man's problem. He can in course of time recover, and will. It is primarily the problem of the negro. He goes to a new home, different occupation, different climate, different surroundings and must find his way among an entirely different class of white people than those among whom ne has been accustomed to live.

"It is likewise a problem of the communities and States to which the negro is migrating. He is only wanted there as a laborer and is not welcomed by others than those in whose employment he goes. We have had experiences of the fact that race prejudice prevails in the North and in the West and expresses itself not only as against the individual, but en masse."

MAY 27 1923

WHY DO NEGROES COME NORTH?

To the Editor of The World:

The Literary Digest for May 19 gives many comments from editors in the territory affected upon the Negro exodus from the South to the North, in which you join with speculation that is as far from the truth as the rest of them. This class of migrants is not the South's better Negro element but a class that is ever on the go, seeking the most along the lines of least resistance. Not five years ago the same thing took place, to the bitter experience of most of the participants. How happy were these prodigals when they again reached the land of their fathers! This migration will meet with the same fate. It is a temporary drift of a floating population that is more than apt to depart in a single night. The North needs them to perform their menial labor and is willing to pay the price, since the foreigner upon whom she has formerly depended has been excluded.

A few of these dusky sons have gone up and reported a land "flowing with milk and honey." The nomadic instinct is inherent in the less industrious of this race.

You editor folk up there know nothing of the Negro and his habits, and, it would seem, but little of the causes that prompt large numbers of the human race to be ever on the move from place to place. To say the Negro comes North to "better his social and political status" is old stuff and will not bear analysis. Thousands of people everywhere, of every race and persuasion, are changing their places of residence, and not very many good reasons can be assigned for it either.

Mr. Editor, most all of these self-exiles from the land of oppression that are now nosing under your wings are the prey of "labor hawks," and a few weeks will find them in another town. Nothing permanent about it; nothing alarming. So please be composed and tell all of your neighbor editors not to use up all their ink in one editorial blast but be sure and save some to tell of the early return of these migratory birds. We people down here are not troubling much, and certainly are not losing any sleep that you need toot your horns so loud about it.

D. R. SMALLING.

Watauga, Tenn., May 20.

BALTIMORE MD. EVE. SUN
MAY 29, 1923

NEGRO EXODUS HITS SOUTHERN MARYLAND

Best Workers Leave—Stay-At-Homes Bootleggers, Is Claim.

TOBACCO GROWERS SUFFER

Situation Becomes Acute With City Wages Higher Than Farmers Can Afford To Pay.

The exodus of negroes from the Southern Maryland counties which has been going on for the last few years has left the farmers of these tobacco-growing counties in a plight for farm labor.

Southern Marylanders say that the more industrious negro workers, both male and female, have left the counties for either Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia or other Northern cities, and have left behind them a trifling and indolent class that are little help to anybody.

None Left As Waiters.

So scarce have negroes become in Leonardtown, according to tourists of that community, once thickly populated with colored folk, that the hotel has been forced to hire white help and white laborers are coming there for jobs.

Some Southern Marylanders of Baltimore who keep in touch with the situation down there say that prohibition has converted hundreds of these "stay-at-home" negroes into bootleggers and petty moonshiners who earn a living by plying their trade among their own people and a low class of white people.

Some of them run liquor, it is said, from the giant stills that are now and then discovered to Washington. Nearly every still that has been captured in Southern Maryland by the prohibition agents has been manned by negroes.

George I. Gardiner, secretary of the Maryland Tobacco Growers' Association, who keeps in about as close touch with farmers and county agents as any man in the State, said today that the farm labor situation is growing very acute in Southern Maryland.

"The negroes have been leaving for some time" said Mr. Gardiner," and this applies to both male and female. As soon as they get a little education or if they have a little more energy or ambition than the average they go to either Baltimore, Washington or Philadelphia. They are leaving the farms each day. I cover all of the tobacco counties and have been in touch with the county agents and they tell me that this is a condition that is general throughout Southern Maryland. It has been observed particularly ever since January 1. It is not only the colored laborers but the white laborers also.

The farmers down there cannot afford, with the price they get for tobacco, to compete with city labor prices and that, I suppose, draws the laborers away.

The farmers are really facing a crisis. Instead of paying $1.50 a day as they used to do, they have to pay $2 and $2.50 a day.

The city gets the more industrious of the colored workers, and the farmers down there are left what might be termed the culls. I wouldn't want to say that they are all bootleggers, although I guess there are plenty of them down there, but I do know that colored farm labor is becoming a problem to those tobacco growers."

Farmers Up Against It.

T. B. Davis, another Southern Marylander, who hails from Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's county, said that farmers were up against it in his section for farm labor on account of the exodus. Mr. Davis is connected with the Maryland Tobacco Growers' Association.

"The help down there is no good," he said, "for all of those that are any good leave and go to the city. I understand that is about the condition that exists in the other counties. The farmers are up against it."

William L. Marbury, lawyer, who has interests in Southern Maryland and who keeps in very close touch with Southern Maryland conditions, said today that there was a general exodus of negroes—more than there has always been.

"But I hear," said Mr. Marbury, "that many of those that are there are bootleggers. Conditions down there are becoming very bad on this account. It is one of the products of prohibition."

Reports about the shortage of good colored labor in the Southern Maryland counties have been reaching the city constantly ever since prohibition went into effect.

N Y C TIMES
JUNE 20, 1923

So. Carolina Loses 50,000 Negroes.

CLEMSON COLLEGE, S. C., June 19.—Fifty thousand negroes have left forty-one counties in South Carolina since Nov. 1, with a consequent abandonment of thousands of farms and crops, according to a survey conducted by the Extension Service of Clemson College. Figures for the other five counties of the State have not been completed. The average number of farms abandoned was 423 per county and the average cotton acreage abandoned was 1,051 acres per county.

Augusta Chronicle
APRIL 25, 1923

For Thoughtful People.

At the Union Depot yesterday we saw about 75 negroes aboard the Augusta Special of the Southern railway, which was about to leave for the North. Inquiry was made as to where they were going. Railway officials said they were migrating North, that before the train reached Columbia there would be many more aboard, that this occurred practically every Saturday, with 15 to 20 leaving on other days. These officials said that other railroads entering this section also report a heavy migration.

The Chronicle puts the question up for thoughtful people to consider. What is the answer? There is the best of feeling betwen the whites and blacks in this section. Therefore, they must be leaving for economic reasons. What are we going to do about it? We are coming back agriculturally, but when we really get to the point where we can make cotton successfully under boll weevil conditions, will our labor be gone? The Chronicle feels that our men of business, our professional men and everyone, man and woman, whether living in the city or the country, should ponder well the situation. And to show that the rest of the country is watching this migration we print the following editorial from the New York Times on the subject:

"The continued northward migration of negroes may well have far-reaching consequences. The movement asssumed serious proportions in 1915, and continued on a large scale throughout the war. Lured by high wages, the negroes left their Southern farms for the factories in colder climates. Not until the latter part of 1920, when the industrial slump made itself felt, was the exodus temporarily stopped. Today, however, the shortage of common labor in various occupations has again begun to appeal to them, with the result that several of the Southern States have had a serious decline in their negro populations. The Department of Agriculture reports that nearly 13 per cent. of Georgia's colored farm labor supply moved North during the last year, and from Alabama and South Carolina more than 3 per cent. of the total negro farm population left during the same period. Florida reports a loss of about 2 per cent. and Arkansas about 3 1-2 per cent.

"These figures are significant when it is considered that they represent the movement of one year only. Already in the South there have been complaints of the labor shortage which the flow North has occasioned. Much of the labor in the South has been intermittent. Many negroes who own their own farms have been content with earning a bare living. Negro farm hands, also, have generally been ready to lay off for a few days when they had a few spare dollars. The result has been to accustom the South to an abundance of labor. The renewed drawing away of the surplus by the prospect of high wages in the North is therefore naturally disturbing to the economic life of the south.

"In the North, too, the migration is felt. Except in certain regions, the newly arrived negroes have not come in numbers large enough to produce serious economic changes. As early as 1919, however the Government considered the problem of sufficient importance to establish a director of negro economics in the Department of Labor to help in making smooth the way of the negroes in their new environment. When any new people comes into a well established settlement there is always the possibility of misunderstanding—a possibility which is great enough when living standards differ, and which is even greater when race consciousness is strongly defined.

"According to spokesmen for the labor unions there are no restrictions against negroes joining those organizations. In the South there are locals composed entirely of negroes. In the North there are colored members in many different organizations. How far assimilation can proceed without difficulty still remains to be seen. Clearly, however, in the North as well as in the South, this change in population is a serious problem. Its possible effects require sober atention."

Where Is the Negro's Heart?

Here is one of the many incidents that go to prove that the negro is migrating to the North because he has been led to believe that conditions there are such as to make it easier for him to make a living and to prosper. His heart remains in the South. *Zion's Star* says that "the *Freeman* of Indianapolis deplores the custom of those [negroes] who move into that city from the South to carry their dead back to the Southern home." The *Freeman* tells of a father of eight children who had been in Indianapolis only six months who took the body of one of his children back to the old home for burial. While he was gone another one of the children died. That one was not taken back because the family did not have the money. The *Freeman* is right in deploring the practice. It was not wise to take the first one back because the money it cost to do so should have been used for more useful purposes. At best the burying of the dead is expensive, far more expensive than it should be, and it is not wise for the negroes who have gone North to spend money needed for the necessities of life in bringing their dead back to the Southland for burial. But the pathetic part about the whole matter is that the negroes should be in a land where they do not want to be and where no doubt they die more rapidly than they would in the Southland. Who is to blame for it?

The Christian Advocate
Nashville Tenn
MAY 25 1923

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement

THE EXODUS AND HUMAN CRUELTY.

Birmingham Reporter

We cannot pass on without seeing the increasing tide of humanity as it moves off from the southland in search of a better location.

Thousands of Negro men and women are leaving every day. None are able to tell the extent of the damage to be done resulting from the going of a loyal but dissatisfied group. It is equally as alarming to the sensible mind when the true disposition of the substantial citizen who remains is known. Many are indifferent and discontented. This exodus will cost more than all the previous ones. Something should be done substantially by which our group may be attracted to its native heath. The method of the attraction and the source are the main points of consideration. **For this trouble there is a remedy.** 3/31/23

Some few years ago we were satisfied in a large measure to pass unnoticed the travel of our people to other sections. Many argued that it was the riff-raff, the careless, and they might go anywhere on free transportation and free board while in transit, and this or that had its alluring effect and could not last long and would not affect the substantial members, or the South. It is proved that while much of this could have been true then, the case was not altogether a riff-raff one. Many thousands of substantial men and women have left the remote parts of the South and their influence and intelligence continue to draw upon their people who in many cases are removed but little from the most savage forms of slavery. **For all of this there is a remedy.** B. Hann, ala

No organization in the Negro race can stop this exodus. No fraternal order, nor the combined interest of the fraternal orders can touchit No group of ministers or leaders among Negroes can stop it. Such appeals would fire the movement to greater action and perhaps destroy the church or institution attempting it. **For all of this there is a reason.**

The Negro institutions of the South are powerless in themselves to give the needed relief. It is the white man's duty, and he can give them command that would mean a halt in this steady drive of Negroes from the South, and yet, he could not do it unless he had the ear of the Negro press of the South, the pulpit, the fraternal orders and other such agencies through which the Negro speaks. He can get the ear of these institutions and leaders when there is a substantial assurance that the courts of the South are going to treat within the law Negro humanity as it would deal with other human creatures. Sixty years is long enough to be out of shackles and bondage and still not be free. The Negro wants freedom; freedom of mind, protection of property and person, education for his children, and a protected livelihood for himself. He is tired of being kicked and buffed about by the politics of the South and the cruelties of the demagogues; he wants such encouragement as decent humanity is entitled to. There are those in our southland who are able to give these things and protect the Negro against the attack of those who have no respect and feeling for Negro humanity. None are more earnest and concerned about a prosperous southland than the successful as well as the humble Negro in it, but none are more anxious about a substantial and continuous protection within the law than this same group of Negroes.

It is not to be understood in any of this that the Negro is losing his respect and love for the best citizenry of the South, he retains that love and respect and could not forget it if he desired to. He is also mindful of the fact that as charitable, as brave and as helpful as these individual forces are, on many occasions where he suffers, they are powerless to help, both are embarrassed and both must suffer.

The white man and the Negro agreeing on an honest program, a program of absolute justice and manly principles, a lawful attitude in all matters will settle the exodus as quickly as it is physically possible.

Gilbert K. Chesterton, who recently returned to Europe after an extended tour of America, scored the laxity in which the American laws are kept, as well as intimating the hypocrisy in which they are administered. After condemning much of the tactics of America, dealing particularly with the prohibition laws, he made the following statement: "We are asked," said he, "to follow with reference America's example. They burn Negroes alive in the United States and although I am not pharisaical about that, I do absolutely refuse to admit that a society in which a crowd of people meet together while a man in evening dress sets fire to a Negro and roasts him alive, has a right to set themselves up as examples of morality to the world."

Whatever notion we may have of Mr. Chesterton's remarks, all of us must agree that there is too much savagery and lack of respect for law on the part of the leading forces of this country and there can be no great surprise as to the humbler group continuing on its pilgrimage.

CAROLINA PYTHIANS OFFER SUGGESTIONS ON NEGRO MIGRATION

sk Authorities to Relieve Untoward Conditions That Oppress.

New York Age

(Special to The New York Age)

Greenville, S. C.—The migration of thousands of Negroes from this section to various parts of the North and West has aroused the people to serious consideration of the causes, with an effort to find a remedy. 4/7/23

Men and women of both races are giving thought to the problem, and are seeking for a method by which the movement of so considerable a body of needed elements of the population can be stopped. The question was taken up by the colored Knights of Pythias here at the annual thanksgiving service held Sunday, March 25, at the Grand Opera House.

Suggestions as to how the people of Greenville may cooperate in assisting to check the migration movement were embodied in a set of resolutions adopted by the Pythians which asked a consideration of several vital matters believed to be essential to a proper adjustment of the question. The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas, the migration of the Negroes to the North is increasing with the approach of warm weather, and, whereas, much has been said by the press and public speakers in regard to this exodus, and, whereas, the remedies that have been suggested to alleviate the underlying causes of the conditions that causes this unrest have been unheeded,

Be it resolved, that we, the Knights of Pythias and Courts of Calanthe in mass meeting assembled, representing at least 1,000 homes in the city of Greenville, and knowing at first hand the cause of this unrest do ask a consideration of the following:

1st. That the conditions of our schools be looked into by those who are in position to help us, as we feel that they are entirely inadequate as regards both teaching force and facilities. We know that our schools s[illegible]r by comparison with those of the neighborhood cities of Anderson, Spartanburg and Greenwood, not to consider the splendid educational system of the North, that is one of the causes of the exodus.

2nd. That the care of and improvement of our streets be considered and that at least the side walks of the streets approaching our schools be paved so that our children can get to them with ease and present a decent appearance after getting there.

3rd. That the law enforcement officers show less aggressiveness in arre[illegible]ing members of our race. Only recently one of our members was severely beaten, and at the trial the cause of the clubbing was not satisfactory explained to the judge.

4th. That the question of wage adjustment be looked into, as it is almost impossible for the average colored workman to gain an honorable livelihood with the prices of foodstuff near on a par with 1919 and the wage scale about 75 per cent. off.

Resolved further, that we extend a vote of thanks to Mr. W. P. Conyers for the splendid interview given out by him to a local newspaper sometime ago and we feel that there are many more citizens of his type in Greenville.

Resolved further, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the daily press for publication and to the various civic organizations for consideration.

MIGRATION AND ITS CAUSES.

The migration of Negroes from various parts of the South continues in undiminished numbers, according to advices from various localities. A private letter from a trustworthy source in Georgia referred to the conditions in the southern part of the State as follows:

New York Age
New York Tng

This part of Georgia is a paradise to what it is in the southern part. We have no trouble here at all. Let the Negroes go. Some of them in South Georgia did not know they were free. If the crackers want to raise cotton, let them go to work themselves. It is time for Negroes to learn to do more than one thing. And they are still going.

4/14/23

A special dispatch from Greenville, printed in The Age of last week, referred to the migration of thousands from that section of South Carolina to various parts of the North and West. It stated that men and women of both races are giving thought to the problem and seeking for a method by which the movement can be stopped. A solution was suggested by the Knights of Pythias, at their annual thanksgiving services, which was embodied in a set of resolutions and adopted as the sense of the meeting.

Among the causes of unrest which should be properly remedied or adjusted, first place was given to the inadequate school facilities afforded the children of the race in Greenville. Consideration was urged for the care and improvement of streets and the paving of sidewalks, so that the children could get to the schools with ease and present a decent appearance after getting there. It was urged that law enforcement officers show less aggressiveness in making arrests and cease clubbing without cause. The question of wage adjustment should be looked into, as the wage scale fails to meet the cost of living.

These resolutions seem to be reasonable enough and should command prompt hearing and early action along the lines indcated if there is a genuine desire on the part of the white people of Greenville to keep the Negroes in the community.

South Carolina is one of the most backward of the Southern states in the matter of providing educational facilities for both races, but of course the Negro's share of funds and opportunity is reduced to the minimum. Some five years ago, when the editor of The Age made a trip through South Carolina, he was shown the State Reformatory for Negroes at Columbia, which was admittedly an eyesore to both races. Governor Cooper was in power at that time and the expectation was that the reformatory would be housed in a new building at Florence, where facilities would be furnished to teach the boys trades and turn them out as useful and selfsupporting citizens. The latest advices are that the reformatory still remains an eyesore at Columbia, and the inmates committed as boys remain there until they attain maturity, without being fitted for usefulness. The colored citizens of Columbia should move at once in this matter, to bring about better conditions.

There is need for such backward states as South Carolina and Georgia to be stirred up to the necessity of advancing in civilization. Proper educational facilities should be provided on an equal per capita basis for training of both races. Reformatory institutions should be established and equipped so as to perform real work in reclaiming the youths committed to them. Local improvements should be extended to the sections where Negroes reside, so as to make their housing conditions more sanitary and healthful.

If the South desires to retain the Negro as the most valuable of its assets, as a source of skilled and unskilled labor, it will lend an open ear to such suggestions as those offered by the meeting at Greenville, which was said to represent at least a thousand homes.

Call of Industry Lures Negroes to Northern Cities

N Y C POST
APRIL 7, 1923

South's Farms Losing Their Labor, With No Substitutes in Sight

Poor Returns From Cotton Growing a Factor—Change Affects Racial Relations

[Special Correspondence of the Evening Post]

JACKSON, Miss., April 3.—An increasing demand for common labor, brought about by the revival of industry, is effecting momentous changes in the most important race problem in the United States, changes so gradual that they are passing almost unnoticed in spite of their grave consequences. European sources of labor are almost closed, and, facing a crippling shortage, it is natural that the industrial world should turn to the South and its negro population for relief. The negro race is the largest body of common labor left in the country. It remained almost entirely unmolested until the World War shut off immigation and speeded up industry to a point where there was urgent demand for manual workers.

That situation brought about a great exodus of negroes from the agricultural regions of the South, to industrial centres of the East and Middle West. The high price of agricultural products during the period acted as a check, but the negroes came North by the thousands, and no matter what the more optimistic Southerners said or thought about it, the vast majority of them remained.

The movement suffered a definite check during the period of depression that followed the war. A secondary exodus is under way now and there are few sections of the agricultural South to-day where the labor situation has not reached an acute stage. In some, farming operations have suffered severely. In the more prosperous sections, enough negroes remain to make crops on the better-managed plantations, although the margin even there is scant.

Boll Weevil a Factor, Too

The pull of industry is not the only influence at work. The boll weevil has complicated successful farming in the South to a point where the average tenant farmer, never earning more than enough for a bare living, has found himself running further and further into debt each season, with very little chance of ever paying up. Negroes in cotton growing regions of the South have had it very hard the past few seasons; whole families have gone through a year on $60 worth of "furnishing," store-bought necessaries of life, and when the crop was gathered have found themselves unable to pay even that small amount.

That there has not been acute suffering among these "share-croppers" is more to the credit of the genial climate in which they live than to any economic reason. By raising practically everything they eat and wearing a minimum of clothing, they have managed to live—exist is a better word. Is it any wonder, then, that when the opportunity presented itself they have hurried away by the trainload to factory towns or to large cities where steady work with a good income was assured?

This economic situation has been the actuating factor in the exoduses, especially in the present one. There are others. The negroes generally are ambitious for their children. The average attendance of negro children in many sections of the South far surpasses that of the whites, a fact that has long been recognized by students of the racial problem of the South. The negro schools in the South, generally speaking, have been miserably poor, partly on account of the comparative poverty of the States, and partly because it is only in the last few years that there has been a general recognition of the necessity for educating the negro—a realization that the two races must move forward side by side.

A "share-cropper's" bare existence, leaving out of life everything but its physical needs and furnishing nothing at all for the higher things, is not therefore, the sort of thing any one would cling to if something better offered. The negro has caught the vision of a different life. Naturally extremely gregarious, and equally as strongly a "traveller" by disposition, it has not been hard for labor agents from industrial centres to round up entire train loads of negroes and move them off to become factory hands, mill workers, or common laborers in construction work.

One Effect in the South

The most apparent result of this departure of the negroes from the South has been a greatly increased appreciation of their part in the scheme of things in that region, which has resulted in better and fairer treatment in business, in a great movement for better schools and churches, and, where the negroes work in cities, in better pay. It is hardly fair to say that the South did not begin to awaken to its duty to its negroes until it was forced to open its eyes by economic pressure, but it was natural that the situation should improve so far as racial relations are concerned when negro labor became scarce.

The exact relation between cause and effect in a situation of this kind is hard to get at. Here are two facts, though, that are suggestive. Mississippi, which shares with South Carolina the distinction of having a larger negro population than white, actually lost population between 1910 and 1920, and to the negro exodus may this change be traced. Mississippi is at present engaged upon the most ambitious programme of education for the negro in the South, and the improvement in its rural school facilities in the past five years has been little short of marvellous.

Racial relations in the South generally are in better condition, it is said, than they have been since the days of slavery. There are many causes at work; enlightened leaders of both races are coöperating better now than they ever have. They are acquiring a real understanding of each other, and the white leaders are gaining a sympathy with the natural and just aspirations of the negro which was conspicuously lacking until recently.

Aside from these phases of the situation, the South faces an economic situation that is far more serious than is generally realized. Cotton is still king in the greater part of the South, no matter how much talk there is or diversified farming and scientific farm management with the staple as a side line. Prosperity rises or falls with cotton, and King Cotton is beset by the pestiferous boll weevil, nicknamed with entire appropriateness "the billion-dollar bug." To make cotton under the handicap of the weevil, more labor is necessary, both for the rapid cultivation of the crop and for the activities against the pest itself.

But there is not more labor. There is less. The trend is away from the cotton plantations to the cities of the South, as well as to the more distant centres. The negro knows cotton farming, and in the past has been willing to put up with its severe conditions of long hours and hard work, together with its pitifully small returns. He has fitted in well with the semi-feudal organization of the great plantations, not so different from the days of slavery as one might imagine.

Who Will Replace the Negro?

When he goes, where is the South to find a satisfactory substitute? Interviews with a number of large cotton planters—intelligent, well-informed, and thoughtful men—revealed no answer. Half-hearted and futile efforts to bring in other labor have been tried in the past, and in the Mississippi delta colonies of Italians once succeeded rather well. But they refused to remain tenant farmers. They wanted land of their own and their native thrift soon gave it to them. They became farm owners and unfortunately have not been absorbed into the native population with any great degree of success. Mexican labor has been given a brief and unsuccessful trial. The South is wedded to negro labor and the divorce is going to be cataclysmic.

It is obvious enough that eventually the great plantations must be cut up into small farms, that the production of cotton must be put upon an entirely new basis, that the present situation of a social organization made up of a few land owners, and thousands of "renters," "share-croppers," and tenant farmers generally must be broken down. The man, who is, in the old Anglo-Saxon saying, the land, and the land, must be brought together.

At bottom the stability of the South's white rural population is little greater than that of the negro, for it owns far too little land and lives far too cramped and narrow an existence to remain if anything else offers. The negroes are moving because the opportunity has come along, because they like to travel about, because they see greater opportunities for themselves and for their families, and because in the breasts of so many there is a rankling sense of the injustices to which they have been subjected for so many years. The whites have not felt the pull of all these influences, but they may.

Little has been said of the Ku Klux Klan in this discussion of the forces back of the exodus of negroes, because, despite the somewhat general belief to the contrary, the Klan in its present organization has paid scant attention to the negro. It is primarily an anti-Catholic fraternity and remarkably bitter about this religious issue, even in parts of the South where the Catholic element is almost negligible in numbers. Here and there hatred of Jews has been its chief concern. It has disciplined white men for miscegenation, but apparently it has been little more than a sort of atmospheric element in the forces that are causing the negro to change his residence.

An expression often heard in the South concerning the departure of the negroes is: "Let 'em go. The Yanks will find out what the negro question is, and when they do, the negroes 'll be glad to come back home." The presence of large numbers of negroes in the North may conceivably bring a better understanding of the South's attitude to the race, but so far as any sort of racial trouble changing the present trend—it would take an optimistic cotton planter indeed to wait to put his crops in until his hands had returned to him from East St. Louis, Omaha, Chicago, Pittsburgh or New York, because of a few riots or other unpleasant incidents.

Once the negro knows the superior advantages of industrial life over the meagre existence of a tenant on a cotton plantation he doesn't go back. He meets handicaps in his new environment, of course, but he is human, and when he tastes better things he doesn't return to old ones. H. B.

MIGRATION ON INCREASE

Chicago, Ill., April 10—(Associated Negro Press)—Reports coming to the Associated Negro Press from all northern centers indicate that the increase in migration into northern centers is on. Every train from the South carries large numbers of colored passengers with all their belongings. Pittsburg, Cleveland, Detroit and intermediate centers are getting the largest number through the middle west. There has recently come a demand for farm hands in New England that is being taken advantage of by some of the colored migrants, and it has been found that a movement is on foot to reinhabit some of the deserted farms of New England with colored agriculturists.

Chicago has hundreds of them coming daily. Many of them finding employment in the outlying manufacturing districts, as far west as Gary.

There has been a discussion of finding either in Illinois or Indiana, or possibly is Western Michigan, farm districts, to which farmers may go, and eventually ship their produce to Chicago. An effort is also being made to find allotment sights near Chicago in order to build substantial homes for those who have families.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

High Point, N. C., Enterprise
DEC 7 - 1923

Why Jim Crow Is Flying North

By W. O. SAUNDERS
In Collier's

I am a southern white man, born and raised in an old-fashioned southern town, where the population was about half black and half white. I have lived nearly all my life in the south and close to colored people. When I was a child I loved my "ole black mammy" and played with negro children without prejudice. But I grew up to dislike negroes generally, just as almost everybody in the south does, for no particular reason at all except that "a nigger is a nigger." I came to manhood with a southerner's dislike for black folks. Once or twice I searched my heart and mind for some basis for this dislike. At such times I satisfied myself by contemplating only the vicious, indolent, shiftless, improvident, dirty, ragged, ignorant, offensive type of negro. I did not give much thought to any kind of recognize that a new type of negro was growing up.

And then, a few years ago, a song awoke me. It was more of a chant than a song; it was a new and strange song, the like of which I had never heard before:

"Boll weevil here, boll weevil there
boll weevil everywhere;
Oh, Lordy, ain't I glad!"

It was a negro singing. He was a Georgia ngro, who, with a score or more of his kind, was employed on road construction in North Carolonia. This was one of the songs that he had brought from the farther southland.

That song haunted me. There was a note of genuine gladness, almost of exultation, in the voice singing it, not unlike the note one hears between lines in the Old Testament songs of Jews triumphing over the downfall of their enemies. It seems a song of emancipation. I tucked the words and music away in my memory, because I pretty well knew that there was a story there somewhere. Negro songs have meaning. One who lives among negroes and studies them comes to know what is in their hearts and on their minds by the songs they sing. If a negro hasn't an old song to fit his moods or thoughts of a moment, he improvises a new song as he works. He sings his hopes, his fears, his loves, and his hunger. A negro dissatisfied with his job and planning to quit the works on the morrow may suddenly start from a fit of sullen silence and sing as he swings his ax or his shovel:

I's a gwine to trabel, trabel, trabel, in de mornin,.

And in the morning he will have traveled, and the overseer will have to hunt another laborer.

And so, when I heard that black boy from Georgia singing his gladness that the boll weevil was everywhere, I suspected that nothing less than a romance or a tragedy in negro life had inspired those words. I have never heard them since, and Mr. Monroe N. Work, that wonderful negro statistician at Tuskegee who has tucked away a million facts about the colored people, can find no song like it in all his files. But I have found out for myself just what it meant.

I have looked into the exodus of negroes from the south for Collier's. I have traveled through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana and Tennessee in recent months. I have talked with negroes in Atlanta, Montgomery, New Orleans, Vicksburg, Memphis, and elsewhere. I went to Tuskegee institute. I went into the only town in the United States that is peopled solely by colored folks—the only town that has a negro mayor, a negro policeman, and a negro postmaster. I talked with negro farm hands, lawyers, preachers, editors and business men in several southern states. I rode a railroad coach with negro migrants leaving the Yazoo valley via Memphis for Cincinnati and other points north. I know now why a black boy from Georgia slinging hot asphalt in the broiling sun on a North Carolina highway back in 1917 was singing joyfully:

Boll weevil here, boll weevil there,
boll weevil everywhere;
Oh, Lordy, ain't I glad!

To millions of hungry and oppressed blacks laboring for a mere subsistence on the cotton plantations of the south, the invasion of the Mexican boll weevil, laying waste the acres of the plantation owners, was nothing less than an act of Providence. To these blacks who read the Bible and believe every word of it, the plague of the boll weevil was but the hand of God laid heavily upon their taskmasters. The negro in the towns and cities was most exultant; he beckoned to his brothers and sisters on the farms to lay down the shovel and the hoe, now that actual starvation confronted them, and come into the cities, where employment awaited them at certain wages. The negro on the bankrupt plantation laughed at the boll weevil and made his way to the cities. And the penniless, indolent, care-free, ever-restless, change-seeking negro of the towns fell in line with this movement and moved on too.

Millions of negroes have left the south within the past few years to seek economic freedom in the great industrial centers of the north and west. Millions more are leaving and will leave. They were pouring out of Jacksonville, Savannah, Atlanta, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, Vicksburg, Birmingham, and Memphis by the trainload this summer. Plantations of a thousand acres have been abandoned in a night. Negro labor plowed the fields of southern planters last fall and put in the crop this spring. The cotton and the seldom corn was pushing its way through the earth and calling for intensive cultivation. And from millions of acres negroes went away in groups, leaving no one to hoe and grub and bring the crops to fruition.

Plantation owners have appealed to the law to keep the negroes on the farms, where they are sorely needed. Labor agents have been thrown into jail. Negroes have been arrested on trumped-up charges or held for debts. But the exodus has not abated.

One finds in some rural towns whole blocks of negro cabins deserted. In many cases the migrants leave everything behind them to divert suspicion. Many of them possess little more than the wretched clothes on their backs; they have no ties of property to bind them. Others who have by thrift cultivated a small garden, kept a pig and a little poultry, leave the pig in the pen and the chickens roosting in a tree while they steal away in the night to catch a train that will take them to East St. Louis or Chicago. A labor agent furnishes them with transportation. Often the whole family goes. More often only the men go at first, but after a few weeks they send transportation back home to the women and children, who, in turn, go to the northland, where wages are high and "where a nigger has some rights."

Riding through the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley, a negro Pullman porter pointed out to me a group of negro women and children hoeing the young cotton on a plantation of several thousand acres. "See those women and children," said the porter; "we hauled their menfolks out of here three weeks ago; another week or a fortnight we will be hauling the women and children too, and there will be no black folks left on that place."

The exodus spells immediate heavy financial loss and, in many cases, utter ruin for the owners of millions of acres of farm lands in southern states. There never is enough labor to pick the south's cotton crop clean, even when conditions are normal.

But it wasn't the boll weevil that sent the negro on his wild flight north. The boll weevil was only one of many reasons. The four main ones are: (1) Discovery by northern industrialists that the negro is a dependable and enduring laborer. (2) The dearth of foreign labor, due to our new immigration restrictions, compelling the northern employer to seek a new labor supply. (3) The inability of the south, under its present antiquated, wasteful, and inefficient methods of agriculture, to pay the negro a living wage. (4) The negro desires more than anything else to find educational opportunities for his children. The negro is flocking north to high wages, entering industries that pay him five dollars to ten dollars a day for his work—and pay him in cash. To get north and get these wages and educate his children, he is forsaking a land that too often gives him only a pitiful dole of corn meal and sorghum, declares him a debtor still to the landlord after his work of a year is done, and as a rule provides only a three months' school term for his children.

We southerners have tried to fool ourselves into a belief that the negro was forsaking the south to flee into a field of industry in which he could not compete. This is not true. The negro is proving himself a more satisfactory day laborer than the lower class immigrants who have manned many of the more important industries. He is hard, enduring, and docile—and he can understand orders given in English. If the negro had not proved his worth as a day laborer, the north would not be sending for him and paying his transportation.

Again, we have been fooling ourselves with a lot of talk about the hard conditions confronting the negro in the north. Our newspapers are full of it. It is mostly twaddle. I have seen negroes swarming in the most wretched tenements in congested districts of northern cities. A white man would shudder to set foot in many of the places in which negroes live in northern cities. But they are not worse than the cabins in which so many of these negroes lived in the south.

The White Man's Word.

Have you ever seen a typical negro cabin on a plantation in the Mississippi Valley? It is usually a diminutive board structure of two rooms in which a family or five, six, eight, or more eat and sleep. The common type of these cabins is called a "shot-gun house," because of its single-barrel construction. During the hot summer months sleep in one of these cabins is next to impossible. When it rains, the water often pours through the roof. I have never seen one of these cabins screened, and only on small farms have I seen them with windows other than a near-tight wooden shutter. Compared to these, the squalidoo brick tenements of the north are very mansions in the skies. The roofs of the city tenements do not leak; snakes and lizards and insects do not crawl up through the crevices in the floors.

It is not unusual for an illiterate black man and his family to work for a landowner for a year, growing nothing but cotton. The landlord will permit him to grow no corn because he could steal the corn or appropriate a bit of it for his food. He can have no pig and no poultry, because pigs and poultry must have grain or the scraps from a kitchen. There are no scraps from the negro's kitchen.

In a year the negro tenant may produce ten, twenty, thirty, or more bales of cotton. He and his wife and children pick out this cotton in the fall and carry it to the gin, where it is pressed into bales. The negro turns the baled product of his labor over to the landlord and awaits a settlement. Sometimes the landlord says at the end of the year: "Well, John, you did pretty good this year; you raised a good crop and you owe me only forty dollars." For a year that negro and his whole family have toiled and sweated. During this time they have liven on limited rations bought at the commissary owned by the plantation owner. The rations consist almost wholly of sorghum and corn meal. And at the end of the year the negro is told he is in debt. He cannot challenge the white man's word. He has kept no accounts of his own because he does not know how. He dares not appeal to the law because the law is the white man's law. He suffers in silence, and when opportunity comes he steals away in the night. In the north he finds a city that provides a year-round school term for his children, a community center for himself and his wife, a city dispensary to give him drugs when he is sick and penniless, a public-health nurse, and hospital care when he needs them, and a dozen helpful agencies to which he can turn in emergency.

I have before me a bill of complaint drawn up by negroes in a mass meeting in Jackson, Miss., on May 1, 1923, giving the reasons why they are leaving the south. It starts with the statement that "the negro feels that life is not safe in Mississippi, and his life may be taken with impunity at any time by a white man . . . the negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section."

The document goes on to particularize, laying emphasis upon the fact of his lack of educational and uplift opportunities. He complains of the fact that for every $20 spent for the education of white children in the state, only $1 is spent for the education of the negroes; of the 800 consolidated schools in Mississippi, all are for whites; of fifty and odd agricultural schools for whites, there is not one for negroes; and there is not a dollar for the tubercular, for the feeble-minded, for the blind, or for the derelict negro youth, though millions are spent on whites.

The complaints made by the negroes of Mississippi are typical of the complaints made by negroes in other southern states. They are all true. And yet one seldom hears mention of the Ku Klux Klan by the negro. The Kluckers are the least of his troubles. The fact of organized mobs prayed in nightshirts and pillowcases makes little difference to him. He was lynched before the nightshirt and the pillowcase were thought of. Only the better class of negroes are particularly alarmed over the Ku Klux. The better class of negroes see in the organization a sinister agency further to estrange the whites and the blacks in the south and prevent racial adjustments. I may come to that later.

I have indicated the immediate effect of this wholesale exodus of southern negroes upon the agriculture of the south. What, then, of its effect upon the north? What of its effect upon the moral, social, and economic progress of the negro in America?. These are questions which America must face squarely and at once if the peace of the nation and the personality of the

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
DEC 2 - 1923

Negro Migration Movement Significance Not Realized By North Carolina People

State Has Not Felt It to Any Considerable Extent, but Other Southern States Have Been Hard Hit—Great Exodus From Egypt Led by Moses Fell Short of Negro Movement to the North and West—Brought Problems for Old and New Bases.

BY H. E. C. BRYANT.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1.—North Carolina people generally do not realize the significance of the negro migration movement. Their state has not felt it to any appreciable extent. It is estimated here that 25,000 migrated from the cities and eastern farming districts but for every one that left one or more came in from farther south. Governor Morrison believes that more came in than moved out. But other states have been hard hit.

The great exodus, when Moses crossed the Red sea with 600,000 Egyptians, fell short of the negro movement from the south within the last five years. It is said by department of labor investogators that more than 700,000 have changed base since the outbreak of the world war, soon after which the migration commenced.

The negroes have moved in two different periods. During the war they went north and west to labor in manufacturing plants that were turning out munitions of war. For the past 18 months they have been answering a call for labor to take the jobs that used to be done by foreign immigrants.

Two hundred and fifty thousand of those who went to the north, east and west in the war period remained in their new homes. Four hundred and fifty thousand have gone since then. These figures are agreed upon by federal and state authorities, who have made a study of the subject.

This outpouring of negroes has given some southern states serious labor problems, and the north perplexing social, political and economical questions to solve. The states of Georgia, Florida and Mississippi sustained the greatest loss, and Ohio, Pennsylvania and Michigan made the largest gains. Georgia lost approximately 225,000 of its colored population within the last year and a half, Florida more than 100,000 and Mississippi at least 100,000. It is estimated that 175,000 of these migrants went to Ohio, 105,000 to Pennsylvania and 75,000 to Michigan.

From Whence They Migrated.

Recently I made a trip through the sections of Georgia and Mississippi from which the negro migrated, and then followed him to his new abodes. Six or more years ago when the first exodus got under way I made a similar visit to Florida and other southern states. A change of conditions in the north, east and west caused the negro to shift. World war demands for common and semi-skilled labor caused industrial centers to turn to the southern negro colonies for substitutes for the foreigners who had served them in peace times but who responded to the call of their respective countries for the great conflict abroad. That was simple enough. Thousands of the negroes made good and remained there. After the war the Congress of the United States, in response to a demand from the people back home especially those members from old time American districts in the north and south, put up the bars against the foreign immigrant who had been pouring into this country at the rate of approximately a million a year for a decade or longer. Again the north, east and west resorted to the south, and truck it at a fortunate time, for the boll weevil had discouraged whites and blacks alike. Unrest among the negroes aided the labor movement.

The northern and westrn cities, to which these crude, innocent, rambling negroes from southern plantations went, are now in the midsts of real problems. It is easy to say that the negroes will go back south but many thousands of them could not return if they wanted to, for being improvident they have saved no money for the rainy day. The south is preparing to get along without the negro. I found that out in the Mississippi valley, where plantations employ from a dozen to 10,000 negroes, efforts being made to induce negro leaders to turn the tide the other way but elsewhere other arrangements are being made. Without the negro the big plantation, with its 50,000 or more acres cannot exist, and many business men feel that they will be cut into small farms, sold to white and colored farmers, and thereby improve conditions.

Erie Official Started It.

An official of the Erie railroad who spent several winters in Florida, is said to have been the first large employer of labor to conceive the idea of recruiting his force from the colored population of the south. When the war between the allies and Germany and Austria-Hungary broke out and the call for reservists was made many thousands of Slavs, Montenegrins, Serbs, and others gave up their jobs as section hands, freight handlers, miners and the like and joined the colors of their respective countries. This made a sudden and serious shortage of common and semi-skilled labor. The Erie personnel man went to Florida, and got a trainload of negroes. Other trainloads followed and soon rival roads had agents in Georgia and Alabama. Many thousands were carried out of two or three states on "transportation." To make conditions more agreeable and to hold what it got the Erie prepared bunk houses out of box cars, and provided a mess hall food and cooks.

At first, the people of Florida and Georgia were glad to see the surplus negroes go, but later, lumbermen and representatives of smaller enterprises commenced to complain of a shortage of labor, and steps were taken to prevent outside agents from soliciting men. The very cream of the negro labor was being tapped by the big railroads. City after city passed ordinances prohibiting the wholesale procuring of workers.

During Deflation Period.

That was the beginning of the first negro labor exodus, and it kept up until hostilities in France ceased. During the "deflation" period, after peace was restored, many negroes who went north and west to supply the war-time demand, were let out of their jobs. There was a slow down of the wheels of industry, and the first to suffer were the southern negroes who had enlisted for the emergency. Many returned to the south, and worked there but about 250,000 remained in their adopted states, and in some places brought about bad situations. At Cleveland, Ohio, the chamber of commerce considered means of getting rid of the ones left there. A plan to ship them back to the south was contemplated. The temporary demand for their services was over, and many of them were making trouble. But when prosperity dawned and business commenced to improve the negroes were put to work and as the demand was greater than the supply a new call was made on the south. That resulted in the present exodus that has taken from Georgia 250,000 colored people since the early part of last winter.

This movement of negroes is being watched by the federal government. Phil H. Brown, an able, fair-minded negro leader, now commissioner of conciliation for the United States department of labor, is the official observer. He describes it as a "remarkable hegira of the colored people from the southern states, who are obtaining employment in northern industries."

Cotton Pickers, Steel Workers.

"The wonderful metamorphosis now in progress, by which cotton pickers are being transformed into steel workers," said he, "is quite as interesting and has as many slants toward industrial economy as any event that has occurred in its history."

Brown gives these reasons for the negro migration: "Better wages, enlarged opportunities for living, full recognition of manhood and adequate educational advantages."

"These," he declared, "form the composite urge of the negro migration."

"Emerging from the devastation of the great war to the correction of civilization, we are undertaking rehabilitation upon a scale more extensive than has even been known before, and calling for high-geared production that is a marvel even to our own marvelous country. This production is meeting a demand, the chief essentia lof which is domestic necessity. Railroads were run down at the heel by the merciless pounding of the war; steel and its dependent industries are strained to give up to their requirements; building trades are called upon to relieve a housing famine that spreads over the country. This great industrial revival was ushered in simultaneously with a sweeping reform of immigration laws. Immigration was the chief source of recruits for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, the need of which became very insistent. It was then that the country bethought itself of the massive multi-colored labor reserve, and it was called out in the emergency. Immediately an upheaval of labor conditions ensued. The mad rush to the Klondike in search of gold is nothing to be compared to this northern movement. The center of negro population in the United States has been changed 9.4 miles farther east and 19 miles farther north on account of this movement. This is the first time this center has assumed a northeasterly trend in the history of the country."

This testimony is given after investigation and reflection.

South in Danger.

The south is beginning to realize that it is in danger of losing its cotton producers. In the present movement good states like good employers have not suffered as heavily as bad states and bad employers.

Georgia and Mississippi, where lynchings have been most frequent, and Ku Klux Klans most active, the loss of labor has been greatest. Those communities that have held that an educated negro was a drawback rather than a help to the white farmer are hard hit.

Ben Davis, an intelligent negro business man of Atlanta, a member of the committee on resolutions and platform at the last republican national convention, made this statement to me: "The principal causes for the migration from Georgia is the unrest in the rural districts, non-enforcement of the laws on white and black alike, the loss of confidence on the part of the negro in his white friends, bad housing conditions, the contract labor law, which is unfair to the employe, and enables an employer to indict an employe for debt, poor schools, the Ku Klux Klan, and low wages.

"Dhite people have torn down negro schoouhouses and negro lodges, and reduced tenants to peonage. This cannot be said of a majority of our white citizens but it is alleged to go on. The boll weevil has crippled many leading farmers, and put them in a bad position, and they are unable to stand by their negro tenants and employes. From the cotton field at 65 to 75 cents a day the negro farmer is going to the north, east and west where he gets almost that much per hour. This movement grows stronger and more widespread."

Asked if North Carolina had lost negroes, Governor Cameron Morrison said: "I am satisfied that more negroes moved into our state from other southern states than moved out. North Carolina is 'the north' to which many negroes came. Agriculture in North Carolina is in a most healthy state. Negroes like it because they can prosper. He has opportunity and is appreciated. We are building factories, schools and roads throughout the state an unprecedented extent. We uphold the law, and protect the negroes in their rights and they know it. The hospitals for their defectives are being enlarged. Millions have been provided for their schools for higher education. We are going to have the greatest institution in the country for the technical education of the negro.

"With all these provisions for his welfare and betterment, and the constructive programs of state, county and municipality the negro finds plenty to encourage him and keep him busy."

This program was not prepared to induce the negro to remain in the state but as part of a broad, progressive policy, for white and black alike.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

THE MIRAGE
—Temple in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune.*

KEEPING THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH
—Walker in the New York *Call.*

CARTOON EXPLANATIONS OF THE NEGRO MIGRATION NORTHWARD

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF THE NEGRO EXODUS

"EVERYTHING IS PEACHES DOWN IN GEORGIA," says the well-known ditty, but we read that in Baldwin County, near Macon, everything is boll-weevils, and the negroes are "leaving that country at the rate of from fifty to a hundred a week." Already "one out of every four tenant houses is vacant." As was acknowledged by a conference of educated negroes assembled recently in Atlanta, "the negroes confess their failure to cope with the boll-weevil. Last year they lost 90 per cent. of the cotton crop." So the boll-weevil is in a sense the negro Moses—a mighty instigator of the mighty exodus. For he impoverishes not only the black tenant but the white plantation owner as well, and this calamity adds to the negro's misfortune. Says an Atlanta dispatch to *The Christian Science Monitor*, phrases from which we have already quoted:

"He receives a wage of only $1.25 a day through middle Georgia. In the past the plantation owners have furnished him with a cabin to live in; every week he got as rations three pounds and a half of bacon and a peck of meal; he also usually had a little vegetable patch, and could keep a cow. However, the bad crops of the last two years reduced the plantation owners' ability to finance such labor, and eliminated the 'extras.'"

A negro paper, the Atlanta *Independent*, features a cartoon with the caption. "The boll-weevil and race labor have killed the South's chief money-making product—cotton." And if this means wretched living conditions for the negro, they were bad enough before, it would seem, for the Columbia (S. C.) *Record* says,

"Consider the average tenant farmer's house, and the hovel in which the hired laborer must live. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, both are mere shacks, often with nothing but shutters to the windows that are innocent of panes, with absolutely none of what we are pleased to consider 'the conveniences,' but which are almost necessities."

General J. P. Jervey, city manager of Portsmouth, Virginia, said recently, according to a press report,

"The question of labor, after all, is an economic one, and negroes, the same as white workmen, will go where financial returns and living conditions are best. It is a simple matter to keep them here. Only two things are needed, simple justice and better living conditions."

Quoting negro press opinion, we take from the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* this denunciation of urban living conditions as well as rural:

"It is a fact that the average colored man hopes and strives to have his family live in a decent home in decent surroundings. They want conveniences, such as electric lights, bathtubs, gas and other things conducive to sanitary living. But it is sadly admitted, that with rents at top prices for shanties in these cities, it is entirely out of the question for the average negro family-head to even think of enjoying these conveniences at the prevailing wages in this section. Rents are high in the North and West, and so are wages. Again, you get something for your rent there. People will pay the rent because they can live in comfort and decency. Nobody objects to paying high rent when wages are high, and they get conveniences commensurate with what they pay."

James S. Peters, president of the Georgia Bankers' Association, in a published report on the negro exodus, declares,

"Our figures substantiate in a large mea[illegible] the inquiry made under the supervision of Dr. Andrew M. Soule of the State College of Agriculture, conducted under similar conditions. He found that approximately 86,000 negroes had left Georgia, while our inquiry discloses 77,500. The difference might be explained by the tendency on the part of bankers to be more conservative in their estimate. The fact that more than one-third of those have left within the past three months indicates that the exodus is on the increase.

"It seems apparent that this will continue so long as conditions remain as they are at present, and the industrial North and East offer higher wages and better living conditions. Georgia's loss of wealth from its farms this year will amount to more than $27,000,000. This will be a tremendous loss in wealth to the merchants, jobbers, railroads, and other business interests of the State.

"I believe that the negro had rather remain in the South. The South needs him. We are his best friends and he is our best source of labor supply. The question of how to keep him is largely a local one.

"First—Wages must necessarily increase to par with those of the North and East, with proper allowances for the difference in the cost of living. It may be said that we can not pay the wages offered by industrial centers, and if this is true, then the emigration will continue until the oversupply either brings down the wage level in the North and East, or the undersupply here justifies an increase.

"Second—Living conditions in the negro sections of our own towns and cities must be improved by the authorities.

"Third—Our educational facilities must be increased. I believe that the Georgia Legislature should establish a commission with suitable power and funds to establish, at a convenient point in the State, a real industrial school, where the negro boys and girls can be trained at a minimum expense.

"Reports reaching here from South Carolina show that 48,000 negroes have migrated from that State since November 1, 1922."

The negro "goes North because at this time unskilled labor is worth more there than it is in the South," remarks the Atlanta *Journal*, continuing,

"It is worth more in the North because there is a larger profit in the industries that employ it than there is in any field of Southern labor at this time. In short, he is governed by the same law that peopled the American colonies; for the greater part, and which to-day brings the immigrant to our gates. That he goes because his schools are not the best, or because he fears mob violence, or wants to sit on the white man's front porch and be fanned, and isn't invited to, are hallucinations that have become part of the psychology of editorial sanctums up North."

Various Southern States have passed laws to restrain agents from tempting negro labor to emigrate. Such laws "will not stop the migration of the negroes"; says *The Journal*,

"Only higher wages will effect that. In the meantime the South is not suffering greatly. And when the demand for her products at remunerative prices arrives, the law of life that moved the colored brother will bring him back—or somebody in his place."

Gently amused by [illegible]ch legislation, especially in Georgia, the Houston (Tex.) *Post* observes,

"Records of the present session of the Georgia Legislature fail to disclose any effort as yet to repeal the law of gravitation, but Georgia statesmen are not idle. Other laws little less fundamental are not escaping, and the session is young yet.

"Georgia is bothered by the migration of the negroes, so to put a stop to this practise of the negro looking for a better job somewhere else, one solon has introduced a bill making it a felony for any labor agent, licensed or unlicensed, to recruit labor in Georgia for out-of-the-State employment.

"In the face of the State's need to retain its negro workers, neither the law of supply and demand, nor the little matter of the right of private contract is to be allowed to stand, if this statesman has his way. The expansion of industry shall not affect Georgia. The influence of the growing demand for labor will be stopt at the Georgia line. The category of crime will be enlarged to encompass the offense of offering a Georgia citizen a better job outside the State.

"The State, in case the bill were to become a law, would take up a form of peonage. Georgia would out-isolate the isolation the Senate bitter-enders would fasten on the United States.

"Yet the bill is not so ridiculous, relatively speaking. Aren't the legislatures and the courts being called upon to remedy all ills and grievances, real or fancied? The Georgia proposal is in harmony with the spirit of the times. It is only another manifestation of the mania for law. Georgia needs these negro laborers. Therefore, put the man in the penitentiary who would give them a job elsewhere. If that doesn't stop them from leaving, perhaps an injunction could be obtained.

"Singularly enough nobody seems to have suggested the only plan that will really keep the negroes at home—wages and living conditions to meet the competition of out-of-the-State employers. It is much easier to regulate such matters by law."

However, *The Post* observes, in an editorial printed a few days later, that their experiences in the North may teach the negroes to appreciate the South. We read:

"That organization which is appealing to Southern negroes for funds with which to assist negroes in distress who have migrated to Northern centers is likely to set the Southern negro to thinking. The returning negro emigrant, with his story of hardship and disillusion, will doubtless do more to content the negro in the South and keep him at home than all the laws Georgia and Alabama can pass to check the movement."

AUG 1 1923

NEGRO EXODUS IS BLAMED ON KLAN

Would Make it Unlawful to Wear Face Covering Except on Carnival Events; Hit at K. K. K.

(By Associated Press)

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 1.—An anti-mask bill was before the lower house of the Georgia legislature today with a favorable report from the committee.

Decision to report the bill, which was introduced by Representative Bozeman, of Worth county, was taken last night after a lengthy hearing by the committee at which both opponents of the measure were heard.

The bill would prohibit the wearing of masks in public except for carnival purposes.

Mr. Bozeman described the Ku Klux Klan as the most "dangerous menace this country has to deal with at the present time," and said it had "frightened away most of our negro labor by its hideous masks." It is decidedly American principle, he declared.

The klan was defended by W. S. Coburn, former klan official of California, who asserted that no mask ifornia, who asserted that no mask parade was ever staged without the permission of the authorities.

Representative Joe Wood, of this city, editor of the klan publication, said it was necessary for the klan to conceal its identity to keep from being boycotted in business.

AUG 13 1923

NEGROES LEAVING BOYLE COUNTY.

Since the U. S. census was taken in 1900 1,591 Negroes have left Danville and Boyle county. According to a communication just received from the chief statistician for population, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., when the census was taken in 1900 there were 4,781 Negroes in Boyle county, and when the census was taken in 1920 there were only 3,190. From 1900 to 1910 the falling off of Negro population in Boyle county was 628, and from 1910 to 1920 the decrease was 963. According to the last census, taken in 1920, there are now 2,190 Negroes in Danville and Boyle county.

While of course, many Negroes have died in the past ten or twenty years and the births have fallen off, most of the Negroes have joined others of the South and have gone North to seek employment.

While there has been a falling off of Negro population in Boyle county the white population has increased. In 1900 the white population was 9,036; in 1910 it was 10,515, and in 1920 there are now 3,190 Negroes in 1900 to 1910 was 1,479, and from 1910 to 1920 it was 1,293, making the total increase in white population in twenty years 2,772.

The total population of both white and colored in 1900 was 13,817; in 1910 it was 14,668 and in 1920 it was 14,998. It will be seen that, despite the falling off of Negro population, the population of the county increased from 1900 to 1910 851 and from 1910 to 1920 330, the total increase during the twenty years being 1,181.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. News

AUG 9 1923

THE MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

I have been reading and studying carefully the migration of the negro to the North. Various reasons have been given and ways have been suggested for checking same. Many who have gone North and some who are still planning to leave are among the best citizens of the race, property owners, tax paying, law abiding citizens. They are not going seeking social equality, but they are seeking a place where they will be respected as citizens and given the same protection that any other race is given who claim to be all that the law requires and that is justice.

The negro deplores all low things, as other races, and there are members of the negro race as well as white race who will do all in their power to run down criminals and when found guilty should be punished according to law and not color.

The negro is migrating to those States where he feels that he will be protected, where he feels that while asleep at night resting from toil of the day making an honest living he is not in danger of his home or family being destroyed, that his children will be given a chance to be educated as other races who are taxpayers.

He is not seeking pleasure, but life, and if he is properly protected by the law in the South he would be just as well contented here as in other parts.

To my brothers in white, look not to the negroes to change conditions; they are doing this already, but may the change be made in you and not only will we live happy in the South, but the day will come that just as we find some of the greatest industrial centers in the world in the North and West, so it will be in the South, for we will all labor together in helping to make it so.

(REV.) JOHN H. SANDERS (Col.),

Sayreton, Ala.

JUL 19 1923

EFFECT OF NEGRO MIGRATION ON THE SOUTH.

Negro labor has been cheap labor, and because it has been congested in the cotton-growing South, it has made cotton a cheap labor crop. The Negro has lived in a shanty, has gone half-clad, poorly fed, and made cotton on this basis, and the white man making cotton had to compete with this sort of cheap labor. It has been a competition as ruinous as that which the white Californians felt when incoming Chinese and Japanese, with their low living standards, began to threaten California with pauper labor and pauperism. The reason England is simply because Southern Negroes and Southern is simply becuse Southern Negroes and Southern whites, by going poorly clad and poorly fed, have made cotton virtually on a slave wage basis, and therefore cheaper than England could grow it in Africa.

Moreover, a large part of our Southern Negroes making cotton have not really been farmers, but simply persons eking out existence by getting rations from a store while they helped pile up an over-production of cheap cotton by growing cotton and nothing else but cotton to pay for their supplies. No wonder farming hasn't paid. Agriculture has been prostituted to make profits for a mercantile class.

If more Negroes of this "cropper" type go to the North it will lessen the production of cotton and boost cotton prices, while at the same time making room for more real farmers in the South. The new farmers will grow the hay, meat, lard, milk, poultry, cheese, canned goods, etc., of whch we now import so much; will take better care of the soil; and will take more interest in rural social and community life, rural education, and general rural progress. And such a result, as we have said before, will help not only the white farmers of the South, but thrifty and enterprising Negroes also. — The Progressive Farmer.

TENN. NEGROES Atlanta RETURN FROM Georgian NORTH

Scores of "Prosperity Seekers" Anxious to Come Back to South, Report Says.

10-16-23

BRISTOL, Tenn. Oct. 14.—Negroes by the score from this section of the South who several months ago migrated Northward in search of "easy prosperity," are preparing to return to "winter" in the South, according to a number of them who are back from the automobile factories of Ohio and Michigan. These forerunners of the "back to the South" movement claim that fully one half of the negroes who went North would return if they felt certain they could get back their jobs. Their disillusionment is now complete. 10-15-23.

Most of those who went North from this immediate section last spring and in the summer found employment in cities of Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania. A few went to the New England States. Those who have returned give the following reasons as being chief among those to impel the negro to stay in the South: Indifference on the part of the Northern people, extremely cold weather, higher living costs in the North, the lack of negro amusements there, poor housing conditions and failure in general to find conditions in the North as pictured by Northern labor agents, who are thought to be responsible for hundreds of negro workmen moving North.

One of those who has just returned said he was fearful of racial trouble in the city where he had been located. Another said it was impossible for a negro to feel settled in the several places where he had worked. Wages paid in Northern plants, they claim, are about the same as paid in the South.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

SOUTH HURT BY LABOR SHORTAGE

"Negro migration" to the north, northwest and northeast increases rather than slackens in pace. It has caused much worry to the Southern farmer and has caused laws to be passed in an effort to halt the exodus and yet, despite these proposed laws, the exodus goes merrily on; the plowman leaves his mule hitched to the plow and catches the evening train for parts unknown. The Southern propaganda used by newspapers north and south, defining that the Ku Klux Klan and the Jim Crow laws are responsible for the movement fails to hold the laborer south. Reports coming from authentic sources say that the better class have joined the "movement north."

The Urban league in Chicago made a check-up on members of the Race coming to this city on four Sundays, June 17, June 24, July 1 and July 8. The result was that the league found that 3,603 persons migrated here from the south, coming into two stations, the Illinois Central and the Chicago & Eastern Illinois.

Why He Left

A small portion of these newcomers will leave Chicago for other cities, using this city as a transferring place. A small number are expected to return south in the fall—school teachers and visitors to their relatives, but the greater majority have bid the south good-by—forever. "The only thing that will carry me back there," said one man, "is to bury my mother and no sooner than I can catch a train after we have laid her to rest, I'm headed this way again. Why, man, you don't know the conditions, and you folks up here don't know one-tenth what is going on down there. I stood it as long as I could, then I left. When I get a few dollars saved up I'm buying a ticket here for mother and sending it to her. Why, in my town, a Colored man can't buy a ticket to St. Louis nor Chicago. I had to come to Memphis, and had to lie to the ticket agent. A few nights before I left there was a train loaded with laborers for a northern point and the white people put a man with the smallpox aboard and at the next junction all were unloaded. Some were arrested. Man, it's just terrible how they do us," and he gave a sigh of freedom as he looked up at the tall buildings along Michigan Ave. He is one of the many thousands who have come north.

There is much blame placed on the shoulders of the paid labor agents by states in the south. In the state of Georgia 228,938 members of the Race have left in the last three years, and 77,500 of these have left Georgia in the last six months. This report is from the figures compiled by the Georgia Bankers' association (white), and which is expected to have overlooked hundreds of those who have left that the association didn't get a check on—many of the migrants going to other states and then coming north.

The following bill is pending in the state legislature of Georgia, and provides.

"That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons, acting for themselves, or as the agent of any persons, firm or corporation, to enter this state for the purpose of enticing, soliciting, hiring or in any manner offering any enticement or inducement to any person or persons within the limit of this state, or in any way or manner assist a citizen of this state to remove, leave or migrate to any other state or territory.

"That any person carrying on the business of soliciting or inducing, assisting, aiding or abetting any citizen of this state to leave the said state, shall be declared and defined an immigration or labor agent.

"Violations of the law will be deemed not a misdemeanor but a felony with punishment fixed by imprisonment and labor in the penitentiary for a term of not less than three nor more than seven years."

Conditions Must Change

The South realizes, rather the big business man down there knows, that the way to relieve this exodus is not by laws, but by dealing with the Race in an entirely different attitude than in the past. Jim Crow laws must go and the "brother" demands a fair trial in the courts. High wages is NOT the motive for leaving, as pictured by southern jouralists. Injustice drives these folks away. The arguments put up by the southerners are the same as put up by them ten and twenty years ago. The Race is not to be buncoed into staying in the South by the old-time arguments that the "South is the best place" for them. The southern white man has not even tried to make the worker satisfied. Now comes the Ku Klux, an organization that defies both state and national governments. The Tuskegee hospital affair, the recent lynchings in Missouri, Texas and Louisiana, the treatment of the Race all over the Southland, the animosity of the white storekeeper against Tuskegee right in Tuskegee because of the fact that graduates of that school are entering business in that town, all have played their part. The Jim Crow law, added to all these, coupled with the fact that your money is counterfeit for something to eat or a place to sleep or first-class railroad accommodations if your face is black or if you have a trace of "Negro blood" that is visible, is more than a real man or woman can stand and they pack their belongings, sell out at a big sacrifice to find a home "somewhere in the North."

Those who have come North and find they can make a living write back home and encourage the rest of their relatives to leave. All the laws cannot stop this brotherly love for freedom.

At a recent conference between white and Colored speakers in Mississippi to consider the "economic problem," the Colored speakers are quoted as having said, "The mass of the Negro race went to stay here, but THEY ARE NOT GOING TO DO IT UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS."

And Georgia is not the only state to suffer the hardships because of the ill treatment accorded the Race. Alabama has lost three and one-half per cent of the laborers of Color who worked the farm crops last year. They have gone North. Arkansas has lost 15,000 farmers and 22,750 have left the state of South Carolina since last fall.

An Associated Press dispatch from North Carolina states that "the migration of Negroes from North Carolina has stopped 50 highway construction programs."

Pastors, whose churches have been deleted by the movement, have packed their frock coats and gone in search of their flocks. Physicians and dentists have joined the movement. In some sections of the South the entire Race populations of some hamlets have become extinct.

A letter from a friend in this section of the country to his friend down South is defeating the anti-immigration laws passed by the southern states.

Wages have started to advance in the South, but the lock is still on the door of the voting booth, the Jim Crow cars and the segregation laws remain and as long as they remain on the statute books—continue the exodus.

JUL 31 1923

OFFER A ...YSIS ... NEGRO ...ODUS

Colored Citize... ...fore Ki... ...wanians—Cl... ...l Seek to Improve Con... ...s.

Causes for the ... among negroes in the south ... is resulting in the exodus of ... people by the thousands fr... ...he southern cities, including C... ...ooga, were analyzed by a dele... ...n of colored men of this city be... ...the Kiwanis club Tuesday noon ... ...ie Patten. As a result of the s... ...stion made, President John Lov... ...the club announced he will ap... ...t a committee to take up the mat... ...of improving conditions.

The two key talks on the problem before both the white and colored people of the south were made by Dr. P. H. Stevens, colored; and Squire J. Burge, colored. The two speakers were introduced by the Rev. C. A. Bell, D. D., pastor of the colored First Baptist church. The delegation of colored people also included J. M. Bynes, merchant, and Prof. C. L. McAllister, of Howard High school, and also of the Interracial Society of Hamilton County.

"White folks are making a mistake in trying to keep too far away from we colored people," declared Squire Burge. "The negro has always been and is now taught to look upon the southern white man. He just naturally looks to see what the white man is doing. We want to get close enough to you to see what you are doing. We naturally think that what the white folks do is done right."

Squire Burge declared that he could think of many things which were partly responsible for the general feeling of unrest. One instance, he cited, was the movement about twelve years ago for a home for colored girls. He declared that the black woman thinks as much of her daughter and is just as anxious for her to do right as is the white woman. The colored people and their friends sought $5,000 for a home from the county court, he pointed out. The colored people raised $2,000 to equip this home. They failed to get support, and after seeing such projects as the Market street bridge, which cost $1,000,000 paid for by the taxpayers, the women began to lose heart and began to leave, being followed by the men.

Security is Desired.

"The black has always hoped that when the time came the white man of the south, for whom the negro has worked, would guarantee him the security of his home. Fear of mob rule has been one of the reasons for the outpouring."

The Rev. Bell declared that it was an undeniable fact that negroes were leaving the south in very large numbers.

Dr. Stevens stated that the migration of the negro is not a question of malice, but that the colored people are simply following the line of least resistance. He gave as some of the conditions which are inducing the negro to leave poor housing, lack of sanitation, unfavorable living conditions and poorer wages than are received at some places. He then told of the poor living conditions in such places as Onion Bottoms, Tannery Flats and a part of South Chattanooga.

The Kiwanis club decided to hold its annual picnic at Ocoee, the invitation of the Tennessee Electric Power company, extended by Supt. E. D. Reed, being accepted. The picnic will also compliment members of the cast of "Miss Bob White," the last Kiwanis musical production.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
JUL 30 1923

NEGROES ON NORTHERN FARMS.

Editor of The Daily News:

In the issue of July 12 you note an article from the Baltimore Sun commenting on the negro exodus to the north. So far as this movement is toward the cities and industrial centers I suppose this view is entirely correct. However many places in the northern states suffer from a lack of farm help.

About two miles from our former home lives a prosperous farmer who has work the year round for a good hand. This gentleman is noted for his kindness and fairness, yet he was continually losing his hired man. The last I heard he had a negro family in his tenant house and all seemed satisfied. I think the need could be duplicated many (perhaps hundreds of) times throughout the dairy sections of the northern states.

Times have so changed there that unless the hired help can use the automobile, live in a house almost as nice as the employer's own and have frequent time off they are not contented. Send your colored people to their relief. Are they not good workers?

A NEW YORY STATE WOMAN.
High Point.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

JUL 22 1923

Negro Exodus Slightly Felt In Chattooga

Summerville, Ga., July 21.—(Special.)—Although reports indicate that hundreds of negroes in all sections of Georgia have left the state to go north to seek work at higher wages, it is thought Chattooga county has lost the smallest number of any county in the state, probably less than twenty-five having gone from the entire county within the last twelve months, and already some of those who left earlier in the year have returned and settled down to work.

One well known negro here says he attributes the small percentage of negroes who have gone from the county to the fact that the whites and negroes get along together better in Chattooga county than any other place in Georgia.

He pointed out that the court records show that the negroes of this county are law-abiding, and no very serious crime has been charged against one in a long time, the majority of cases in the courts against negroes being for petty thefts, gambling and other misdemeanors, and even these cases are decreasing every year.

Only a few white workers have left the county to find work, and in almost every case their places have been filled with new white men.

Despite the fact that this has been an unfavorable crop year, the farming class has remained on the farm and will try diversified farming, having been forced to this plan because of the wet spring which prevented the planting of a normal cotton crop.

Of course, there were a few tenants who became discouraged over the crop outlook and sought positions at public works, but in the main the best farmers are still tilling the soil and are hopeful of producing a fair crop of the things that are needed at home.

Tobacco growing has to a large extent taken the place of cotton on Chattooga county farms, there being approximately 100 acres in the county, and, it is said, the crop is very fine.

Curing houses have been built all over the county and two expert tobacco men from Virginia and North Carolina are here to instruct the growers. It is probable that tobacco will replace cotton in the county within a few more years.

The contractors and carpenters have not been compelled to leave the county to find employment, the cotton mills of the county having afforded steady work to these men throughout the year.

The peach season is now on and all surplus labor is finding employment in the orchards at very satisfactory wages.

It is understood a number of the negroes who left the county and are now in the north and east will return before winter sets in.

AUG 13 1923

ECONOMIC AND THE NEGRO MIGRATION

Augusta Chronicle: A negro minister writing in The Chronicle, expresses the conviction that the wage question, almost solely, is the controlling factor in the negro migration. He speaks for Augusta and the country around Augusta. The white man and the colored man have gotten along well in this locality.

The Savannah Morning News, commenting on a statement recently made in The Chronicle, suggests that the great publicity which has been given the negro migration will result in the compensation of Eastern and Western farmers coming to Georgia. Recently the Montgomery Advertiser had this paragraph:

"There is an exodus of white Northerners to the temperate zone of the South, but they are not coming fast enough. We could use 20,000 of them right away—if they are rich."

On this The Chronicle made this comment:

We had not heard that there has been a movement of people from the North to the South of the proportions of an exodus.

We are of firm belief that there are many thousands and tens of thousands—and hundreds of thousands—of farmers in the North who, if they knew of the soil and climate of the South as we know of these things, would gladly come to the South.

California adopted the plan of advertising in order to secure immigrants from other states. The effort has proven successful. This year that state is putting many thousands of dollar into advertising. Certainly there is nothing in California which puts that state at advantage over Georgia along the line of agriculture.

Reprinting this, and giving the opinion that "it will be a good thing for the South and for the new settlers coming this way if the number of them is increased by reason of the more generally circulated report of the removal of many negroes from the South," the Savannah paper says: "The race question is emphasized in clashes which primarily are occasioned by economic conditions and economics will do much to correct the losses to both white employer and colored employe in the exodus of negroes from a section to which they are best adapted in several ways. There can be other good They may become, especially, the farmers, more nearly independent. The white farmer of the South has never, except rather rare instances, measured up to his individual potentiality for all-year-round work. The labor scarcity will steady many a farmer's family down to more regular work—and that will add tremendously to the productive power of the section and who in many cases will be inspiration and a stimulus to the native farmer and native labor."

Macon, Ga. News

JUL 21 1923

NEW YORK HAS NEGRO PROBLEM

Many of Colored Arrivals From South Require Help

BRING PIGS, NO CLOTHING

Incidents About Influx of Negroes Told by Paper

The New York Times reports that the influx of negroes from the South is proving to be a big problem in that city. That paper says:

"Among the first people in New York to discover that there was a migration of negro workers from the South was the Travelers' Aid Society. For the last six months its aids have been kept busy, notably at the Pennsylvania station, trying to find homes and friends for these negroes, many of whom can neither read nor write and have used up what money they had. They invariably have the address to which they wish to go in their baggage. The negroes include girls who frequently arrive without five cents to telephone or pay their car fare.

"There is an influx of negroes the last of each week. They get here on Saturday, or start Saturday and reach here Sunday, when, all day long, the lower level at the Pennsylvania Station is crowded with them. Many come from small farms and they are utterly helpless. Some of them have made strange preparations for city life.

"One woman from a farm came to join her husband in Buffalo. He had come on six weeks before and sent for her. When she reached here she had no money and the Travelers' Aid Society took care of her while it telegraphed to the husband, who made arrangements immediately for her to join him. The woman had with her several chickens off the farm, but in her prolonged journey they had lost their freshness and their odor was anything but enticing.

"A man who came to make his home in the city brought his wife and four children with him and in the baggage car all his provisions for city life—four pigs, no furniture and no trunks.

Starts Back Home

"A negro, 80 years old, had been sent for by his daughters, living on Long Island. He passed through the society's hands and duly reached them. But Long Island did not please him and the society received an urgent message soon after to try to head him off as the daughters thought he had escaped and started back home. But they were just too late; he had taken the train. Ten days later a message came from the police asking if they knew an old man who said he didn't know who he was or where he was going. He only knew that his money had been stolen. It was the aged father and again he was sent to his daughters.

"John Griffin's brother Moses, who, escorting a young woman, had come on to see his brother, was another of the strays. He thought he should have gone to Newark, but he had come to New York and he didn't know where his brother lived. The society took care of the two while telegrams were sent to different places in the South to learn John's address. By a coincidence Moses learned the address himself. On the street one day, while waiting for an answer he saw a group of negro men and asked if they happened to know John Griffin, who was a deacon in the Baptist Church. Some one among them did.

"The negroes are of all ages—men, women and children. Some of them have come North to work in factories and some of the girls are going into domestic service. Sometimes they have definite places in view, and when they need aid in such cases it is because of a mislaid address."

Bainbridge Ga. Searchlight

JUL 12 1923

That colored Bishop Flipper talks like a man that has given great and careful thought to the question of the negro migration to the North and both white and black men can get something out of his talk July 4th in Atlanta. Flipper has always shown good sense and taste in his remarks and while just as sincere as possible they are clothed in language that carries conviction rather than to give offense. He is one of the biggest negros in the State.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

A SOUTHERN BUSINESS MAN APPROVES NEGRO MIGRATION.

WRITING from Augusta, Ga., in regard to the movement of negroes from the South into the North and West, Mr. H. C. Middleton, a well-known business man of that city, takes a very optimistic view, believing that this migration will be a benefit to the negroes and to the South.

Mr. Middleton's discussion of the subject is extremely interesting whether our readers may agree with him in all respects or not. The subject is one worthy of careful, broad discussion. With some of the points made by Mr. Middleton we are in hearty sympathy.

Years ago this paper took the position that Mr. Booker Washington was wrong in opposing the movement of negroes from the South into other sections. We said then that a fair movement would be helpful to the negroes themselves and to the South. Here and there some sections may be drained of labor by this migration, but we have no thought whatever that a sufficiently large number of negroes will leave the South to seriously halt its development either agriculturally or industrially.

Some 18 or 20 years ago the cry was heard throughout the South that labor was so scarce that Southern work could not be carried on properly. A number of the iron companies in Birmingham, hampered in their work by a shortage of labor, brought many Italians from the east and tried them for awhile. But the situation later on adjusted itself.

The discussion which is now going on is only a repetition of 20 years ago. The movement now will relatively be no larger than it was then, and as the negro moves out the South will learn more and more to turn its attention to the utilization of machinery to take the place of manual labor.

If out of the present situation there shall be developed throughout the South a spirit that will guarantee right treatment for the negroes—and they have not always received justice in court and elsewhere—the full payment for the work done and the employment as far as may be possible of only the efficient, honest negroes on the farm and in the house, good work will be done for the whites and for the negroes and for the South.

No man can cheat another man without shriveling his soul. No white man can cheat or mistreat a negro without doubly shriveling his soul because the responsibility of the white man is greater in dealing with an inferior race. The South has suffered in many respects because of the ill treatment of negroes by bad Southern white men and the failure of good white men to give fullest protection legally and in every other way to the negroes. To the extent that this has been done it has minimized the moral forces of the whites, for no man can participate directly or indirectly in the mistreatment of an inferior without himself suffering in his moral nature.

We are glad, therefore, to have Mr. Middleton's view of the subject. He writes as follows:

"I agree with you in your views touching the exodus of the negro from the South; I believe it will prove to be a blessing from the skies.

"I told my relative John Temple Graves years ago that I thought I had the better solution of the negro problem: his was colonization and mine was dissemmination.

"I was in Concord, Mass., about fifteen years ago, going out from Boston, and expecting to see a great many negroes at Concord, since it was the home of Abolitionism. I saw no negroes. Inquiry from a knot of gentlemen on the street revealed the fact that there were no negroes there; that the people of Concord did not wish them; and what was more, did not propose that they should live there. I was told that the negroes were given all the 'equality' that could be desired—to sit in the churches with the whites, to go to schools with them, etc. 'But we won't give them any work,' I was told, 'and they soon leave.' There is a great deal in that little incident. I came back and wrote an article about it and asked which was the worse—making a chattel slave of the negro or setting him free and refusing to let him work to earn his daily bread. Mr. James R. Randall wrote an editorial about it here. And some Concord writer responded, saying that the Concord people held the negro in high esteem; gave him all the rights and privileges, to vote, to attend divine worship in the same house as his white brothers, etc. But he did not deny the fact that there were no negroes out there or that the whites refused to let them gain employment.

"If the North would let down the bars with respect to the negro—let him work everywhere, on contracts, etc., beside whites, as he is allowed to do in the South—there would be several millions of them to go North; and this would be a great blessing to the whole country. It would put the North in touch with the 'negro problem' and cause less criticism of the Southern treatment of the negro. But more than all it would relieve the South of the too-heavy burden of educating and civilizing him and enable the negro to advance more rapidly in the country as a whole. Those that went North would meet better means for their betterment than they could receive in the South; and the fewer numbers left in the South would get a better distribution of benefits.

"The best that the negro can get from our white civilization in America is what he derives from the business and social contact with the whites. Congested in the South, on the plantations, etc., this contact with the whites is, and will continue to be if he stays here in such large numbers, too slight and impersonal for him to get the maximum benefits from it. Mixed through the North this personal contact with the whites would be improved; and, his numbers greatly reduced in the South, this personal contact with the whites here would be increased. By reduction in numbers prejudice against him in the South would wane: as long as he stays here in masses, this predjudice, of its kind, will remain to a large degree.

"It is to the negro's interest to dissemminate. It is also to the interest of the Southern white man and the Southern country that he should scatter. We cannot make a great country in the South as long as the negro is here in such large numbers; as well expect 30 to 40 per cent of Englishmen to make a great civilization in Egypt with the remaining population fellahs. Nature abhorbs a vacuum. Whites are kept from filling the South mainly because of the negro. In proportion as the negroes leave, whites will come in. Let the North and West and Europe realize that negroes are leaving the South in great numbers, and their whites will prepare to satisfy a longing to come to this wonderful country—the South will not lack for population long because of an exodus of the negroes. The old quarrel between the North and the South would largely subside.

"I believe the Lord is ordering it all—in the best way, of course. Our laws in the South against the emigration agent should be repealed. We should help the negro to get a fair showing in the North. However, owing to the perversity of human nature, if the North thought we wanted the negro to go there they might want him less; and if the negro thought we wanted him to leave the South in large numbers he might change his mind about going."

Commenting on this situation the Western Recorder of Louisville, a leading religious paper says:

"Several of our exchanges have been saying so many timely and good things lately that we heartily wish we could reproduce many of their fine editorials and articles. We cannot, but we are marking some of them to publish on the first opportunity. Of course, the MANUFACTURERS RECORD is one of these alert exchanges. To use a colloquialism, the RECORD is always 'hitting the ball.' We know of no secular and few religious publications which are such fearless and straightforward voices of high and true principles as is the MANUFACTURERS RECORD. To break in almost at random on a dozen timely editorials in the RECORD of June 7, we note that Editor Richard H. Edmonds backs up a prominent farmer in Mississippi who declares that a great reason Negroes are leaving the South for the North is that 'some white men are swindling them.' The RECORD says: 'That negroes have been swindled by unscrupulous white men is true. They have also been swindled by tricky negroes, but that does not have the same influence upon them as being swindled by a white man. The white man who swindles a negro, or robs him of his pay, or cheats him in a trade, is meaner in soul than is the mangy, flea-bitten cur that slinks into the back alley and lives on garbage.' The RECORD says, and says well, to the same effect.

"The Western Recorder Editor grew up on the section where negroes were numerous. He knows true that an element of the whites have long negroes.

Negro Migration Laid to Terrorism Drive by Agents

A campaign of terrorism and false promises among the country negroes of Georgia to persuade them to go north conducted by about fifty illegal labor agents throughout the state, was charged Sunday by John W. Yopp, secretary of the Georgia Manufacturers' association. Mr. Yopp has just concluded an extensive investigation of negro migration from every part of Georgia.

Mr. Yopp says that more than 90 per cent of the negroes who migrate north have been induced to do so by a carefully conducted campaign of the illegal agents in two ways.

First, the labor agents use various methods to terrorize the negroes into the belief that they will be tarred and feathered, man-handled, mistreated, and perhaps killed if they remain in their native communities.

Second, the labor agents make false promises of permanent high wages in the northern industrial centers, and offer to pay the negroes' railroad fare to the north.

The labor agents are paid from ten to twenty dollars for every negro they ship north. In most cases the railroad fare is not given to the negro, as he imagines, but is merely advanced to him and promptly deducted from his wages after he begins work. The negroes shipped north are mostly gotten for short-time building booms in northern cities, and after the particular job is completed the majority of the negroes are left stranded, with no money to return to their southern homes, all of their wages having been spent in actual living expenses in the northern cities.

Labor agents, it is claimed, usually begin their work in a community with a campaign of terrorism; letters usually signed with red ink are sent to several of the negroes by the agents; these letters tell the negroes that they must leave the community at once or they will be killed, and at times the labor agents spread a rumor about a negro community that the white people are planning an attack on the negroes.

Following this a negro is usually employed by the labor agents to use his influence to induce the negroes to leave. For everyone he succeeds in inducing to go a certain commission is paid him. Then the labor agent "signs up" the negro and smuggles him out of the community to the north. Occasionally the negro who is "signed up" is informed that he is being taken only to Atlanta or some other southern city and then is kept on the train until he arrives in some northern city several hundred miles from his family and the south.

Savannah Suffers From Negro Exodus

SAVANNAH, Ga., June 27.—The exodus of negroes from Savannah has reached such proportion as to demand serious attention and Mayor Seabrook has requested the Chief of Police, Enoch L. Hendry, to have Chief Murphy's department make a searching investigation to determine how and why the labor is being taken from Savannah. It is understood at the City Hall that 1,100 negroes have left Savannah this month. The shortage of labor is being acutely felt by some industries.

Hal Stanley, Commissioner of Labor for Georgia, conferred with Mayor Seabrook about the situation when he was here last week.

WASHINGTON, D. C. NEWS
MAY 26 1923

THE CAUSES OF NEGRO EMIGRATION FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI REVEALED

Food for Thought to Be Found In Statement Issued In Explanation by Committee of Representative Negroes of Jackson

The race question in the South is a delicate one, and The National Republican does not know that it could discuss it in all its phases without doing more harm than good. There is food for thought, however, for all readers of this paper in the following statement issued by a committee of representative negroes of Jackson, Miss., following a mass meeting of members of the race held on May 1st, to consider the now vital question of wholesale negro emigration from the state.

Having been informed that the object of your meeting is to take steps to try to stay the present exodus of negroes from the state of Mississippi and being ourselves property holders, citizens of the state and most deeply interested in the future welfare of the commonwealth, realizing that anything that is detrimental to the common good of the state is equally detrimental to us, and being negro citizens ourselves, we beg to submit the following as a few of the many reasons which cause the negro to be so easily induced to leave his native state:

1. The negro feels that his life is not safe in Mississippi, and that it may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation, by a white man.

2. The record filibuster, vote and defeat by the Southern representation in the last Congress of the Dyer anti-lynching bill has caused the negro to believe that the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate therein lynch-law and mob violence.

3. The negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section. He has lost faith and a few of the following facts all tend to force him to this conclusion:

(a) While he realizes that the law on its face is fair, yet he feels that when it comes to an application of the law to him, only too often it is but a dead letter.

(b) He realizes the fact that though he is equally taxed with the white man, that he gets only too often but few of its benefits, and that while all school money, under the law, should be divided equally, that he gets only about one-twentieth of his share, or in other words: for every dollar spent for the education of the negro child in the state of Mississippi, there are about $20 spent for the education of the white child.

(c) That there are more than one thousand high schools in the state for whites, while there is but one such public school in the state maintained for negroes.

(d) That though there are about eight hundred consolidated rural schools in the state for whites, there is not one for negroes.

(e) That though more than $100,000 is spent monthly for the transportation of white children to and from school, not one dollar is spent for negro children in this way.

(f) That the wage paid negro teachers is wholly insufficient to induce competent teachers, as a rule, to teach negro schools.

(g) That though all schools for whites are built out of the common fund, raised by the taxation of both white and black, the negro is called upon by the state, through its representative, to solicit charity, to build his own little, meagre school house out of his own personal funds, supplemented by philanthropy, wherever he may perchance find it.

(h) Though there are 50 odd agricultural high schools supported by the state for whites, there is not one such school in the state for negroes.

(i) That though the state has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth, at a cost of more than $1,000,000.00 and spends $30 per month, per capita, upon each white derelict youth, to bring it back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent in this way for the reformation of the negro derelict, but he is thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals, only to be made worse in an effort to make the negro derelict a revenue producer for the state.

(j) That though the state has spent several millions in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the state, yet there is not one place whatever in the state where the negro may go and receive treatment for this great malady, notwithstanding the fact that the negro is said to be more subject to this disease than the whites.

(k) That though the state has spent several million dollars for white feeble-minded children, and though the negroes are in the majority in the state, not one dollar has been spent to aid the feeble-minded negro youth.

(l) The capacity and support of Alcorn College is not one-tenth what it should be—the state itself contributing less than five cents per capita, negro population, for the higher education of negroes.

Though there are several colleges and a state normal college maintained by the state alone, for whites, no such institutions are maintained for negroes as such—Alcorn being a Morill land grant school, a federal government school, intended to be the equal of Starkville A. & M. College, but has not had one-tenth of the support heretofore given that great institution.

(m) The state maintains and supports an institution for the white blind, and has for the past forty odd years, but none for negroes.

(n) It appears that almost innumerable negro tenant farmers charge their landlords with either no settlement, or an unfair settlement, and many of these negroes after appealing to both state and federal authorities in vain, have given up in despair and sought other climes, some of them charging that a state of peonage exists in certain sections of the state, and that the rule largely obtains that a tenant can't leave a landlord's plantation until he can get some one to buy him out by the payment of any debt claimed by the landlord—under an old state statute—the landlord being sole judge of how much is necessary to release his tenant, and it is said that this "debt" is only transferred oftentimes to other landlords, from time to time, thereby causing this "debt system" to serve as a kind of a perpetual ball and chain around the necks of many tenant farmers of those sections.

(o) The negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of several dozen negroes of probity.

That public improvements, as a rule, are not made in those sections of towns and cities occupied by negroes.

(p) No landlord should be permitted to sell his tenant's crop, but should be forced by law to deliver to him in kind.

(q) The state of Mississippi sent more negro soldiers to the World war than white, but the negro boys on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the state and government which they fought to defend, than the German enemy whom they helped to stay from American soil.

(r) The negro, generally, finds himself wholly excluded from all jury service, whatsoever, and from all participations whatsoever, in the state and national government under which he lives. * * *

(s) In our humble judgement there is no hope whatever of bringing back the negroes who have already left the state, but the only hope now lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of those who are here.

The negroes feel that most of the foregoing facts are, in a measure, true throughout the South.

NEGRO MIGRATION MOVE UNABATED

Richmond, Va., July 3.—Labor conditions in the south, the result of the migration of the negro, have not improved, but probably have grown worse during the last month, according to the monthly statement of the federal reserve bank of Richmond, made public here. South Carolina has lost more negro laborers than have North Carolina and Virginia, it is stated.

Reviewing the labor situation in the fifth district, the bank statement says:

"Although there has been a decided increase in the number of new construction projects started during the past month in comparison with earlier months of the spring, there has been no let-up in work on buildings already under construction, and of these there are enough to give employment to more skilled workmen than are available.

"The real shortage of labor in the fifth district is in the ranks of unskilled workmen, however, especially among the negroes. The migration of colored men from the farms to northern and middle western industrial centers appears to continue unabated, and southern employment agencies report that agents for large corporations in the industrial centers are exceedingly active.

50,000 Leave South Carolina.

"A survey recently conducted by the extension division of Clemson college in South Carolina states that approximately 50,000 negroes have left South Carolina since November 1, 1922. This survey was made under the direction of the chief of the extension division of Clemson college, and the data were supplied by the county farm demonstration agents, leading farmers, bankers, merchants and other community leaders, and it is generally believed in the state surveyed that the estimate of the number of negroes who have migrated is well within the fact. The number leaving North Carolina and Virginia is less than that leaving South Carolina, but is still sufficiently large to cause concern in the agricultural sections that depend upon hired labor. The migration in North Carolina and Virginia appears to be based upon glowing pictures of supposed conditions awaiting the negroes in the northern centers, but in South Carolina many negroes have left the state from stern necessity. In the sections of that state which have felt the full ravages of the boll weevil there are hundreds of negroes who have found it really difficult to get sufficient money or credit to provide the barest necessities of life, and many of the landowners for whom these negroes formerly worked are in little better condition.

Some Will Return.

"Some of the negroes who go north and west will of course return in time to the south and signs are not lacking to indicate that many of them are finding conditions in their new homes far different from their expectations but probably most of the migrants and especially the younger and more capable ones, will adjust themselves to their surroundings, and will be permanently lost to the south. Whatever the effect of this movement in the long run it is hard for the farmers to adjust themselves to the shortage in available labor so suddenly, and at present many planters are worried about the outlook for the immediate future. The large plantation owners who depend upon tenant or hired labor are of course the chief sufferers from the migration, the small land owner not being affected as a rule since a large proportion of his work is done by members of his own family, and in the cases where he rents a part of his small farm to one or two tenant families, the relation between landlord and tenant is so close that he has found less difficulty in holding his labor than the man who employs many workers and comes in contact with them through overseers.

"While the farmers are chief sufferers from the shortage of colored labor, other industries are also hard hit. Lumber mills are having difficulty in securing sufficient workers to keep their plants running to capacity and brick yards report similar trouble. Paving and road contractors throughout the fifth district could use many more workmen if they could be had at wages the contractors can afford to pay, and city street and sewer work is being delayed in some cases by insufficient working forces. There is hardly a single large employer of colored labor who has not lost some workers during the migration, and those lost in many cases have not been replaced because new workers are not available.

If we understand the negro migration problem in Georgia, the Georgia negroes prefer to operate automobiles at $75 a month in the towns to trudging behind mules in the furrow for $15. It is strange that negroes should have such a preference, isn't it?

NEGROES COMING BACK.

DURANT, Miss., June 27.—Gee Mclain, a negro, who formerly lived on Horseshoe plantation, in Holmes County, has returned from St. Louis fully disillusioned and glad to be in "God's country." McLain was a auto mechanic and tried every g... in East St. Louis for work, but found every one with a surplus of labor. He finally obtained work in an emory wheel factory, but had to abandon it on account of the emory dust being inimical to his lungs. His description of conditions existing there is not calculated to encourage migration up that way. He states that there are thousands of negroes without employment and who subsist wholly upon one meal a day, at the noon hour, which is furnished by the municipality.

When 12 o'clock comes, says Gee, "There is a waiting throng at the city hall awaiting the hand-out." He states that the negroes are permitted to sleep in the municipal buildings and also in one park, which at night is crowded with negroes, so that even a policeman can scarcely pick his way through.

At one time he says he purchased a loaf of bread and gave it to a negro woman who had some children, from this part of the country, and the way they devoured it reminded him of ravenous wolves suffering from extreme pangs of hunger. Last Sunday, according to his statement, six cars of negroes from the south arrived, which but added to the gravity of the distressing situation.

Negroes arriving in East St. Louis from Chicago stated that like conditions obtained in the Windy City.

NEGRO EXODUS BRINGS ROAD BUILDING MACHINE

Butler County Finds Use of Tractor Economical.

GREENVILLE, ALA., June 27.—The exodus of negro labor to northern industrial centers is not giving the Butler county road building and maintenance officials any grave concern. The introduction of the Holt caterpillar tractor as a road building outfit has solved the labor question.

The use of this machine and other road machinery in connection with it not only reduces the labor expense but makes road building more economical. Only a few mules and few hands are necessary to operate the outfit, and negro labor is rapidly being replaced with more efficient and more satisfactory white men in Butler county.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal

JUL 5 1923

INJUSTICE SPURS MIGRATION, NEGRO LEADERS' PLEA SAYS

Appeal to White People of Georgia Asks Remedies for Definite Ills—Racial Equality Ambition Denied

Outlining the contributing causes of negro migration from the southern states, and appealing to the general assembly of Georgia, as well as to the general public of the commonwealth, to remedy a situation which, it is said, threatens to become even more serious than at present, a state-wide conference of colored leaders in Atlanta Wednesday adopted unanimously an address setting forth the situation of the negro population of Georgia.

The conference was attended by some of the best-known colored educators, clergymen, business men and editors in the state. The address was adopted unanimously and signed by the entire group. Bishop J. S. Flipper, of the A. M. E. church, presided at the gathering.

Disclaiming any effort at incendiarism or radicalism, the colored leaders declared their sole intention to be the citation of the conditions which are causing negroes to leave Georgia for northern population centers.

List of Causes

They cited the following causes:

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for negro children.

Poor accommodations for negroes when traveling.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.

Mob violence.

The address was signed by Rev. R. S. Williams, D.D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D.D., LL. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D.D., Ph.D., bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A.M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL.D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D.D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Indiana High school, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. ff A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday school department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

Address in Full

The address in full is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia: Greetings: We, the undersigned representatives of 45 per cent of our state population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously endowed this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our southern states. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our state, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and this condition may continue for a longer period than either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for colored people than our own southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last 50 years may be greatly retarded and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if the conditions to which we are about to refer could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away might return.

On these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy them, if you are willing so to do.

Many Face Poverty

Thousands of colored people, as well as white, because of the ravages of the boll weevil on cotton, which is the economic mainstay of the south, are without means of earning a living. This condition would not be so calamitous but for the fact that the colored people do not know and practice diversified farming. No real effort has been made to teach them practical diversification on the farms. The basis of our rural financial operation is built mainly on cotton production. No credit machinery is provided to initiate, propagate and sustain diversified farming.

The financial powers are directing their attention mainly to the solution of the same problem, as it affects the economic condition of the white farmers in the rural communities. The resources that are available are not sufficient to meet the needs of both colored and white farmers, and discrimination has been shown in the distribution of relief.

We recognize quite thoroughly that it is not possible in an agricultural section like ours, under boll weevil and other unfavorable conditions, for the farmers of Georgia to fully meet the high wages offered by the manufacturing centers in the northern states; that lack of markets for the articles produced and the inadequate marketing system of our section make such wages prohibitive on the part of the Georgia farmer.

We are as thoroughly convinced, however, that it is possible for the Georgia farmer to pay a wage much more nearly commensurate to the labor that he requires, than is now paid; and those who have an intimate knowledge of the scanty means of existence which a large majority of the rural negro population receives from the landlord, are convinced that the high cost of living makes his stay on the farm all but prohibitive.

Another is the poor housing conditions. In our cities the closely crowded tenements with poor sewerage, streets and lights, make it most uncomfortable for the people who are forced to live there. In our rural communities the shanties grouped together in quarters on the plantations, without light or paint, or places for privacy, are not only uncomfortable, but are prolific breeders of diseases, immorality and crime, which in turn have a baneful effect upon the efficiency of the laborers. In our judgment, no wiser investment could be made than that which would provide for our colored communities, homes that would at least be in a measure comfortable, which would in the very nature of things increase the self-respect of the inmates and greatly improve the character and quality of the services which the landlord would receive.

Overseers Scored

A third is the method of supervising the farms in many of our rural communities. A very large proportion of the agricultural interest is owned by landlords who live in the cities and small towns, and who leave the care of the farm in the hands of overseers. These overseers, in most cases, have absolutely no interests in these laborers, excepting the amount of work they can extract from them by long hours and hard driving. Many of them are known to lend encouragement to gambling, whisky making, adultery and crooked living in general, as a means of holding his labor on the farm under the threat of the law if said laborer should choose to withdraw.

What is needed on these farms is not overseers, but captains of industry, who become the leaders of the laborers whom they supervise, and who take an interest in their home life; seeing that they are kept clean and healthy; who are concerned about their religious life, making it possible for them to attend church on Sundays and thus to be led into higher thinking, rather than allowed to loiter about the plantations and spend the Holy day in riotous living; leaders who would insist upon it, as far as possible, that the laborer should become interested in his own economic welfare, and instructed how to save some of what he earns while times are good, for a rainy day, thereby relieving the landlord of the financial burden that is so commonly felt under the present system of management.

Inadequate provisions for the education of colored children is also a very strong incentive to migration. Although we are 50 years removed from the beginning of the public school system in Georgia, four-fifths of all the public schools for colored are taught in churches and lodge halls, with absolutely no equipment whatever to aid the teachers in imparting the instructions which they are supposed to give. In many of them, there is not a sign of a blackboard, nor a single desk, to say nothing of maps, charts, etc., while the public schools of the white people are equipped with the necessary apparatus essential to modern ideas in education, at the expense of a public school fund. Nine-tenths of these rural colored schools are taught by teachers who have never completed as much as a first rate, eighth grade grammar school course, and who know absolutely nothing of the advantage of a normal school training, such as is necessary to prepare people for the holy task of developing the human mind. The salary of these teachers in many instances is smaller than the wage of the plowhands laboring on the same plantations.

New High Schools

As to high school education, aside from a few teachers' training schools, made possible by the philanthropy of Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, there are less than a dozen junior high schools for colored youths, and only one for a four-year course, while there are more than one hundred for whites.

Although the negro performs 75 per cent of the agricultural labor in our state, there is not a single first-class agricultural school for colored people in Georgia, and only three of any kind, and these receive such small appropriations that improvement upon what they are now doing is practically impossible; while there are twelve for whites, one in each congressional district, aside from the state agricultural college.

We recognize the fact that even the schools for white people are receiving altogether too small an appropriation, that our state university, colleges and technical institutions for whites are themselves suffering immensely from the lack of funds to do the work which is absolutely needed, but we do not consider these facts sufficient grounds for those who have in charge the distribution of the funds appropriated, to divert practically all of the funds for these colleges to those for whites to the almost complete neglect of those for negroes. For instance, out of an appropriation of $750,000 to this higher educational work, $735,000 was appropriated to the white schools against $15,000 to the colored. How does this $15,000 for the higher education of colored people in Georgia appear compared to the North Carolina appropriation of $1,250,000; Louisiana, $500,000; Mississippi, $400,000; Texas, $500,000, and Virginia $750,000?

We also believe, as the records in other states prove, that the public school interest for colored people in Georgia would be greatly enhanced if our state authorities would appoint an upstanding, high-toned, well-prepared colored supervisor, whose office and labors would be under the supervision of our state superintendent of education. Georgia, with her boundless resources, surpassing most of the southern states, cannot honorably plead poverty as an excuse for her failure adequately to care for and nurture the educational interests of any part of her citizens.

Accommodations for travel are a constant menace to every self-respecting colored person who boards our passenger trains. It is not unusual to find the coach provided for colored passengers to be at the same time the baggage car, mail car, the butcher's booth and the conductor's desk, where our wives and daughters are frequently subjected to the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered.

Justice Under Law Asked

Very few things have contributed more to the present unrest among the colored people and to induce them to seek shelter in other sections than the inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law. Too often he is made to feel that law was designed solely for his punishment, but not for his protection, along with other citizens. His life is too cheap in Georgia. In practically every instance of personal difficulties between a white man and a colored man, the colored man alone must suffer. If he strikes in necessary defense of himself or habitation, he invariably suffers the extreme penalty of the law, if perchance he escapes the fury of the mob. If his life is taken by an individual white man, the coroner's jury invariably denominates it justifiable homicide. If his life is taken by a mob, even in broad daylight, it is always found that he came to his death at the hands of parties unknown. This inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law can be remedied if those empowered with the authority of government would observe the oaths that they have taken to administer the law with justice and impartiality.

Unskilled colored labor in Georgia has suffered grievously by the operation of the iniquitous contract law. Under the guise of this law, colored laborers have been held in a state of involuntary servitude, for long periods of time, subjected to corporal punishment, murdered with impunity, confined to certain restricted quarters, their downsitting and uprising being as closely guarded as in the days of legal slavery, from all of which conditions and cruelties he has often been wholly unable to escape.

We urge the repeal of this law in order that heartless landlords may no longer have apparently legal leave and sanction in their trampling upon the constitutional right of the laborer to be rewarded for his honest toil.

Our greatest disturbance, however, is the open defiance of our laws in the form of mob violence. The most disturbing menace of all evils which we now suffer is the menace of the mob. No influence has done more to drive colored people away from the state, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our state, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of colored labor here, than the influence of the mob. In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe over night; and unless checked, it is bound to become a cancer to gnaw away the vitals and destroy the usefulness of one of the most richly endowed states of the union.

The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization. This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary, would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us. We desire for ourselves and our children because of our blood sacrifices, our self-denial and our toil for Georgia and our country, to feel that the immortal Declaration of Independence written by the illustrious Thomas Jefferson and others is the foundation upon which Georgia's civilization rests, and that the words set forth by it are really and truly the basis upon which all the people are to work out our future well-being.

Fundamental Cause

The cause of most of the trouble to which we have above referred lies in the fundamental error of attempting to run a democracy without all the people. The leaving of 45 per cent of the population of Georgia out of its government affairs, in our judgment, is largely responsible for the one-sided program which the state is operating, and the neglect that the colored people now sustain.

In a democracy one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of the ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show, that, as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the white people among whom we have lived for three centuries. We lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good white people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scarecrow, "social equality" and "negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the colored man in the governmental affairs in our state, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the white group to the end that the white man of big business and of big business capacity may also be eliminated from the politics of the state, and the government left

off the old block." Our record of patriotism cannot give, but which is so essential to a well-rounded humanis is common knowledge to all, and we only us this, and we pledge you covet a fair chance to serve in the largest effort in making Georgia what possible way. our fellowmen deserves to be—the best and mo Deny Equality Desire full of all the states in the unio We deny the charge that we have either deny us this, and insist upon it, ambition for so-called social equality or that life which bread alone cannot give; must continue our existence unde desire for negro domination. We point with we covet it for you; we covet it for our- justices which we have so much pride to the record of the loyalty and selves; and in the name of Him who said patiently endured, then we are faithfulness of our fathers through two it, we challenge you to join us as Christian declare that it were better for t and a half centuries of slavery, the last people, in the task of working out a pro- poor sacred and enchanting the o four years of which put them to the gram of justice, equity and Christian and church ground, however stre severest test. How well they stood brotherhood, which shall include both ties that bind us to our good white test, let the pens of your own illustrious groups, each separate in his sphere, that worthies and the tongue of your own im- shall guarantee to both, the fullest oppor- mortal Grady tell. tunity to come into the heritage of that We, their sons and daughters, modestly larger and purer life which bread though proudly boast that we are [illegible]

WINSTON SALEM, N. C., Journal

JUL 22 1923

The Negro Up North.

There are indications that the great influx of negroes from the South is not regarded as an unmixed blessing in the Northern cities most favored. For example, Philadelphia's director of health reports to the Mayor that "the increased migration of negroes from the South" has caused a situation "enteirely out of control of our present forces" and asks that "additional inspectors" be appointed. He fears "serious danger" to the health of the city from "overcrowding in various parts of the town" and calls for "prompt abatement of insanitary conditions." It seems that political difficulties are also feared in some quarters. Recently a negro committee called on an announced candidate for mayor, told him that there are now 140,000 voters of their race in the city, and intimated that they (the committee) "controlled" most of these.

Commenting on this effort to do business betimes, the Philadelphia Record says: "No small group of colored men control a majority of the colored voters of Philadelphia. The condition is worse than that. A majority of the colored voters of Philadelphia are controlled by a small group of white men, leaders of the Republican party." The Record adds that the voters, "colored as well as white," should be interested in electing a new administration that will give the city honest and efficient government, but it does not seem hopeful that the new accessions from the South will better a situation that it has often complained of in the past, asserting that the majority of Philadelphia's negro voters regularly accept the dictation of the dominant political machine for a substantial consideration.

KNOXVILLE, TENN. JOURNAL

JUL 23 1923

Laws Against Negro Migration.

In South Georgia, it is understood, there is being considered the enactment of a law making it a felony for any individual or company to solicit labor in that state for employment in any other state. In Alabama the same object sought is to do it in another way. There the labor solicitors would be deterred by requiring them to pay a tax of $5,000 in each county in which they may do their soliciting. In some of the other states it has been made a misdemeanor with a fine attached.

It may be opined that such methods are unconstitutional; but as the saying goes, "What is the constitution among friends?" However, the situation borders closey upon the desperate, in the case of desperation the doctors are excusabe if they resort to desperate remedies.

The solution suggested by the New York Times, a paper that will not be accused of unfriendliness to the South if not better, it is certainly not unworthy of sincere consideration. That paper says the real solution is by removing the incentive to migrate. The same suggestion, perhaps, in a different form, has been made by some of the papers published in the South. While the object sought, primarily, is higher wages, the New York Times avers "there have been reasons of a deeper sort which have had a greater influence."

The conviction of many members of the race is that they are not accorded fair play. Not long ago it was mentioned, and quoted, what has been said by the Columbus Ga.) Enquirer-Sun had had to say to the effect that the negro does not receive justice in the same measure as the white man, and that he is given inadequate protection.

It may be presumed without doubt, that other things being in the main equal, the climate of the South is preferable to the negro to that of the extreme Northern states and cities. In any event, he should be given a chance, if he imagines he will get along better farther north he will migrate. It is not assured he will better himself—but he has a right to try to better himself.

Columbia S. C.

Record

JUL 23 1923

Effect of Negro Migration on the South.
Progressive Farmer.

Negro labor has been cheap labor, and because it has been congested in the cotton-growing South, it has made cotton a cheap labor crop, a low priced crop. The Negro has lived in a shanty, has gone half-lad, poorly fed, and made cotton on this basis, and the white man making cotton had to compete with this sort of cheap labor. It has been a competition as ruinous as that which the white Californians faced when incoming Chinese and Japanese with their low living standrads began to threaten California with pauper labor and pauperism. The reason England has not been able to grow cotton in her colonies is simply because Southern Negroes and Southern whites, by going poorly housed, poorly clad and poorly fed, have made cotton virtually on a slave wage basis, and therefore cheaper than England could grow it in Africa.

Moreover, a large part of our Southern Negroes making cotton have not really been farmers, but simply persons eking out existence by getting rations from a store while they helped pile up an over-production of cheap cotton by growing "cotton and nothing else but cotton" to pay for their supplies. No wonder farming hasn't paid. Agriculture has been prostituted to make profits for a mercantile class.

If more Negroes of this "cropper" type go north, it will lessen the production of cotton and boost cotton prices while at the same time making room for more real farmers in the south. The new farmers will grow the hay, meat, lard, canned goods, milk, poultry, cheese, etc., of which we now import so much; will take better care of the soil; and will take more interest in rural social and community life, rural education, and general rural progress. And such a result, as we have said before, will help not only the white farmers of the south, but thrifty and enterprising negroes also.

Charleston

S. C. Journal

JUL 24 1923

The Negro Migration

Northern newspapers are making much of the fact that a bill has been introduced in the Georgia Legislature which would severely punish the soliciting of labor for other States. The New York World thinks that this emphasizes "the increasing anxiety of the South over the departure of negro workers."

Perhaps it will be as well to wait and see whether the Georgia Legislature passes the bill in question before drawing any very sweeping conclusions.

There are, of course, a great many people all over the South whose feeling as to the negro migration is accurately reflected by this proposed measure. They honestly believe that the South will be terribly injured unless the exodus of the negroes can be stopped and they are prepared to go to almost any lengths to stop it.

This point of view while perhaps rather widely shared is not universal by any means. There are a great many other people who believe that the departure of a considerable number of negroes from this section will prove a postive benefit to the South in a variety of ways.

It is improbable that the attitude of the majority of Southern white people is represented by either of these two extremes. The great majority of the Southern whites have as yet given this matter very little thought and feel very little concern about it one way or the other.

Most of the anxiety as to the effects of the negro migration exists, naturally, on the farms in those sections where lands which had been prepared for cultivation this year have been abandoned. No very trustworthy information is available as to how frequently this condition is to be encountered.

The plain fact of the business is, as this newspaper has pointed out again and again, that a considerable part of the South's negro population has existed solely for the purpose of picking the cotton crop after it had been made. With the decline in cotton production brought about by the boll weevil it would have been a problem to take care of many of the negroes in this section if just at this time the shutting off of foreign immigration had not opened up work for them in the North.

So far there has been absolutely no occasion for the South to take alarm because a great many negroes have gone North. All the conditions combined to make such a movement inevitable. Nor has the South at large experienced any alarm. Of course there are individuals who may have been injured.

The most intelligent opinion in the South agrees, we fancy, with the New York World that no penal law against enticing the negro North is likely to avail much. It is mainly a matter of where the negro can best market his labor. The North does not want the negro but is taking him because the immigration laws shut it off from getting white labor from Europe. There is no clamor in the South for any lowering of the immigration bars.

The World thinks that in the South the negro has proved "an economic blessing and a social complication." As to that Southern opinion has long been divided, though the World's view is probably held by the majority. When the World adds that the negro's problem is "not solved by the exodus" but "is merely scattered and shifted" it indicates why it is that so many Southerners have welcomed the immigration.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

WESTERLY R. I. SUN
MAY 28, 1923

THE NEGRO NEGRA

The deep concern which the south is now feeling over the emigration of negroes to northern states has its origin in the operation of the law of supply and demand. The negroes are going north not because they desire a change for the sake of change, but because there is a much greater demand for their labor in the north than in the south. The fact is that the negro is not a migratory individual. He is a home-lover, even though his home be but a shack. Only unusual inducements in the form of better compensation, better treatment, and better opportunities, could cause negroes in large numbers to leave the south for the strange surroundings and more rigorous climate of the north.

If the south is suffering great loss by reason of the migration of colored workmen, that section has only itself to blame. This is practically admitted in resolutions adopted by an organization of business men in Georgia asserting that "the situation may be bettered if the best element of the white people work together to eliminate, so far as may be, any injustice done to the negro, and to secure for all of them good living conditions and fair treatment, and to show them that they are in reality far better off in the south than in any other section of the nation."

Labor is leaving the farms and going to the cities because it gets greater compensation there. People who are alarmed over the danger of underproduction of food must make up their minds that if men are to be kept on the farms the farmers must have a better income. It is the law of supply and demand that causes farmers to leave the country and go to the city. When a sufficient number of farmers have left the country to reduce production and cause scarcity of food products, there will be higher prices and greater profits for agricultural producers. The shifting of population will correct the present inequalities.

BOSTON MASS. GLOBE
JUN 1923

THE NEGRO MOVES NORTH

A SINGULARLY observant friend of mine expressed astonishment, the other day, because he had noticed for the first time that a transformation was going on outside the very doorstep of his city. It was suggested by a gang of negro workmen, laboring on a section job along one of the railroads near Boston.

The picture is bound to surprise a good many; and its meaning is worth study. News of the migration of negro labor from the South into the industrial centers of the North has been filtering through the press for a dozen weeks; but to folks as far North as Boston the matter scarce seemed one of local interest. Those dusky track toilers, however, tumble all such illusions sharply to earth. They emphasize, as well, the importance of a question already affecting many States.

The negro migration is a very solid fact. According to the National Industrial Conference Board, more than 100,000 Southern negroes have pushed Northward during the six months just ended. The flow seems to be gathering in volume. As these newcomers, who are deserting agriculture for industry in locations hundreds of miles away from their traditional American homeland, come into contact with Northern ideas, atmosphere, and the larger measure of freedom accorded their race in these parts, letters to friends left behind are likely to keep the movement in being for some time.

This new dispersal of our black populace comes as a climax to other migrations. In 1790 the center of negro population in the United States was at Petersburg, Va. During the next 80 years it moved first Southward, then Westward, until, in 1910, it swung Eastward. Two years ago found it 9½ miles further East and 19½ miles further North than the preceding decade. Since then it has pushed still further up the map.

Reasons for the latest swelling of this migratory tide are not far to seek. Social and economic pressure in the South, and a sudden industrial suction in the North, has loosed the flood. Negro discontent below the Mason-Dixon line has been discussed for decades, but it is certain that only an abrupt dislocation could ever overcome the indolence and easygoing philosophy of acceptance which mark most of the Southern negro population. Their natural preference of domicile is the South, and that preference has counteracted to a marked degree their discontent. It has made them willing to endure much before electing to follow paths of industrial pioneering in sections dogged with a less congenial climate.

Of late, however, the irritants have increased, while a swift collapse of indifference seems to have occurred. To the long-standing discriminations in politics and social status, to lynchings and ostracisms, there has been added the organized and frank hostility of the renaissant Ku Klux Klan, and the crushing burden of an economic serfdom of which these folk have but recently become conscious.

The South, under the so-called "cropper system," has an enormous number of small-scale negro farmers. Georgia, for instance, has 113,000 negro tenant farmers out of a total of 190,000. They do not own their holdings, and by devious methods of landlordism they have been pushed into a plight of tenant bankruptcy. By taxes, rental charges, and vague postponement of settlements almost every time settlements are demanded the negro farmers find themselves kept in perpetual debt; their initiative is dulled, and their outstanding obligations have a fatal tendency to eat up nearly the entire fruit of each farmer's efforts on the land.

With such economic unwisdom in full swing in the South, along came the new immigration law, which within one year created a dearth of cheap, unskilled labor in the United States particularly in such intensive Northern industries as steel, railroads, and factories. And when maneuvering had failed to ease immigration restriction, the steel business discovered Southern labor—a potent multitude, stirring with discontent, accustomed to paltry wages, and docile before such benevolent Christian necessities as the 12-hour day and the seven-day week. Other Northern industries, similarly hit by the labor shortage, were quick to make the same discovery. The next step was inevitable: swarms of labor agents penetrated the South. Within a short time the exodus was on.

The South, however, is by no means agreeable to losing its productive man power. From the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi action is being taken by Southern States to check the migration. Labor solicitors are being arrested and fined heavily under Southern laws; and negroes are being turned back. More sensible, on the other hand, is the growth of Southern efforts to ease the negro of some of his burden of economic disadvantage. Already, in many sections of the South where it was never heard before, there is talk of showing more practical appreciation for the negro and his contribution to Southern prosperity. If the South loses its labor, where will the replacement come from, and at what cost? are questions Southerners are asking.

On the other end there are questions, too. Northern ideas about negroes look to be soon in for test of practice. Northern labor is finding a newer and vaster task of assimilation confronting it than it has tackled in decades. Northern negroes, long settled, and familiar, so to speak, with the lay of the land, are wondering about the arrival of brethren who have all of a new atmosphere to absorb and a new sense of responsibility to develop.

Only time will tell the answers to these questions. While the answers are developing the problems are well worth attention.

Uncle Dudley.

So much of its colored population is leaving the south that the question involved in the emancipation amendments to the federal constitution eventually may solve themselves.

EXODUS OF NEGROES GIVES 'WOBBLIES' CHANCE, SAYS AD

Associated Press Report.

NEW ORLEANS, La., July 8.—The Industrial Workers of the World, "masses cheek-by-jowl and shoulder to shoulder," are gathered in New Orleans "watching the trek of the negro laborer to the North, East and West, while they wait confidently the time when they shall step forward and fill the vacancies in the cotton and sugar field and lumber industries created by the exodus of the black," according to a statement in a full page advertisement which appeared today in a local newspaper.

The advertisement, printed in display type, stated that it was "the first of a series of frank talks on the general labor and business situation by a group of leading Louisiana institutions."

Its title was "peace and prosperity or pillage and perdition."

"Kept on the qui vive by the exhortations of their red leaders," read the text, "they are preparing to treat the South and its resources as they treated the forests of Washington and the wheat fields of Nebraska and Kansas.

"In the exodus of the negro laborer from the South, let us remember we can stand anything but the substitute offered by the wobblies.

"The lack of snap and jazz in 'Old Black Joe' and its repeated promise of 'I'm coming' is much better than the red notes of the 'Internationale'," it concluded.

Influx of Negroes Into St. Louis Makes the Problem of Housing More Complicated Every Month

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
JUNE 29, 1923

Benevolent Societies Report Caring for Sick Immigrants From South Who Have Come Here Without Means.

Provident Association investigators and agents of other relief organizations in St. Louis have found as many as twelve negroes living in a house large enough for only one small family. Many of these houses are in disrepair and water and toilet facilities are inadequate.

Landlords are unwilling to make repairs, and responsibility for insanitary conditions rests as much upon the white owners of these houses as upon the negroes, many of whom are unused to city living conditions.

The Star yesterday published an article based on its investigation of heavy negro migration into St. Louis from the south, and of a smaller negro exodus from St. Louis to the north and east. It was estimated that fully 20,000 negroes have been added to the city's population since January 1, when the movement began.

Many Youths Arriving.

At the headquarters of the Provident Association, 2121 Locust street, it was said that an unusual feature of the migration was the large number of arrivals from 17 to 19. They and all the others come poorly equipped and the Provident Association has been called upon in numerous instances to care for those who fell sick. A few days ago a negro woman arrived from the south with 75 cents. She fell ill and received temporary aid.

A negro prominent in affairs of the Urban League, 711 Market street, an organization affiliated with the Provident Association and having branches for social service work among members of the negro race in many large cities, says there is plenty of work for negroes coming to St. Louis if they can find places to live. Fully 75 per cent of the negro arrivals from the south were remaining here last May, but, in the opinion of the Urban League representative, this percentage has decreased, due in part to the housing shortage.

"I do not believe the movement of St. Louis negroes to other cities is extensive," the league worker said. "The demand for labor here is too strong for any general movement out of the city.

"The negro is coming here and seeking work that will not lead him into a blind alley. He wants to train up to something better than common labor. He can live here well under ordinary conditions at $8 a week and have a good margin if he can earn $15 or $16 a week."

The Urban League placed 278 negro men and women in jobs last January, 276 in February, 386 in March, 457 in April, and 635 in May, with prospects that the number will be larger in June. Last January was the high month up to that time. The negroes are going to steel mills, tobacco factories and railroads.

Negro Realty Man's Views.

Edward Nixon of the Langston Harrison Real Estate Company, 2325 Market street, a company owned by negroes and handling property in the negro districts, described the housing situation as steadily growing worse.

"There has been quite a bit of residence property sold to negroes seeking to avoid high rents," Nixon said, "but comparatively few negroes have saved the $500 or thereabouts necessary to make a first payment even on an old house. The houses that are for sale generally are in the poorest neighborhoods. Many are not fit to live in. The negroes coming with their families object to these conditions. Many come from the country and small towns to better their conditions, and they dislike to go into the slums.

"Rents have gone up 30 to 40 per cent recently. Owners of old houses are willing to rent but will not make repairs. Some of these hovels are bringing 30 to 40 per cent on the investment. A house that could be bought by a negro four years ago for $2,500 can't be bought for less than $5,000 now. An old eight-room house in the negro district brings $50 to $60 a month rent."

At the office of the Abernathy Real Estate Company, 2363A Market street, it was said that prospects were slim for new houses to accommodate negro labor and that there was no likelihood of relief on that score.

Situation Affecting Health.

Dr. Max Starkloff, health commissioner, discussing sanitary conditions among negroes, says that a vaccination campaign is being carried on among both white and negro men and women workers, entire factories being subject to vaccination at one time. Some of the larger employers of labor, like the Pullman Company, make vaccination a requisite of employment. The Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, at its plant at Folsom and Tower Grove avenues and the Frisco tracks, probably is the largest single employer of negro women and girls in the city. Upward of 1,000 work there at times.

The settled conviction among persons studying the sudden increase in negro population is that health conditions will become serious and crime problems more complicated unless a movement is begun to study and relieve the situation.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. GAZETTE
JUNE 3, 1923

NEGROES CONTINUE TO FLOCK NORTH

However Arrivals Now Are Beginning to About Balance Departures.

Five thousand negroes have left Little Rock within the last two months, joining the northward migration to New York, Chicago, and other Northern and Eastern cities, according to information received from ticket offices of the railway stations here. An average of 100 north-bound tickets were sold daily to negroes during the first six weeks of this period, it was said.

Approximately 125 houses in the negro residential districts of the city have been vacated within the past two weeks, according to the various rental agencies, and it is said that the number of negroes leaving here was much larger during the first six weeks of the migratory period than it has been during the past few days. The housing problem is not causing any trouble here, the agents said.

Contractors employing negro labor are beginning to experience some difficulty in keeping their lists complete, and industries using negro help are experiencing a slight letdown in activity, which, however they believe is only temporary.

The number of negroes arriving in Little Rock at present is about on a par with those leaving, and although there is no accurate way to estimate how many are arriving each day, the situation is just about at a standstill, according to officials of the Board of Commerce. Recent information is to the effect that many of the negroes who left Little Rock in the early stage of the move northward are returning daily having found conditions in the North harder than they had expected.

It is believed by men in touch with the negro situation here that the move has reached the turning point, and that within the next few weeks a return of practically all the negroes who went North will be seen.

THEATRES FEEL DRAIN CAUSED BY MIGRATION

By J. A. Jackson

Performers and those interested in the show world have just begun to notice the probable effects of the migration of wage earning Negroes to Northern industrial centres.

The first noticeable effect has been the diminished patronage in a number of Southern cities. In some few instances theaters have actually been obliged to close. Skipping the closed town has added to the transportation costs of shows and acts, and reduced the route by one or more weeks.

A more pleasing outgrowth of the migration, is the promise that is held out of the establishment of theaters in Northern centres of Negro population that have heretofore been too small to be considered by show interests catering to Negro patronage.

Within the past three months several different theatrical groups have set about investigating the possibilities in the towns whose Negro population has been augmented by the migrants. Contrary to the general impression these Negroes are not going entirely to the big cities. Many are going to the smaller towns. Bridgeport and New Haven, in Connecticut; Haverstraw, N. Y., Bethlehem, Altoona, Johnstown, and Farrell, Pa., Akron and Youngstown in Ohio, Gary, Ind., are typical of the cities that may in the very near future justify the establishments of a colored theater. There are many other similar cities.

The most natural result will be that it will be possible to find a big new market for Negro talent. These towns will provide the needed jump breakers between the already established theaters in the big Northern cities. All indications point to the organization of a new circuit with Washington and Louisville as the Southermost cities.

APPALLING CONDITIONS DUE TO MIGRATION

Telegrams to the Georgia Manufacturers' association from leading charity organizations in Philadelphia, Detroit and St. Louis indicate unmistakably that a very serious situation now exists in those cities among newly arrived southern emigrant negroes, and that should the migration from southern states continue the situation in Philadelphia will be "appalling" and that unskilled negro labor in Detroit will be "in dire straits."

The following telegram from T. E. Dolan, superintendent department of public welfare, Detroit, is in response to an inquiry from John W. Yopp, secretary of the Georgia Manufacturers' association:

"Unskilled colored labor is a drug on the market at the present time. New arrivals are finding it difficult to obtain employment. Housing conditions are very bad. If period of unemployment continues, unskilled colored labor will be in dire straits. City is not financed to take care of an influx of southern negroes or non-residents of any class."

The Society for Organizing Charity, which is the leading charitable institution in Philadelphia, reports conditions in that city as serious, and declares that if widespread unemployment should develop the condition of the newcomers would be appalling:

"Housing shortage here makes conditions southern unskilled negro serious. Living in crowded quarters that menace health and life. Sixteen people recently discovered to be living in one room. Canvas of 61,135 dwellings by Philadelphia Housing association in April showed only 56 for rent at less than $50 a month. Few, if any of these available for negroes. Should widespread unemployment develop, condition of these newcomers would be appalling."

The St. Louis Provident association wired as follows:

"There is an increasing number of southern unskilled negroes coming to St. Louis. A growing problem is recognized. Serious attention now being given to the problem, and local sources are meeting possible emergencies such as housing, unemployment, etc."

Lowndes Not Suffering From Exodus of Negroes

Bob Goldsmith, lawyer and farmer of Lowndes county, visited at the capitol Saturday morning his county was not suffering particularly from the exodus of negroes. He said the Lowndes county negro only worked from the middle of February to laying by time. He said the women and children gathered the crop and really the negro men worked less in Lowndes county than they would have to work to make a living in any other section of the United States.

"We have had too much rain," said Mr. Goldsmith. "But in spite of the rain we have pretty clean fields in our county. The only trouble I find is that cotton has not put down the tap root necessary for its successful existence. If you plow too close, a cotton stalk as high as your knee will toumble over to the ground. The continued showers have kept the ground wet for about an inch on the surface while the sub-soil is hard and dry. The stalk has not rooted sufficiently. It has gone to weed and heavy foliage and looks pretty. I am not so sure the yield will be heavy. The boll weevil is with us as usual. What corn we have looks well. We have not planted enough."

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Negro Migration Problem Discussed at Big Bethel

The negro migration problem, which is now occupying the attention of leaders of both races in every section of the country, was discussed from every viewpoint at a meeting held Sunday afternoon in the auditorium of Big Bethel church as a part of its educational and thanksgiving anniversary.

The program included addresses by prominent white citizens and by leaders of the negro race, and proved one of the most instructive yet held in the interest of creating a better understanding between the races.

There were more than 1,000 people present when the meeting started at 3 o'clock, a large number of white people being present. The program lasted from 3 until 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and no phase of the migration situation or causes leading up to it was left untouched.

Clark Howell, Jr., Speaks.

After the invocation had been offered by Dr. R. H. Ward, pastor of Allen temple, Clark Howell, Jr., business manager of The Constitution, delivered an address in which he dealt with the problem facing Georgia in a clear and concise way, stressing the economic and social disadvantages to be met by negroes in a foreign section of the country and contrasting them with advantages of Southern institutions.

He stressed the fact that the white man in the south sympathizes with the negro and understands him, and that he is more willing to work for his best interest than is the case with people in a section in which the negro has lived only a short time.

Law Enforcement Urged.

An address by W. Woods White showed the relation of the southern negro to the law. He said that many negroes attempted to escape the duty of assisting in the enforcement of the law, but that this percentage is now decreasing. His advice was for the Georgia negro to carefully consider any change of residence and to weigh all the possible disadvantages with the apparent advantages before making a decision.

"Think the whole thing over slowly and then make your decision," he said. "Show an interest in your brothers and care for them. That is the only way to build a nation and a great civilization. Be patient and wait for the great nation which is in the making."

Judge George Hillyer, who was to have presided at the meeting was detained and A. Montgomery, of the Coca-Cola Bottling company, acted as chairman. Judge Hillyer, however, arrived in time to make an address in which he said that the problem of the races was an old question, and one that would take the best thought of leaders of both to successfully solve.

"Up until 1865 there were probably not five separate churches for negroes in the entire south," said the speaker. "Then the negroes sat in the gallery and white people downstairs. A better feeling was felt between members of the two races then.

"Not more than 300,000 negroes were brought from Africa to America. At the end of the war census reports showed that there were between seven and eight million. Now there are nearly twelve million in the south. Nothing in history rivals this growth."

Dr. Richard Stinson, of the Atlanta Normal Industrial institute, said in his address that the normal work in Atlanta needed more money. The school, according to the speaker always has been ready to help every boy and girl in Georgia and has done much to eradicate illiteracy.

A report that Atlanta churches would help rebuild Big Bethel church which was destroyed by fire February 16, was made. One report said that more than 600 members of the church had left for the north since the migration began. A collection was taken at the meeting for the building fund.

Rev. R. H. Singleton yesterday said that many of the negroes who had left had returned after they found the true conditions which existed there. The best of the southern negroes are remaining in the south, he said.

WHITE GEORGIA URGES MIGRATION REMEDIES

LEGISLATURE ASKED FOR BETTER SCHOOLS, DIRECT POWER IN GOVERNOR TO DEAL WITH SHERIFFS WHO NEGLECT DUTY NUMBER LYNCHINGS GREATLY REDUCED—LEGAL AID RENDERED VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE

Atlanta, Ga., July 1923—Immediate suppression of mob violence and lynching, more generous provision for Negro education, and the employment of Colored farm and home demonstration agents to teach the people how to make a living under boll weevil conditions were the most important steps urged by the Georgia Race Relations Committee, not only as matters of justice but also as essential to stop the northward migration. The Committee, in session here a few days ago, called upon the authorities to do their utmost to put down mob violence, and all good citizens were urged to stand behind the officers and the courts in all efforts to this end. Attention was called also to the need of giving the governor authority to deal effectively with sheriffs, who are delinquent in their duties.

Legislature Asked to Act for Education and Health

The legislature was asked to provide more generously for Colored schools of higher grade and each county was urged to build at least one good school of this character.

The Committee called attention to the valuable work done by the few Colored farm and home demonstration agents in the state, and the employment of such agents in every county was recommended as a means of teaching the people how to make a living under boll weevil conditions.

The Committee asked the legislature to appropriate $15,000 for a training school for delinquent girls and also emphasized the need for a state tuberculosis sanitarium for Colored patients.

It was reported that the woman's section of the committee had secured funds for the employment of a Colored public health nurse to work throughout the state, organizing and training groups to look after maternal and infant welfare.

Work Against Lynching

During the past two years the committee, through its secretary, Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., has directed its efforts largely to the suppression of mob violence, through public sentiment and court procedure. During that time the number of lynchings has greatly decreased, one only having occurred in the first half of 1923. A great deal has been done also in the way of supplying legal aid to helpless Colored victims of mobs and other injustice. Many of Georgia's best people are active in the committee's membership.

NEGROES COMING BACK.

Hugh Fontaine Brings 25 from Chicago, 75 Wanted to Come.

TUPELO, Miss., Sept. 1.—The back to Dixie movement for negroes was started recently by Hugh Fontaine, manager of a big plantation of Commerce when he brought 25 back from Chicago. Mr. Fontaine was experiencing some trouble in getting labor on his plantation, so he decided that he would go north and see what he could find. He was rather surprised that the great majority of the negroes were ready and willing to come back to their homes in Dixie, for the bright future painted to them by labor agents didn't materialize, and the result was a long day's work, fairly good pay, but exceedingly high prices to pay to live. The net result was that the negro was worse off than when he left the south, and was ready to make all kinds of promises to get back again. Mr. Fountaine visited Gary as well as Chicago, and he never had a bit of trouble getting a large crowd to meet him at the station with their baggage to head south again. He had at least 75 negroes, he said, that were anxious to come back home, he picked out 25 of the best and left the rest standing at the station, some of them with tears in their eyes, because they were not of the chosen few. They all promised to come back as soon as they were able to save enough money to bring them home. Mr. Fontaine says that within 90 days that labor will be plentiful again.

JUL 31 1923

CALCULATED TO DISCOURAGE EMIGRATION OF NEGROES

The Illinois dance-hall riot proves nothing conclusively except that there are people in the Middle West who are viciously ignorant. The color line may be occasionally ducked or gone around, but it may not be broken by direct assault.

The invaders of the dance-hall may have originally come from the South, but if they did, they have been associating with some mighty ordinary Middle Western white folks. So long as the negro associates with white people who keep their place he keeps his. There may be an exception now and then, but there is no concerted action such as has been reported from the town of Worth.

That only one should have been killed as the result of the intrusion of fifty blacks into a white folks' dance is the strangest thing in connection with the whole disturbance. Doubtless there will be more killings resulting. In almost any Southern community, the total casualties would number fifty at least. But there is no Southern community in which the Worth incident could have transpired.

Whether the negroes' best friends are in the South is something that requires argument; but there can be no doubt as to whether the South is better off without such negroes as those who break into a dance-hall for the purpose of dancing with white women. Such negroes have no friends anywhere.

The pity of it is that they make uncompromising enemies for innocent people.

JUL 20 1923

WOULD STOP LABOR EXODUS.

In Georgia the State Legislature is endeavoring to check migration of negroes and other common labor to industrial centers of the North by making it a felony to solicit labor within the State. The proposed bill makes no exception. It provides for no licensed labor agents and makes all found guilty of violating its provisions, subject to a three to seven year term in the penitentiary.

Of course, at this writing it is not certain whether the bill will pass. The Free Press is not sure that it would be upheld by the courts if it was enacted into law. The fine question of the constitutional right to pursue a livelihood where conditions seem to be most attractive is involved and if labor agents are shown only to be holding out bona fide opportunities for bettering working conditions of the individual laborers, it's doubtful whether they can be held to be felons.

The labor exodus is one of the acute problems confronting the South and must be solved in an intelligent way. Labor agents or no labor agents, there is bound to be more or less migration of labor if conditions are not what they should be, and The Free Press is rather inclined to the view that a conference of leaders representing both races and employers as well as laborers, would be more effective than drastic laws. Of course, the laws will keep out unscrupulous agents as well as others if they are properly enforced, but the enforcement is a rather difficult matter.

JUL 17 1923

TRACK WORK OR IDLENESS.

In the Philadelphia Public Ledger a Pennsylvania Railroad official is quoted as saying that negro laborers "will not stick. We use negroes as track and common laborers. Many of them refuse to do that kind of work and remain idle rather than not have a 'soft job'." The trouble is that many of the negroes who go North expecting to find soft jobs will have to choose between track jobs or idleness—and idleness in the big cities of the North when winter comes will be something unpleasant. None of those cities will take care of a large population of idle negroes—it will be either work or freeze—and the work on a railroad track in zero weather and worse will also be unpleasant.

MIGRANTS ARE MAK NG GOOD

In a previous issue, we published an official confirmation of the fact that the migrating workers from the South are being absorbed into Northern industries. Since then we have received from unofficial sources further information concerning the manner in which these migrants are making good, especially in parts of Ohio and Minnesota. New York Age

The report sent out from Cleveland several weeks ago by the Ohio State Employment Department, to the effect that no openings for labor were to be found in that city, was characterized as misleading and intended to discourage members of the race from entering into jobs through which they can gain a higher economic status. Our informant reports further: 9-1-23

At Columbus the colored people are doing fine.

At Cleveland an industrious colored person can always get a job.

Akron is a sporty and immoral town. Colored men have good jobs, but they spend money as if it grew on a "white oak tree."

At Canton there is a large element from Georgia, who work in the mills and various industries.

In a watch factory, employing from 800 to 1000 white men, they have three colored gold melters and platers, requiring high mechanical skill and reliability. In Canton there are two colored undertakers and one of them is hired by the whites as often as by the blacks. There is one colored doctor and one big grocery conducted by a colored man.

All over Ohio Negroes get work in the mills and manufacturing plants.

Going further north to Minnesota, this same correspondent writes:

In Minneapolis we have ten or more colored tailors. One of them, a black man, cuts and fits and his trade is exclusively white. He is a migrant from somewhere "down home", as can be told by his rich Southern brogue.

We also have one colored drug store, one undertaker, three or four doctors, three dentists, three beauty shops and too many recreation parlors or pool halls. These last resorts keep the young men away from the trade schools, night extension courses at the University of Minnesota and the night schools.

Over 2,000 Negroes work in the various meat packing plants.

Our correspondent concludes that from all that he can learn and see the Negro migrants have made good, and their success from an economic standpoint is an argument in favor of the exodus.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA. Times-Union

JUL 28 1923

WHY NOT SOME DISCRETION?

If the United States statutes cannot be stretched to allow the entrance of a babe born on shipboard while its parents are en route to this country they are simply ridiculous. But it seems, according to report sent out by the Associated Press recently, that an infant, born to Polish parents while on their way to this country cannot be admitted because the ship was flying the British flag—and the "quota" for British immigrants had been filled for the month!

Every now and then something occurs similar to this incident. And always there is discussion of immigration laws which are based on numbers rather than quality. It must be evident to the intelligent that the immigration laws, like some other legislation that is not altogether popular, have been framed to suit the American Federation of Labor, an organization that would exclude every worker not at present in this country and then advance wages ever higher until the situation demanded something like a revolution to readjust matters to livable conditions. Union labor now demanding and getting pay out of all proportion to that accorded other essentials, has reduced working time, condoned inefficiency, bought corruptible politicians and denied the right of non-union labor to work. It is now doing its best to prevent any importation of foreign labor, skilled and unskilled, and the lawmakers apparently can see no further than they are directed by Samuel Gompers.

"Keep out immigration," demands the labor unionist. "If the industries are suffering let them call for the negroes of the South." It seems as though there had been some such call in the past six months, and the response has no doubt caused some change of sentiment. The southern negroes, mainly unskilled and to a great extent incapable of entering and learning many trades or taking up technical work, have to some extent left their homes and their occupations in the South and migrated north and west. That they have not and will not fill the places that are open because of the "quota" immigration law is certain.

ROTARIANS TALK LABOR.

Regular Luncheon Discousses Negro Exodus To North.

HELENA, Ark., June 14.—The Helena Rotary held regular meeting in the basement of the Methodist church Saturday noon when they assembled. Sharkis' orchestra furnished the music and Robert Gordon led the singing. Skip Adams was introduced as the new baby admitted to it. Coots Lyford called a meeting of the "on to St. Louis" committee. J. W. Ramsey introduced the one and one half fare to St. Louis. Geo. Sanford introduced E. E. Darnell who has recently been acquired from Indiana. Mr. Darnell told why he came to Helena, and of his experiences in other places and of his success in Phillips County. George Barnes told of his trip back home to Connecticut. He said that the negroes were working in the copper and brass foundaries and that they were not satisfied, that the work was too hard and the hours too long. As one negro said to his boss, "You don't want no man, you mants a mule." T. W. Faulkner was named as delegate to St. Louis in place of the secretary. John Wharton paid tribue to J. W. Ramsey who leaves today for Fort Smith to take charge of the public schools there. Dave Solomon outlined the plan of the Chamber of Commerce to attract and secure small white farmers for the uplands of Phillips County. It was a very interesting and beneficial meeting.

Arkansas Gazette

TO THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Look first to the power that created the earth for you to live on, the air for you to breathe, the water for you to drink and the neighbors for you to live with.

Look to the advantages of climate, soil and season and their adaptability to your people and nature. Look to the fact that by native your parents before you were adapted to and stationed in a warm climate. Look to the fact that after being transplanted to this country it was the Southern part of it that furnished the homes and opportunities for the greatest number of them to live and prosper. Look to the fact that the place that was good enough for your mothers and fathers to live and die in should deserve the respect and support of their children. Look to the fact that emancipation put it up to your mothers and fathers to get homes and firesides in which to live and rear their children, and need for something to do to get food and clothing for themselves and children.

The place where and the people with whom your mothers and fathers obtained those necessities deserves your loyal support and lasting gratiture. Looking in that light, it seems clear that the place for the colored people to live best is in the south.

M. D. FLEMING.

A negro lawyer of Memphis.

Migration Costs Georgia Over $27,000,000

Pittsburgh Courier

MANCHESTER, Ga., Sept. 20.—According to a survey made by Mr. James S. Peters, of Manchester, Ga., president of the Georgia Bankers' Association, the loss this year to Georgia alone, through the migration of Negroes, will approximate the huge sum of $27,000,000, or an amount that would have permitted the expenditure by the state of nearly $175,000 for colored schools in each of the 155 counties. Mr. Peters claims that in the wake of the departing Negroes 46,674 vacant farm houses and 55,524 idle plows are left.

9-22-23

Railroads In Plot to Hold Negro South

Chicago Defender

6-16-23

WASHINGTON, July 12. — The Interstate Commerce Commission is investigating charges preferred by Northern Negro organizations and individuals who complain that in the effort to check the migration the Chambers of Commerce and the Rotary Clubs of the South, combinations of white capitalists, have demanded railroads to stop issuing prepaid transportation to colored people desirous of leaving the South. Affidavits in corroboration of these charges have been filed with the commission.

WATERBURY CONN DEMOCRAT

JUNE 6, 1923

HOW TO CHECK NEGRO EXODUS

We read of opposition in the south to the migration of negroes into the north and of methods—some of a questionable character—to check such migration. If the south wants the negroes and the negroes prefer the south, there are just two means of keeping the bulk of them there. First, higher pay for their labor than they are now receiving, for it is mainly the lure of high wages that carries them northward; second, better treatment than—in general—they now receive. The Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-San even gives the second requisite first place, for, though recognizing that economics are concerned, it says:

"The negro does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him homes think that any sort of shack is good enough for the negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the negro fails to receive the proper attention."

Speaking along similar lines, the Albany (Ga.) Herald blames the Ku Klux Klan and thosemasquerading as Klansmen for the negroes' unrest and desire to go north, pointedly observing that no people like to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror which drives people to flee from it. Questionable methods may serve the purpose in some instances, but even in those only temporarily. There is no escape from the commonsense conclusion that the only way to hold the blacks in the south is to make them contented and that the only way to make them contented is to pay them more and treat them better.

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE EXODUS

Our morning contemporary, the Atlanta Constitution, is spending much energy in a much labored effort to lessen the effect of the wholesale exodus of Negroes from the south to the north, in general, and particularly the exodus of the Negroes from Georgia. Georgia Negroes seem to lead the Negroes from other states in migrating north, east and west. Atlanta Independent

Admitting that our neighbor is fairer in its discussion of this problem than other southern newspapers, we cannot acquit it of what seems to be a fundamental weakness in southern journalism. The Constitution, like a majority of the southern press, is lacking in frankness. It is not candid in the discussion of the migration problem. It is a well established policy of the southern press to hide real southern conditions, when they involve the black man's interest. The press is not large enough to deal with the Negro as a man. It seems to think that it takes something helpful from the character of the white man to grant the Negro a square deal. It seems that the white man south will never learn that the highest proof of the perpetuity of his civilization and the strength of his racial character is best demonstrated by his willingness to accord a weaker people a square deal; an equal opportunity with a stronger race; to write its name in deeds of usefulness, in the world's history. Atlanta, Ga.

Our neighbor puts much stress on the fact that the white man south is the Negro's best friend. Personally we believe there is much truth in the claim, for the reason the northern white man and the southern white man view the Negro from different angles. 3-1-23

The southern white man does not see the Negro as a man, but as a ward whom the white man owes certain helpful consideration, which do not embody an equality of manhood or opportunity; the northern white man looks at the Negro neither as a ward nor as a man, but as a group of people, entitled to neither his assistance, nor the rights of a man. And choosing between the two attitudes, we agree with our contemporary that the south is the best home for us and the southern white man, in a way, is our best friend.

A goodly number of southern editors take the position that the Negro needs the south more than the south needs the Negro. Now, ignorance and prejudice is the father of this thought. The south is an agricultural country, more so than any other section of the country. Its soil is best fitted for the production of the neccessaries of life. You can produce everything in the south that is produced in any other section of our common country, and in addition thereto, cotton, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, peas of every description and various other agricultural products. The Negro is better fitted for the production of this necessary wealth than any people anywhere on earth. The south is the greatest field for unskilled labor. Seventy-five per cent of the working class of Negroes are unskilled.

But the story of hardship and suffering among Negroes who migrated from the south to the north, played up by the Atlanta Constitution, based upon an excerpt clipped from a South Carolina paper, no more explains the reason of the exodus than it purposes a cure. The much talked of boll weevil contributes but little to the underlying cause The underlying cause is the white man's treatment of the Negro as an economic element in the agricultural, industrial and political economy of the south.

The Negro would be perfectly willing to stay in the south and outlive the boll weevil plague, if the white man would accord him humane treatment; would take the same care of him and give him the same encouragement in the education of his children and protection of his life, liberty and property that he gives every other class of immigrants. The Constitution, in common with the white press of the south, ought to be frank, ought to meet the issue and stop theorizing to cover up the real causes for the unrest and migratory spirit of the Negro.

The white man in the south has contributed but little to make the Negro an asset rather than a liability, and his failure in this all important economy, is not chargeable to his meanness or inbred unfairness but to his failure to see the necessity of developing the Negro into a useful and helpful factor, a law-abiding and property holding, voting group in self-defense. If he would encourage the Negro by helping him to get a home, buy a farm and develop it along modern lines, educate his children, to make him feel that he is a citizen by teaching him the helpful and wise use of the ballot, by letting him exercise it and permitting him to feel safe in the protection of the law, there would be no more happy, prosperous and loyal group of citizens anywhere in America But so long as the Negro is menaced by the Ku Klux Klan, contract labor law, bandits, mobs and lynching bees, there will be no rest of the south's most valuable labor asset; and the south will suffer and impoverish itself just in proportion as it allows its stronger citizens to outrage, mob, murder and swindle its weaker group of citizens.

The white man is a law unto himself in every section of this country If the law is observed, he is responsible for it; if it is violated, he is responsible for it; if anarchy prevails, he is responsible; and wherever poverty, ignorance and immorality ranges; he is responsible. The Negro must be made to feel that the law was made for his protection and not his punishment; that the primary purpose of law is not punishment, but protection. But the Negro feels, when he reads daily of the discriminations made under the livery of the law, that the law is against him and in favor of the white man; that the law was made for his punishment and oppression and not for his safeguard and protection.

What does the Constitution and the press think of the adjudication of the Jenkins murder case in Screven county last week? Jenkins and another white man called an old ante-bellum Negro, who had been sick in his bed, from his home at a late hour of night to help them pull their automobile out of the mud. The old Negro was weak and unable to extricate the car. Jenkins, enraged and maddened with mean whiskey, shot the innocent old man to death and then severed his head from his body. In due course, he was indicted, apprehended in Denver, Colorado brought back to Screven county and tried and found guilty of involuntary manslaughter, and given one year in the penitentiary.

At Greenville, Georgia, during the same week, an eighteen year old white boy and his father were tried for stabbing to death in cold blood a Negro girl. The son was found guilty of manslaughter and given one year in the penitentiary. The father has not been tried, yet the son testified that his father committed the crime.

Now, when justice miscarries as it did in these two cases, every Negro in the community feels that his life is but a toy for some drunken white bully to make a target of, and the best thing he can do is to go north, east or somewhere else; that he would rather freeze or starve to death in a country that affords him protection than to be shot to death, lynched or burned at the stake in a land where he has plenty of bread and plenty of work to do. He would rather live among his enemies and feel that his life was safe, than live among his friends where he is likely to be lynched or shot to death as a pastime.

What we want is frankness. Our neighbor, in common with the ruling element of the white south, must learn that a nation or a people like an individual, will reap what it sows; that if you sow to the wind you will reap a whirlwind; that whatsoever one people measure unto another, it will be measured back to them. It does not pay to gamble any more in human life and rights than it does in cards and money Neither will pay a permanent, or lasting dividend.

CONFERENCE ON NEGRO MIGRATION HELD BY FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

Richmond, Va.
3-17-23

The Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches called together on February 23, 1923, some of the church leaders from the principal northern centers for a day's conference to exchange experience and information on Negro migration. The purpose was to get some consensus of opinion on things which the churches and other agencies in these local centers may do to serve the newcomers better than heretofore. Not knowing how many of the church leaders would be willing to come no attempt was made for a large conference. The Commission asks particularly that the step be not considered as formal or inclusive .

There were present church leaders from eighteen cities in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio District of Columbia: Michigan and New Jersey, representing several denominations and including representatives from church federations in five cities the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Directors of Negro Work in the North from four of the large denominations. Two sessions of about three hours each were held.

At the opening of the Conference a Committee on Summary and Recommendations was appointed which sat during the conference and kept record of the discussions. These dealt with a number of important topics involved in the coming of Negroes into northern centers. At the close of the conference this committee was authorized to make the following summary and recommendations from the discussions and to send them out to all persons interested:

While there is no way of ascertaining figures that show the extent of the movement of Negroes to the North during the past welve months, there are definite indications which justify the conclusion that there will be a large movement during the spring and summer of 1923—larger than during the last two or three years.

Negro population of Southern birth in the North has increased each decade at the net rate of about 10,000 per year except during 1910-20 when the average annual increase was more

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY OF THE

Richmond Planet

than 34 000 per year. The present 3 per cent Immigration Law will continue at least until the Congress of next winter. The immigration figures of last year give the impression that instead of about 40 per cent expected in flux of the immigration of pre war years only about 11 per cent of foreigners came in. Northern industry, therefore, will be short of labor. As is already evident this is leading many industries to admit Negro laborers in large numbers.

Reports from such industrial centers as Detroit Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh Philadelphia, Buffalo; Bridgeport, Hartford, indicate that Negroes are being employed in industrial plants in such numbers as to lead to the belief that the migration of Negroes to these northern centers has been proceeding above the usual number and that it will increase. Several of the bishops of the A. M. E. Z.. C. M. E A. M. E. Churches and leaders of other Churches have reported that large numbers of their constituents have left the rural districts the past fall and winter for the North.

Migration of Negroes has taken place during the past fall and winter, which is unusual. We may infer what an increase there will be with the coming spring and summer. The large increase of Negro population in many northern centers that has already taken place, and the facts which indicate a probable large migration in the immediate future make additional action by white and Negro churches urgent.

1. We recommend that as rapidly as possible local federations or councils of churches, woman's missionary federations and local church leaders, cooperate with other community agencies—social, civic and commercial,—to form general interracial committees in northern cities to deal with the questions of race relations.

2. The question of relations of the races has a fundamental religious significance and must be solved by application of the principles of brotherhood. We recommend, therefore that these race relations committees and the church and other agencies bring the leaders of the two races into conference in order that they may get a better understanding of each other; that they may know the facts of their relations and may develop the attitude of cooperative goodwill. The white and colored leaders, through these channels may work together not as independent races working separately each to its own advantage, but jointly as friendly neighbors of their common community. White and Negro ministers hold the key to this situation and upon them rests great responsibility for the initiative. The white and Negro churches can help Negroes to become related to the community on all sides of the common life.

3. We recommend that in every city some colored person or persons be definitely appointed as workers to Negro travelers and that this be done in cooperation with the National Travelers Aid Society that definite arrangements be made for relating such travelers to the community through local churches or federations and councils of churches; and that special attention be given to locating them in suitable homes and neighborhoods.

4 Realizing the vital relation between housing and family and morals we recommend that the churches encourage practical movements for improving conditions of housing among colored people particularly the new migrants, by cooperating with authoritative agencies for housing betterment, and wherever necessary and practicable by promoting housing facilities.

The cooperative plan of purchasing homes has been found effective in cities where well managed. The attention of business men industrial employers and philanthropists is called to well attested experiences which indicate that provision of good houses for Negroes is not only a community service but a remunerative investment. The Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches has agreed to collect and make available for inquirers information of such successful housing projects.

5. We further recommend that these interracial committees in cooperation with all interested agencies promote employment of Negro newcomers by

1. Interviews with employers to open up new opportunities for Negro workers.

2. Keeping contacts with employers of Negro labor to advise on perplexing problems and to encourage further employment.

3. Talks to Negro workers themselves in churches and factory meetings about punctuality, regularity, attitude toward their work, and other items of efficiency.

4. Discussions before white church congregations commercial and civic organizations concerning the usefulness of Negroes as workers and on related subjects.

5. Presentation of the case of Negro workers in a favorable light thru the newspapers.

We urge ministers of churches that have numbers of Negro newcomers to keep in touch with them at their places of work and to establish cordial relations with their employers.

6. Religious advancement is undoubtedly fostered thru leisure time activities. Therefore we recommend:

1. That vigilance be exercised to see that Negroes may have access to public facilities for recreation and that when necessary such facilities be provided in neighborhoods where they live.

2. That colored people be stimulated to avail themselves of the advantages of parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums etc.

3. That existing church property and equipment be used to greater extent for service of the people seven days of the week.

4. That community centers and parish houses be established wherever practicable.

5. That social programs be undertaken in churches and that the use be made of suitable motion pictures, dramatics, and similar recreational features.

6. That efforts be made to see that the enforcement of municipal regulations for commercialized amusement centers frequented by Negro patrons is the same as that for places frequented by white patrons. Experience of many cities shows that this can be best accomplished by the action of interracial groups.

The churches of the two races have a challenge to free Negro residential neighborhoods from amusement agencies that link up with vice and to see that moral expectation and police protection shall be applied to Negro neighborhoods as to others.

7. That ministers give increased attention to their young in recreation as well as in worship, and that some suitable man for leading the boys and woman for leading the girls be designated to direct such work with the young people of the church.

7. It is highly important that there be the closest cooperation between the churches and church agencies and community agencies. We recommend:

1. That among the first steps in making plans of work a study of the outstanding problems affecting Negro newcomers and race relations be made.

2. That a study or survey of community agencies available to Negroes and to white and Negro churches assisting them in a city or district of a city be made and that the information of such survey be utilized in the work of the interracial committee or other groups that undertake to aid newcomers.

3 That wherever there are community agencies dealing with problems that affect Negro people and race relations the white and Negro churches so relate themselves through the interracial committee with such agencies that the Negro people may share in the responsibilities and benefits of such agencies.

8. One of the greatest and most indispensable needs of the Negro newcomers to the North is competent church leadership. We recommend therefore:

1. That in community and Christian [illegible] in Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and in connection with well equipped churches training classes for volunteer and part time leaders be formed.

2 That more attention be given to discovering and giving openings for experience to young people who manifest qualities of leadership in religious and Social Service, and that periodically pastors present to their young people the call for such service and the necessity of thorough preparation for it.

3. That increased provision be made by church agencies and boards for better college and university opportunities for such leaders.

4 That opportunity for special experience and training in executive work for interracial and Social Service be offered to suitable candidates in church federations and councils and in institutional church activities.

9 Worship and religious education for the newcomers is of first importance. We recommend therefore:

1 That special attention be given to provision of more church buildings and better equipment. The undesirable "house front" and "store-front" places of worship spring up partly because more suitable places are not available. The fact that Negro churches are usually inadequate and poorly equipped to meet the present influx and that in some places less than 40 per cent of the people are enrolled in church membership or attend church services present a situation demanding serious consideration.

2. That cooperation and advice between white and Negro churches be encouraged for the better location of churches in the making of church-building programs religious education programs, and in the equipment and operation of community centers, etc.

3. That the stronger churches give special attention in their plan of worship to the needs of migrants, giving them a share in it that will lead them to feel at home and will enable them to contribute to the life and service of the churches of their choice.

4. That churches of white membership be urged especially to help provide better training for Sunday School and other religious leaders and to give representatives from Negro churches larger participation in denominational and inter-denominational conferences institutes. and other meetings which will prove mutually helpful.

5. That special attention be given to methods of religious education for forming and inspiring the character and religious life of these people.

The attention of churchmen is called to the Negro as a tremendous religious asset; he is a church-goer; he seeks the church environment; he is responsive to the church appeal.

Does the Boll Weevil Do It?

The Greensboro *Daily News* quite agrees with the *Manufacturers' Record* that the Negro is not migrating from the South because of bad laws and treatment and vindictive public opinion, which condemns the innocent and the guilty alike without due process of law; it says he is migrating because the boll weevil has thrown him out of work and the restricted immigration makes his labor profitable outside of the South. It also thinks that it is a good thing for some parts of the South to be rid of its Negro people, and that in the scattering of them North and West will divide responsibility for him. All of which may be accepted as food for thought. 3/17/23

The enocomic and other influences which work for a more general scattering of the Negro people among the other States than those of the South, with its consequent dividing of responsibility for the treatment of the migrants, is a side of the question which should give white people more concern than it does. They say the boll weevil does it,—scatters the people and divides responsibility for their treatment,—but the boll weevil is not, according to the Federal Constitution, the Almighty God of this Republic, and can even nothing of wrong or of right. The movement of large masses of people, in all periods of history, has had a spiritual providence and direction which learned mankind little consider. There has always been a Divine purpose in it all which escapes the wise men, and it is doing it now in the migrant movement of Negro people.

2,000 COLORED TO LEAVE.

CARUTHERSVILLE, MO., Mar. 12.— A carefully organized campaign of intimidation has driven more than 2,000 colored workers from the cotton fields of Southeastern Missouri within the last thirty days, according to complaints made to local officials here to-day.

NEW HAVEN CONN UNION
FEBRUARY 25, 1923

WHY ARE THE NEGROES COMING NORTH?

Editor UNION:

The Negroes are coming north because they are not discriminated against by the white people of the north, like they are in the south, and therefore have a better chance of getting the gainful occupations. Also if a negro is arrested for a misdemeanor he knows he has a better chance of a fair trial than in the south, where lynch law takes the place of the legally constituted courts, in many instances where the black man is involved. Also many unscrupulous employers take advantage of their inferior intelligence by employing them at reduced wages and thereby lowering the standard of living of their white brothers of the north, which often causes strikes and race riots.

J. P. B.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

EXODUS AND SOUTH'S INCONSISTENCY.

Apropos the general discussion of the migration of colored people to the North and the propaganda of certain newspapers regarding the rigors of the winter and the black man's inability to endure the frigid weather of his new-found home, reveal an inconsistency that beggars description.

Several years ago some of our white people started an agitation about either deporting all the colored people to Africa or colonizing them or annihilating the entire race.

They soon dropped the latter phase when they began to realize that it was easier to talk about than to accomplish and then began to center all their fire either on deportation or colonization—anything to get rid of the black race.

Mind you, this agitation was initiated in the South and found its strongest and most ardent devotees and exponents "in the land of cotton," 'possum, watermelon "'n everything."

Through the exigencies of time, after this agitation had run the gamut of wild-eyed propaganda, the colored people began to relieve their white friends in the South of this burden and put in motion an exodus from Dixie that stands without parallel in either sacred or secular history, and the end is not yet.

These dark-skinned Americans are still going North and East in large numbers and their hegira has precipitated a very acute economic situation in the South and the scarcity of farm hands, particularly, threatens to ruin the South both agriculturally and economically; many of the South's largest planters and heaviest land owners having been reduced almost to a state of bankruptcy by the sudden and unheralded departure of the colored brother.

What is the result? What do we witness today, almost without exception?

The same Southerners who formerly agitated the deportation or colonization of the colored race, are now either in the "amen" corner or on the "mourner's bench" praying for the colored brother's return and their daily and weekly organs have been pressed into service with a view of discouraging and dissuading other colored people from deserting the farms, factories and industries of the South.

As we said once before in these columns, our white people in the South remind us of the lines in one of the celebrated "blues" song hits: "I don't want nobody who don't want me—don't you leave me here!"

The South has been too inconsistent along many lines and its attitude regarding the exodus of the colored race is another concrete example of this inconsistency.

Having paraded the fact to the world for years that the South could get along without the black man, this same section today is yelling itself hoarse in a vain and futile attempt to stem the tide of migration and has brought out all kinds of propaganda to deter those of our race still in the South, who, perchance, may be seriously considering changing their residence from Dixie to the North.

Why all this furore and discussion about the migration of the colored man, if he is the type of individual that the majority of the Southern publications have portrayed him to be during the last fifty-odd years?

If the colored man is not a real factor in the South, why worry, waste time, spend money and devote columns of editorial and reportorial space in the newspapers and magazines discussing and reviewing the "Negro exodus"?

One of our journalistic contemporary rises to remark that the black man, used to and infatuated with the mild climate of the South, will freeze to death in the North during next winter, essaying to make this argument in the face of the fact that several millions of these people have been residing in the North for the last five years; many of whom hold to the opinion that they would much rather freeze to death in the North than to be burned to death in the South. Can you blame them?

This buncombe and "bullsheviki" reminds us of the antequated and over-worked argument that the black man is dying out, which we have heard from our infancy till this present moment.

In 1619 about twenty black people were brought to this country as slaves and today their descendants number around fourteen million; while only four million were here when the lamented Abraham Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation, declaring these erstwhile slaves free men.

In less than sixty years these four million black people have increased to fourteen million and still we hear the talk about the "Negro is dying out" and that within a few short years he will be extinct in this country.

Facts and figures, which are available on the present exodus, disclose the fact that precious few of these Southern migrants of color have returned to their former Southern habitat, and for the first time in several decades, one Southern state, South Carolina, has a larger white population than colored.

Fully one-quarter of a million black people have deserted the farms and industries of Georgia, which won the pennant for several years in Judge Lynch's league, and every train going northward carries its quota, and often more than its quota, of colored migrants.

In numerous Southern towns the ticket agents refuse to sell colored people tickets to Northern points and recently some federal postoffices in Dixie have refused to cash postal money orders sent Southern colored people by members of their family in the North.

Some states and communities have passed laws against labor agencies and agents, hoping to curb the activities of these men who "lure the Negro from his good home in the South and who try to alienate his affections from his best friend—the Southern white man."

If the colored man is trifling, shiftless, indolent, lazy, vicious, criminal, ignorant, unreliable and withal a bad and irresponsible character, it seems that the South should be delighted at such "good riddance of bad rubbish" and should extend a vote of thanks to those sections that are rendering such a signal service to Dixie by relieving this section of "this constant and growing menace to white supremacy."

Have you ever been to a funeral and witnessed the person or member of the family of the deceased crying the loudest who always condemned and villified the decedent the most while he was living? Can you see a parallel in the present situation?

"What used to be ain't no more" is a pretty apt way of expressing this situation.

It was formerly held that only colored people had smallpox and that white people were more addicted to tuberculosis than colored people.

It was also (and still is) held that colored people have a great affinity and affection for watermelons, but who eats watermelons when the price is rather prohibitive for colored people?

Time brings about radical changes and people change with time, and the black man is no exception to the general rule.

The present situation in the South, occasioned by the "Negro exodus," is too serious, acute and alarming to look at in a light vein; for every Southern state, excepting Texas, has shown a heavy decrease in its colored population since the last decennial enumeration, while several of the Northern and Eastern states have shown a corresponding increase in colored population.

The cause of the migration is fundamental and the power to

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

EXODUS AND SOUTH'S INCONSISTENCY.

Apropos the general discussion of the migration of colored people to the North and the propaganda of certain newspapers regarding the rigors of the winter and the plight of the inability to endure the frigid weather of his new-found home, reveal an inconsistency that beggars description.

Several years ago some of our white people started an agitation about either deporting all the colored people to Africa or colonizing them or annihilating the entire race.

They soon dropped the latter phase when they began to realize that it was easier to talk about than to accomplish and then began to center all their fire either on deportation or colonization—anything to get rid of the black race.

Mind you, this agitation was initiated in the South and found its strongest and most ardent devotees and exponents "in the land of cotton," 'possum, watermelon "'n everything."

Through the exigencies of time, after this agitation had run the gamut of wild-eyed propaganda, the colored people began to relieve their white friends in the South of this burden and put in motion an exodus from Dixie that stands without parallel in either sacred or secular history, and the end is not yet.

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The cause of the migration is fundamental and the power to check it lies in the hand of the Southern white man—he and he alone can stop this hegira; but to do this, he must forego his prejudices and traditions (traditions make slaves and cowards of the best of men) and remedy the existing evils and ills, which are accelerating this exodus of the black man to more humane and civilized climes.

"Nothing is settled until it is settled right." Herein is much food for thought for the Southern white man, if he would rise above himself and his section and demonstrate to the world that he can handle a vexing and perplexing question and not lose his head nor diminish his greatness by so doing.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

Labor

JUL 19 1923

Exodus of Farm Labor Continues in South and Weevil is Reported Bad

ATLANTA, GA., July 17.—Exodus of farm labor continues, according to the Southeastern fortnightly crop report July 1 to 15, made public here today by the United States department of agriculture. North Carolina, the report added, reports a net gain in some counties at the expense of states further south.

The past two weeks, continued the report, have been favorable to all crops except that certain localities were suffering from rain. A good downpour is now needed by practically all of the territory, Georgia and South Carolina corn need it particularly.

Wheat threshing is in full swing in Tennessee, the report said. In North Carolina the harvest is unusually good, following a favorable season.

Considerable quantity of hay has been saved in Tennessee while prospects continue good in remainder of the territory, except where it had been too dry, the report averred, adding that pastures are still in good shape but needing moisture.

The report declared tobacco yield and quality were good and the harvest is now over in Florida and southwest Georgia. South Carolina and Georgia "bright" areas are now harvesting with excellent prospects. Everything is favorable in the new area of North Carolina but the old belt suffered from drouth. Tennessee tobacco is doing fairly well, but "buttoning" rather low. Little topping has been done there.

In respect to cotton the report stated all states report considerable progress in the growth of the plant within the past two weeks. The fields are reasonably clean and blooms are forming rapidly in the South and commencing in the upper region. Boll weevils are particularly bad in South Georgia and Florida, causing a decline in the condition figure.

This pest, the report added, is reported very active in the remainder of the territory although it was held in check by the dry weather during the past two weeks. The crop is so late that the direct weevil damage in the upper part of the belt is hard to forecast and the out-turn of the whole crop is problematical.

Commenting on the southern fruit outlook, the report declared peaches and apples have a less encouraging outlook in North Carolina and Tennessee. In Georgia, the main commercial apple section reports favorably but the general agricultural area indicates a small crop. Georgia peaches are very late and shipments badly behind last year, but it is expected that the Elbertas will even things up. Florida citrus and Alabama satsumas are in good shape. Florida is harvesting early grapes, figs, pineapples and other fruits.

The export season is over in Florida with the exception of onions and melons, according to the report. Both watermelons and cantaloupes have light crops. A considerable acreage of late cowpeas and soy beans is being planted. Great damage by the Mexican beetle is reported in Tennessee and North Georgia, it was said, and it has become a very serious pest. Peanuts are needing rain, the report concluded.

Migration

ORIGINAL ALA. PAPER

JUL 22 1923

NORTH SURFEITED WITH NEGRO LABOR

Warning Against Additional Migration Is Issued By Labor Department.

Warning against further migration of negroes to the North has been issued by the Department of Labor, according to H. E. Oliver, senior examiner in charge of the State-Federal Employment Service. Surveys have been made which show that about all of the negroes who can be used have already gone North and that others going cannot be placed, Mr. Oliver stated.

"I have just received an article sent out by the head of the employment service reviewing conditions as to negro labor in the North, together with a request that it be given the widest publicity," said Mr. Oliver. "This article, by Phil H. Brown in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, points out that just about all of the negro laborers who can be used have been absorbed in the industries in the North. He also points out that with immigrants coming in rapidly under the new quotas there are likely to be more men than jobs this Winter.

The warning referred to by Mr. Oliver is as follows:

"There are decided bearish tendencies evident in the demand for colored labor migratory from the South, steady streams of which have been directed to Northern industries since Nov. 30, 1922.

"A strang impression prevails that the tide of Northern migration has arrived at the crest of demand, for this year at least, and employers are disposed to assimilate the supply already on hand into useful and economic functions of their production. Cleveland, O., where large numbers of these migrants have lodged, is the first to announce that there is an available man for every job in that center, and fear is expressed that Winter will come and find within its gates large numbers of unemployed among this class. Consequently, B. C. Selple, state superintendent of employment service in Ohio, has requested the Department of Labor to broadcast a warning that further placement of the migrants in Cleveland would be impossible.

"While steel and its dependent industries, automobiles, rubber and glass are striving short-handed to keep up a highpowered pace of production, there is a disposition to put the brakes upon other industries using unskilled labor.

"The reopening of immigration for the fiscal year on July 1, whereby 71,565 aliens gain entrance monthly, has probably affected the demand for labor. Records show that the proportion of males among immigrants above that of the females ranges from 96 to 98 per cent, from which the conclusion is drawn that industries will receive from the monthly yield of these entrants an average of 25,000 men. This number just about equals the monthly migration of colored men from the South since November 30, 1922. While the monthly yield of immigrants is being absorbed, the northward trend of colored labor will be arrested, giving Southern farmers and manufacturers a breathing spell in which to count the casualties and cover up their labor losses.

"Public road-building, railroad rehabilitation and general construction employing unskilled labor go steadily forward, and the colored labor lately arrived from the South is deeply absorbed in these activities. A survey completed by the Department of Labor shows that a remarkable number of colored skilled laborers have been taken on in these lines. In twelve northern states the number of skilled workers at which they number of skilled workers has increased 60.36 per cent in one year. A knowledge of the trades at which they successfully adjusted to present skilled requirements of the North.

"But more than half of the Summer season is gone, and Winter, which always brings a check and a retrograde shift to the movements of this labor, is being contemplated, as is suggested by the situation in Cleveland. Immigration will continue to grind until its 1924 quota of 357,803 is exhausted, outdoor colored labor will seek indoor occupations, the work of harvesting will be finished and the cities and industrial centers will be crowded, while workers will not be wanting.

"Stimulated by wide publicity, the Northern movement of colored labor continues; but in face of these facts it should be the part of wisdom to keep the stream within its banks, because an overflow would be detrimental to all concerned. Idleness of these workers in Northern cities during the Winter would be as unwelcome to the civil authorities as to the migrants themselves, and an extension of the movement should be carefully considered with especial regard to difficulties in placement which seem apparent."

I. W. W. WATCH NEGRO MIGRATION

Advertisement Says They Will Fill Places Thus Left Vacant in Fields and Industry

NEW ORLEANS, July 8.—Thirty five hundred members of the Industrial Workers of the World, "massed cheek by jowl and shoulder to shoulder," are gathered in New Orleans "watching the trek of the negro laborer to the north, east and west while they wait confidently the time when they shall step forward and fill the vacancies in the cotton and sugar fields and lumber industries created by the exodus of the blacks," according to a statement in a full page advertisement which appeared in a local newspaper.

The advertisement, printed in display type, stated that it was "the first of a series of frank talks on the general labor and business situation by a group of leading Louisiana institutions. Its title was "Peace and Prosperity, or Pillage and Perdition?"

"Kept on the qui vive by the exhortations of their red leaders," read the text, "they are preparing to treat the south and its resources as they treated the forests of Washington and the wheat fields of Nebraska and Kansas.

"In the exodus of the negro laborer from the south, let us remember we can stand anything but the substitution offered by the Wobblies.

"The lack of snap and jazz in 'Old Black Joe' and its repeated promise of 'I'm coming', is much better than the raw, red notes of the 'Internationale'," it concluded.

Migration

JUL 29 1923

A Futile Way

Alabama and Georgia go about preventing the emigration of their labor supply, in the one instance by making labor solicitation a felony and in the other by taxing labor agents $5000.

Such methods are neither wise nor modern.

These apparently desperate steps will only cause the ignorant and the imaginative to become more dissatisfied with what they know, and to picture to themselves in more attractive colors the state of things elsewhere.

If living and working conditions in Georgia and Alabama are not "sold" to their workers, those workers will be drawn to fields where they are led to believe that they will live more happily and more profitably.

The mails are open. Every reading negro in the South is deluged with publications from the industrial centers of the North, and with negro publications printed in the artificial negro centers of New York and Chicago. These appeal to their fears, to their hopes, to their ambitions. Those who do not read, listen to those who do. The trains run. People come and go and talk—and if some of the talk is decreed unlawful it merely sinks to mysterious and darkened whisperings.

Let us face the situation in the year 1923.

The economic structure of several great Southern industries depend upon the manual labor of some millions of negroes. Those industries must compete, in the open labor market of the United States, for their supply. That means, to hold the labor, that to the individual, the sum of happiness he can get out of life in those industries must be at least as attractive as the sum he thinks he can obtain elsewhere.

We cannot hope, and should not want, to keep the workers in ignorance of conditions here and in other regions. If they are being falsely allured, the answer to falsity is the truth. If the truth works against us, the remedy is in correcting conditions.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

N Y C COMMERCIAL
MAY 14, 1923

Exodus of Negro To Mills In North Resented In South

Dixie Delegates at U. S. Chamber of Commerce Meeting See National Menace in Removal of Native Laborers to Meet Temporary Need.

Important among the undercurrents at the convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States here last week was that of protest by prominent men from all sections of the South against the growing, ill-considered movement by industries of the North to entice away labor, particularly negro labor, from the cotton fields, farms and industries of the Southern States.

Men from many leading producing areas voiced strong disapproval of the aggressive action that is draining fields of primary production of the workers that are needed to carry on the normal working of supplying the nation's workshops and they pointed out that such action cannot but result in injury to the nation generally. They also made clear in many conversations that hurtful ill-feeling is certain to arise from the continuance of such destructive competition for labor as has been experienced in the South in the last few months.

Thousands of acres of cotton land are lying idle this spring because the negro workers who have cultivated these fields in the past have been recruited to serve the purposes of industrial booms in the North, to serve the purpose of temporary abnormal demands, according to representative Southerners. These objected that such labor raids by certain pressed Northern industries not only would prove of great injury to the South, but would create a serious problem for the North when once depleted shelves have been filled and ememrgency construction accomplished.

Labor Reserve Depleted

"The South's Negro labor reserve has been badly depleted by recruiting agents who have been sent by certain industries into the South," said Walter Moore, president of the Empire Coal Co. of Birmingham, Ala., in discussing this question that at present keenly interests the entire South. "Emissaries from Northern industries suffering a shortage of labor have entered various sections of the South to induce farm hands and factory workers to abandon their jobs. Wages are offered that are only possible because of record activity in the industries making the offers, and in many instances the settled laborers have been persuaded away by extraordinary promises that the bidders have had no intention of keeping.

"It is bad economic policy from the national point of view, as well as from the point of view of those sections that are the sufferers, to uproot a settled laboring population and thus to work serious injury to any important producing area. The damage that is being done by these unsound labor raids must react on all sections. Moreover, such a policy, if made a matter of general practice during temporary shortages of labor, must introduce an element of unfair and destructive competition into our national business that will operate to the disadvantage of all. Surely it is not politic today to foment labor unrest upon any pretext."

Menace to National Welfare

It was pointed out by some of those attending the convention that the wholesale enterprises to strip plantation and industrial areas of the Southern states of their native negro labor by means of deliberate and concerted propagandas and recruiting were arousing a keen feeling among the people suffering from these labor raids. It was suggested that the sending of agents to bring away the workers on the farms, to stimulate by the seductive methods of recruiting the movement of rural labor away from the tilling of the fields into industrial enterprises, was to carry on an attack directed at the fundamental source of the national welfare.

"Sound economic progress of the whole nation is the basis of continuing prosperity of any particular section," was a comment offered by Mr. Moore. "It is a short sighted and ill-advised policy that is based upon the provincial and not the national point of view. And it is a narrow provincialism that seeks an immediate advantage by setting about aggressively to create labor shortage and labor unrest in some other section of the country."

Many thousands of Negroes have been led to abandon their homes in the South during recent months and to emigrate to Northern industrial sections to take advantage of boom conditions in certain branches, Southern chamber leaders said. This emigration, they explained, has been promoted energetically by agents from rushed factory and building centers. These agents, they added in conversation with members of Northern chambers, have not refrained from appels calculated to stir up ill-will and unrest.

NEW YORK CITY RECORD
MAY 19, 1923

NO MOVE MADE TO CHECK MIGRATION OF NEGROES

Hundreds Leaving South Carolina Monthly—Believe Higher Pay Would Stop Exodus

Special to DAILY NEWS RECORD

Columbia, S. C., May 18.—While hundreds of negroes are leaving South Carolina every month for manufacturing centers in the North, there has been no concerted move whatever on the part of the white population to check the exodus. There are thousands of "manless" acres in this State, and the number is increasing as the negroes leave, but the whites are apparently unwilling to take the steps necessary to check the movement. Higher wages on the farms, together with "advances" from merchants of foodstuffs would no doubt check the northward movement, but such steps are not being taken. Large land owners, in some instances, are worried over the exodus, yet few, if any, of them are willing to take the chances necessary to check it.

Today there are more white people in South Carolina than negroes—such a condition has not existed since before the Civil War. This condition has been brought about by the low birth rate and exodus of the negro.

White men studying the situation are somewhat concerned as to what will ultimately become of the negro. High wages in industrial centers in the North have been brought about by the scarcity of labor, and scarcity of labor has been brought about by the limited immigration law. The immigration law will likely be repealed or modified next year, many people here believe, and cheap white labor from Europe will again flock to the North. Then may come a conflict between white and black labor. Should the negro under such circumstances attempt to return to the South, he would find on many farms that machinery is doing the work he formerly did.

One other angle of this "color" problem has to do with the cotton mill. The mills in the Piedmont section of the State are enlarging their plants; Northern mills, unable to compete with Southern plants, are looking southward. The South will supply a large part of the labor for these mills. Today, the labor in the cotton mills is exclusively white. True it is that some negroes are employed in the boiler rooms and as sweepers, but the spinners and weavers are white. Much of the white labor has come to the mills from the mountains of the State, and mountain folk, as a rule, have little feeling for the negro, never having had much to do with him in the old plantation days, for the big plantations were confined largely to that part of the State along the coastal plane.

Altogether the developments going forward are being given close scrutiny, and the rapid "whitening" of the South, brought about by the departure of the negro and the ingress of whites, is attracting considerable comment.

WHY THE NEGRO LEAVES.

Also What He Fails To Find At the Journey's End.

Wallace A. Battle, president of Oklolona Industrial School, and reputed to be one of the very few negroes implicitly trusted by both the races in the south, has this to say about the emigration of his people:

"I feel perfectly confident [illegible] whom I could name would sign such a statement as I have in mind and broadcast it throughout the country almost every last negro who has left the state would return. More than that, a large part of the negroes of Alabama and Louisiana would come pouring in also. And there would be anything in that statement about voting or 'social equality,' either."

The better to explain his strong statement, President Battle took up the broad question of the relations between the two races in the south and the real reason for so large an exodus of the negro.

"It is hard for white men to know what is going on in the negro mind. It is just as hard for the educated negro to know what is going on there. Even he cannot find out unless his people trust him. And they seldom trust him if he maintains close relations with the whites. They call him a 'white man's negro' and make haste to reject his advice.

"If it wasn't such a vital question it would be amusing to see what negro 'leaders' the whites sometimes call in an emergergency like this. They are, of course, doing all they can with the knowledge at their disposal. Such leaders my people will quietly listen to and their arguments will apparently have great weight. But that's all pretense. One of the chief faults of my race is secretiveness and deception.

"At a time like this the white man should be careful what negroes he trusts and commissions to serve the south. I speak with feeling, for I know that unless this exodus is stopped the cause of my people will be set back at least a generation.

"And when I am thinking about this impending calamity I haven't in mind the acute suffering that is sure to afflict these ignorant and short-sighted emigrants. I have something much worse, because it will last much longer. I'm afraid the negroes will get the suffrage before they are ready for it.

"Perhaps the greatest, most terrible blow that was ever struck the negro was granting him all at once and without any qualifications whatever the right to vote. To that act can be traced much, perhaps most of the bitterness that has developed in the relations of the two races from that day to this. It took a generation and more for the people of the south to recover from universal negro suffrage. If the negro through migration to the north again acquires suffrage without education to go with it he will be set back another generation, especially in his relations to the race to which he must look for guidance.

"Of course, this fear of mine will not deter many negroes from going north. The best argument to use for that purpose is one that deals with food, clothing and shelter.

"No primitive race, especially one used to living upon the soil, has ever been able to survive unless it has had access to free water, air and fuel. The farm negro of the south has all these. There he can live and if he will he can save, besides maintaining a standard of health that, in spite of his many insanitary habits, permits of many years of activity and usefulness and allows a birth rate greater than the death rate.

"In the large cities, especially in the north, such results are impossible. Water is very high, good air under the conditions possiole for negroes is not to be had, and instead of free fuel here is high-priced coal to be burned month after month in the bitter cold winter.

"High wages offer no real advantages to the great majority of a primitive race. I have seen the test made time and again.

"In New Haven, for many years the Yale students employed negro waiters. In the main dining halls they still employ them, but many of them have been displaced by students who are in this way able to work their way through college.

"For 25 years, 150 negro waiters have been employed at average wages of $100 a month, including meals which they ate after they had served the students. All they needed to buy were clothes and shelter. In their work they required few new clothes and rooming with negro families costs very little. The income of those waiters in a year totaled $180,000. Of that amount $100,000 should have been saved. In 25 years without interest the total savings should have been $2,500. With that as a foundation these negroes could have acquired the entire street car system of New Haven. But the truth is, not $60,000 in realty or in any other property can now be traced to those waiters with the 'soft snap,' now being taken away from them.

"The negro race has not yet reached the point where it will save. Therefore high wages will do it no good.

"So much for the dangers that are sure to overwhelm the negroes as soon as business depression returns to the big cities of the north. Now to take up the real causes of the emigration. In this I am speaking the minds of the average members of the race, for they have spoken plainly to me.

"The negro is not going north chiefly for higher wages. Not by any means, although the constant flow of letters from relatives and friends dwelling upon the money coming in and saying nothing about the money going out does have its effect in the end.

"The negro is going north because he thinks he is freedom bound. In the first place and almost in the last place, he thinks he will be free of the mob. He fears the mob worse than anything else in the world. One half of the vacant tenant houses in the south today are due to the fear of the mob. Many other reasons and excuses for the emigration together account for the other half.

"From what my people tell me the trouble began, the dissatisfaction, I mean, when the negro soldiers returned from the World War. When they started off, they said, the white people made much of them, spoke very kindly to them and about the sacrifice they were making. When they returned they expected, they tell me, something of the sort of recognition of their services. Instead, they were surprised and alarmed over the change that had come over the whites. Here I want to say that they mistook the loud voices of a few politicians for the sentiment of the whole south. But anyway, that is what they

chiefly heard.

"Men were stoutly maintaining that the south would have to be on guard against the returning negro soldier. He would be arogant and insusufferable and nothing but violence would cure the trouble. He felt the injustice of the reception upon his return from the war, especially as he felt sure the politician's fears were almost completely groundless. The negro is going away chiefly in the hope of avoiding the mob.

"The other reasons that my people give for leaving the country are: Lack of settlements, alleged injustice in the courts when the white man is involved, unsatisfactory houses and the glowing reports of high wages in the north.

"I feel that a great disaster to my people is impending. And I am glad to see that the intelligent white people of the south are making every effort to avert it. They fought for the negro when he was a slave. He is worth more now than he was then.

"There was a time only a short while ago when the negro would have been satisfied to remain in the south with but slight reassurance from the whites. Inter-racial committees that really meant business could have so kept in touch with the needs and feelings of the negro that without any effort whatever they could have kep their hands on him and held him here against all possible temptations from the north. He loves the south and only some great fear will drive him from it.

"The negro is only mildly interested in the ballot. The negro is through paying the debt of freedom by voting for the Republican party. During the last congressional elections in the north I venture to say that 90 per cent of the negroes voted the Democratic ticket. They were tired of promises without performance. Why, they believe that the Republican party had no intention of passing the anti-lynching bill. The administration had vast majorities in both houses. If it was sincere why didn't it use those majorities? No, the negro has discharged his debt to the Republican party. In New York his vote went a long ways toward electing Governor Smith.

"The great end for the negro to work for is to save money and buy land. A land-owner is the safest and most trustworthy of all citizens. If you give him $200 to keep for you and go away for two years he'll have it for you when you return.

"And industrial education such as will fit the negro for success in the agricultural districts of the south will fit him for this life of service and achievement.

If the white man will reassure the negroes where reassurance would help the country as a whole without any possibility of danger and if he will co-operate to train them to be more efficient workers the danger that threatens all of us, but most of all my people, will be avoided.

PRAISES NEGRO EDUCATION

Mississippi Supervisor Offers Education as Solution For Exodus.

NATCHEZ, Miss., May 18.—Bura Hilburn, state supervisor of negro rural schools, who is visiting the counties of Southwest Mississippi, while in Natchez said Mississippi is now making splendid progress in providing training and educational advantages for negroes. Mr. Hilburn has been active in this work and is largely responsible for the great development that has taken place.

While here Mr. Hilburn met with the trustees of the various county schools and Miss Josephine Fitts, county superintendent of education, and in company with R. Boyett of Jackson left for Port Gibson to hold a conference with Claiborne County trustees. These meetings are a part of a state-wide programme by the department of education.

In an address delivered before the Natchez Rotary Club, Mr. Hilbun offered a solution of the problem which now confronts the state by losing much of its rural population in providing more adequate educational facilities.

Mr. Hilbun urged greater interest in the state's educational programme for negro children and expressed the hope that a study of the question would be an inspiration to communities that are in need of better facilities.

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN
MAY 2, 1923

Negro Exodus

The Movement of the Race Away From the Plantation

REVIVAL of negro migration from the South to the industrial centres of the North, reproducing conditions which excited comment during the height of the war boom, creates a special interest in the chapter on negro population in the monograph prepared by William S. Rossiter and just issued by the Census Bureau .

When the computation of census figures showing the marked increase of negro population in the North was first published, its significance was largely discounted by the fact that the enumeration had been made under the abnormal conditions of the war time, and that already the tide of negro migration seemed to be setting back toward the South. Mr. Rossiter, in his analytical discussion of the figures, recognizes this factor of variation. He says: "The readjustment of negro population was a direct response, on the one hand, to the need for labor arising from the checking of incoming immigration and the departure of foreigners, leaving work to be done and few to do it, and, on the other hand, to the growing demand for labor resulting from war stimulation. Were foreign immigration," he says, "to be resumed in the future on a scale commensurate with immigration from 1890 to 1900, or during the period immediately preceding the war, it is reasonable to suppose that the negro, less in demand because of the greater labor supply, would tend to drift back to his former environment. But," he adds, "immigration for the first time in Federal history, has been restricted, and if this restriction continues, and unskilled labor in prosperous times becomes again at a premium, is the negro to respond to the demand as during the war and continue to increase in urban centres during the present and subsequent decades at rates resembling those shown in the war period?"

The conditions which Mr. Rossiter anticipates are now existent. The immigration quota law is effective in keeping out the normal inflow of unskilled labor. The demand for such workers is increasing, and the negro of the South is the only available supply to make up the deficiency of European labor, save for such contribution as Mexico may make. If restriction of immigration is to continue, therefore the conditions which were created by the war, and which were then partially disregarded as abnormal and temporary are to be considered as permanent, and destined for steady accentuation, and also as significant phases of the population problems.

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, between 1910 and 1920, registered an increase in their combined negro population of 182,213, while the gain of the entire territory south of the Mason and Dixon line and east of the Mississippi river was less than ninety thousand.

No State in the Union registered a greater numerical increase, in this regard, than Pennsylvania with a gain of 96,649. No city in this State gained more rapidly than Philadelphia, where the ten year increase in the colored population amounted to 49,770, although the normal average of excess of births over deaths would have brought a gain of only about twelve thousand. Today Philadelphia, accepting the 1920 figures as standing, has a negro population of 134,229, more than double the number reported at the beginning of the Twentieth Century and nearly double the entire number resident in the State a quarter-of-a-century ago. Of the approximately 284,000 reported as resident in Pennsylvania more than one-half are listed as residing in either Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. Counties like Chester, Delaware and Lancaster where there was a considerable negro group in 1910, showed little more than the average increase in the decade; others like Montgomery, Westmoreland and Cambria, registered notable increases.

In this State, as in the others, the cities have attracted the negro. Philadelphia now stands second in the list of American cities in the number of negro residents. New York is the first with a little more than one hundred and fifty thousand. Chicago is a close third, with an increase of 65,355 in a decade, the largest aggregate gain reported in any city. Detroit's automotive industries caused the greatest percentage increase. In that city, in 1910, there were only 5,741 negroes; ten years later the Census showed 40,838 an increase of more than six hundred per cent. Cleveland witnessed a similar remarkable increase caused by the newcomers to the North. With 8,448 negroes in 1910 it recorded 34,451 in 1920. In contrast, Charleston, South Carolina, in the State where the blacks are the most numerous in proportion to the whites, registered a total increase of only 1,270 in a decade, a rise of slightly more than four per cent. Both Louisville and Nashville registered a decrease.

In 1860 the South claimed 92.2 per cent. of the blacks and as late as 1890 the percentage still stood as high as 90.3. Twenty years later, despite the encouragement given to the northward emigration, the South still counted eighty-nine per cent. of the negroes. In the ten years preceding 1920, the percentage dropped to 85.2 per cent., the greatest decline registered in any decade. Mississippi, from which many industrial workers were recruited, witnessed a decline of 74,303; Kentucky and Tennessee lost between twenty and twenty-five thousand each; Louisiana lost 13,617.

The ten year increase in the negro population throughout the country was only 635,000, the smallest percentage in any recorded census decade, a fact, if it be taken as an effect of the general shift of location, which furnishes a thought for the sociologist as well as the economist. The birth rate among the negroes is decreasing much more rapidly than among the whites and in many of the Southern States the white birth rate is now the higher. In the decade the negro birth rate showed a drop of seventeen per cent., as compared with a general decline of 2.5 per cent. among the whites and in 1920 the census counted 120,000 fewer negro children in the Nation under five years of age than in 1910, the decrease being proportionately greater in the South than in the North. At the same time the percentage of negroes resident in cities increased thirty-two per cent., while the percentage resident in rural regions declined 3.4 per cent. Coupled with this fact is the increased mortality among the colored residents of the cities, more noticeable in the Southern communities than in the North. For some time special studies of the negro mortality in Philadelphia have been under way by the Bureau of Health and, although the death rate is lower here than in many other municipalities, it is much higher than among the whites.

In the South the migration is viewed chiefly from the effect it will have on farm labor. In 1910 more than one-half the negro population of the country was engaged in farming and nearly nine hundred thousand farms were owned and operated by the blacks. Possibly the land owners are anchored by their property holdings. It is probably true that unattached labor is the first to respond to the call of the North, and the white planter-employer feels the drain most seriously. It is to be noted that not only is there the pull of the North from the cotton fields, but that there is a marked urbanization of the negro within the South. Over one-third of the negro population of the country is now registered in cities or towns of over 2,500 inhabitants and classified as urban, and the increase continues so steadily that it points to the time when the race no longer will be characteristically agriculturalist.

LOUISVILLE, KY. COURIER JRN
MAY 11, 1923

NEGRO EXODUS IS EXPLAINED

Delegates At Conference Give Reasons for Migrations to North.

REMEDIES ARE SUGGESTED

Poor living conditions, small wages, mob violence, lack of proper school facilities, denial of the right to vote and injustice in courts are among the chief reasons why negroes are migrating from the South to the North, according to views of speakers expressed yesterday at a conference of City Workers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The meeting is being held at the Jackson Street Methodist Episcopal Church under the auspices of the Department of City Work, Bureau of Negro Work, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

All phases of negro life were discussed. Methodist leaders in negro work are attending the meeting.

George Arthur, executive secretary Y. M. C. A. of Chicago, said more than 500,000 negroes have migrated from Southern States within the last ten years.

Causes Are Given.

"The causes of this movement are mainly economic and sentimental," Mr. Arthur declared. "Among the economic reasons were unemployment of negroes in the South because of boll-weevil ravages upon cotton, lack of capital to carry labor through crop periods and intervals between planting and harvesting, unsatisfactory living conditions in rural districts and in segregated quarters of Southern cities, mob violence, lack of proper school facilities, poor pay for negro school teachers, and short school terms."

Sentimental causes included Jim Crow cars, injustice in courts and denial of the right to vote.

The movement of negroes from the South was described as "alarming" by the Rev. I. Garland Penn, Cincinnati, secretary of the Board of Education for Negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Co-operation Is Urged.

"The time has come when the leading white and negro citizens of the South should get together in conference if they want this migration to the North to cease, or to decrease in its intensity," he said.

The Rev. W. A. C. Hughes, Philadelphia, director of the Bureau of Negro Work, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, said there is a general unrest among the negroes of the South "arising from the lack of justice in the courts."

Delegates will visit Mammoth Cave tomorrow.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

WHAT COLORED MEN OF BIG BUSINESS THINK OF MIGRATION

(By The Asosciated Negro Press)

DURHAM, N. C., June 29.—What the Colored men of Big Business in the South are thinking of migration and its effect on the section upon whose prosperity their efforts depend is well shown by the following extracts from an article by President C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual which appeared in the morning Herald of this city.

The migration of thousands of Negroes from the southern states during the spring months of 1923 has caused grave economic problems in certain sections of the country. Strawberry crops worth millions of dollars have laid on the ground unplucked; cotton is fast ripening without sufficient hands to pick it, and the approaching fall harvests bid fair to meet the same doom. Serious-minded southern white men have repeatedly called conferences and tried to reach the underlying cause of such wide spread migration. A negative reply, however, is as helpful, if not more so, than a positive answer. So that we have made careful study of opportunities and conditions under which Negro labor is carried on in a city from which migration has been practically negligible. We believe that an exposition of these facts will present an answer to the conditions which do not foster migration as well as a forceful reply to those who unmodifyingly accuse the South of not presenting fair economic opportunities to its Negro population.

Durham, Our Model

The city which we have chosen is Durham, North Carolina. Here nearly 8,000 Negroes live in peaceful, friendly relationship with their white neighbors, enjoying splendid economic opportunities.

The tobacco factories, hosiery mills, building trades, as well as the farm industries employ Negro labor in important positions. More than one thousand Colored men and women are employed by the tobacco factories in Durham. They occupy various positions from stemmers of tobacco to operators of machines, which perform some of the technical processes of the business.

Unstable Negro Population Migrate

While a few hundred Negroes have left Durham, the number is relatively small when compared with the exodus from other cities of North Carolina and especially when compared with the migration from cities in other southern states. Moreover, the city has not lost its steady Negro working hands. Most of those who have gone constitute the floating population that usually changes locations in the spring of each year and upon whom industry cannot depend for regular hours of labor in any season.

Hosiery Mills Offer Unique Opportunity

The tobacco factories do not offer a more striking economic opportunity than the hosiery mills of Durham owned and managed by the well-known Carr family of Durham. General Carr, a confederate veteran who once owned slaves, has never lost his interest in Colored people. He shows it in more words in a larger way than granting occasional gifts to the children of his former slaves. He has built hosiery mills in which seven hundred Colored hands are employed in Durham.

One of these mills is named for a Colored man, John O'Daniel, who served General Carr for over 40 years. It was in appreciation of his services which has enlarged General Carr's faith in the Negro that the first Colored hosiery mills in the United States to be operated by Negroes were erected by the Carrs.

The Negro hands perform every process in the knitting of certain grades of stocking from the topping to the final inspection. They operate all the machines in the mill in which they work and turn out the finished product, packed for shipment. This is an opening seldom granted Colored people in the north or the south. Such opportunities for work are the foremost reasons for Negroes not migrating from Durham.

Building Trades Employ Many

In addition to these well-established industries which offer steady work under pleasant, healthful, conditions to two thousand citizens of Durham, we have the building trades that employ Negroes as bricklayers, plasterers and painters. The Negro bricklayers are members of the white unions and work side by side with the white men.

Negro Enterprises Helpful

Then we have in Durham the positions created by the thrift of Negro enterprises such as the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, the largest Negro life insurance company in the world, the Banker's Fire Insurance Company, the only fire insurance company owned and operated by Negroes, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, the largest Negro bank in the state, and the Royal Knights of King David, one of the leading Negro fraternal orders in the United States.

Why Negroes Do Not Migrate From Durham

The general spirit of Durham is full of friendliness as well as an earnest desire to make the Negro population a part of its citizenry. The vote is never denied because of color. Splendid education and social opportunities are provided for Negroes. There has never been a lynching in our fair city and Colored men are given an honest hearing in the courts.

If the same conditions that exist in Durham were found in all southern towns there would be no cause for Negro migration and we venture to predict no migrating in such numbers is now being witnessed in many southern communities.

CONFERENCE CALLED ON NEGRO MIGRATION

For the purpose of discussing the migration of negroes to the northern states a group of prominent negro citizens of Georgia have issued a call for a mass meeting of negroes to be held at Taft hall at noon on July 4.

The meeting is expected to be statewide in scope. Representatives from every section of Georgia have been requested to attend. In calling the meeting, the committee said:

"We believe that the conference should issue an address to the people of Georgia announcing a program that both races can find a common ground to stand upon and work out helpfully the many problems affecting the economic welfare of our state and section, stressing the end of restoring confidence of one race in the other that the great menace to the economic growth of the south—migration—be checked."

The call is signed by the following negro citizens:

Rev. R. S. Williams, D. D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D. D., L.L. D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D. D., Ph D., bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A. M., principal American Institute; Dr. John Hope, L.L. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J. M. Nabritt, D. D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Ind. High school, Macon; Dr. J. W. Holley, president Georgia Normal and Industrial college, Albany; Prof. H. A. Hunt, principal Fort Valley High and Industrial school; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. of Georgia.; Sol. C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune; Henry C. Dugas, president Citizens Trust company; Dr. George N. Stoney, president Georgia Mutual Insurance compan.

Dr. W. F. Penn, physician and surgeon; Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Capt. A. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday school department Presbyterian church; John R. Flukett, director of Agencies Standard Life Insurance company; D. W. Alford, Brunswick; S. M. Scarlett, undertaker, Waycross; Joseph H. Watson, farmer, Albany; W. R. Forbes, treasurer Missionary Baptist convention; James G. Lemon, attorney at law; Dr. W. F. Bodie, cashier Citizens Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens Trust company; W. H. King, vice president Standard Life Insurance company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage Earners bank, Savannah; Dr. E. J. Turner, chief grand mentor K. of T. of Georgia; Sam Cunningham, real estate, Atlanta; Dr. F. D. Sessoms, Washington; Dr. N. A. Doyle, Gainesville; Duncan Pringle, secretary Chatham Mutual Insurance company; E. J. Matthews, Dawson; Rev. L. H. Smith, treasurer Morris Brown university.

In addition to a discussion of migration, the conference will take up better educational facilities, better economic opportunities and the suppression of mob violence.

Exodus of Negro Will Be Studied For City Club

BY STEWART F. GELDERS.

A workable solution for the negro exodus problem will be sought by a special committee of the City club to be designated next week by Edgar Watkins, president, it was voted unanimously by the club after a spirited discussion of the problem at the long table luncheon Friday afternoon. A wide difference of opinion on the exodus was expressed by the speakers, some welcoming it and others deploring it as a menace.

Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, president of Oglethorpe university, declared to the club that the negro exodus will prove ultimately the salvation of the south because it will result in changing southern agriculture from a black man's vocation to a white man's vocation.

Dr. Jacobs asserted that the negro is not a farmer by nature and cannot develop the full value of the natural resources of southern land. His principal effect on the south has been, Dr. Jacobs said, to keep the standards of farming low and by his presence to prevent a better class of agriculture from developing in the south.

Harry A. Alexander declared the exodus to be a menace to the south, threatening its prosperity because its climate makes the negro necessary in agriculture. He blamed the present immigration laws for the enormous increase in the rate at which negroes are leaving the south. He advocated a repeal or radical modification of the present laws in order to permit the immigration current to flow again from Europe into industrial centers of the United States. American industry, he said, is booming along at its old rate and must have labor. Denied foreign labor, it turns to the south and is drawing negroes by the thousands from southern farms, actually paying them higher wages than they can get in the south and offering them better housing conditions, schools and other inducements.

Other speakers asserted that the drift of labor from farm into industry can not be checked and that the only way to hold the negro in the south is to stimulate industrial development here in order that when farm labor is forced to seek industrial employment for a livelihood, it can find employment in the south and will not have to go north, as it is now doing.

Joel B. Hunter introduced the resolution authorizing appointment of a committee to analyze the problem and propose a solution.

Charles E. Robertson, vice president of the club stated that census reports show that the southern cotton farm is the only place where the negro can survive and perpetuate his race. The negro death rate in northern cities, he stated, is 115 to each 100 births; in southern cities 127 to each 100 births; on northern farms, 134 to each 100 births; on southern cotton farms, only 66 to each 100 births.

John B. Hockaday, president of the Southeastern Express company, and Robert H. Martin, president of the Martin-Nash Motor company, will represent the club at St. Louis, Mo., next week when the cornerstone of the million dollar city club house there is laid. President Warren G. Harding will officiate at the ceremony. 20 city clubs in 20 principal American cities will be represented.

NEGRO EXODUS IS WORRYING TEXAS

BUSINESS INTERETS ARE ASKING CONFERENCE ON PROBLEM; MEXICANS LEAVING.

Fort Worth, June 4.—The exodus of Negro workers to the North is beginning to disturb Texas. Petitions from Texas business interests Monday reached Governor Neff, urging that he call an interstate conference in Houston, Dallas or this city immediately to devise some plan to check the emigration of Negroes and Mexicans. The latter are going North in Great Numbers and Texas and Oklahoma have always depended on this class of labor, especially during harvest periods.

Hundreds of laborers from across the Rio Grande are being concentrated here and shipped North by labor agents. The steel mills have drawn most heavily on this labor supply, more so than any other industry. Texas will face a critical situation when time comes to pick cotton if the drain to the labor supply is not stopped.

MIGRATORS MAKE GOOD IN NEW YORK

New York, July 4.—Stories of hunger and unemployment among migrators to this city were put to rout when a careful canvass among the workers and newcomers revealed the fact that the majority of them were not only employed, but a considerable number were receiving wages of from six to eleven dollars daily.

A typical case to serve as an illustration of what southerners do when they come here is that of Pompeii Lovejoy, who came here from Georgia some few months ago. Since he came here Lovejoy has not only placed his daughter in one of the neighboring Universities, but has purchased for her a baby grand piano, and is going to considerable expense in pushing her in music.

South Is Impossible, Say Some.

Lovejoy receives $66 weekly, he says, and is never out of work more than one day weekly. Lovejoy states that he came here, worked for a month, economized as much as possible, and sent for his wife, daughter and her mother, and contributed something to a fund being raised to aid other Negroes in coming New York-ward.

"I cannot imagine how I stayed in the south thirty-five years," said a worker at a brickyard who receives a salary of $7 per day. "I was born in Texas, and was never out of the state in my life until I was approached by a labor agent who wanted me to come here. I did not want to leave at first, because I always imagined New York as some far off place where the rich were very rich, and the poor were always crushed, with no chance to rise. I see now, thank God, I see and come, look, let me show you something." Here the man took the body of investigators through his home. Comfort and convenience were written unmistakably in every room.

Young and Old Migrate.

"Yes," said a young migrator, barely 20 years old, "I'm a New Yorker now, and you don't know how proud I am. Why, man, I can even go to ball games here and sit in the grandstand, to say nothing about the finest churches. I can live right here because I have peace of mind, and nobody is forever pushing me off the sidewalk. This is the life."

When the investigators visited the hotels to question the female employees, they met with a joyous reception. All were too willing to talk. They were making $18 weekly, they said, during the summer months and expected to enter school in September. "We want an education and we're willing to work for it," was the sentiment of them all. They explained that their tips often were as much as their salary.

At a Waverly Avenue Apartment, and on Wylie Avenue, the investigators encountered a very old gentleman, possibly 80 years old. He seemed very feeble, but expressed gladness that he would not die and be buried in the South. "Nobody knows de trouble I's seen," said the old man, and here he recounted some of the familiar old stories of southern cruelty, attempts at flights northward which were thwarted, and finally a resignation to his fate, then renewed hope which resulted in his trip northward.

The cabarets, theatres and places of exciting amusement have their fill too of these southerners whose hearts are, by nature light, and who require but little to make them exceedingly happy.

Among the migrators one finds brick masons, plasterers, carpenters, cooks, chefs and many professional men who have located permanently in New York. They were induced northward, the majority of them say, by the inadequate school facilities of the south, the poor living quarters, and the fact that the whites of the South would either bomb their homes or scare them to death when they attempted to build modern and better living quarters.

School and Sewage System Rotten.

It is a common thing, they related, to find from one to five thousand Negroes in a southern city with no running water within three miles of their district. There are no water toilets, no sewage system whatsoever which is extended to their quarters, they report. This, they believed, tended to raise their death rate, making living unbearable for those among them who had seen better conditions, and who had the money to pay for it if it was extended to them.

At the Emmanuel Baptist Church, during the services, one of the members of the congregation, who recently has moved here from Alabama, grew so loud in describing conditions to a member of the committee that an usher requested him to keep quiet. He did so for a moment, but a moment only. Soon he forgot himself, and he was quietly requested to step in the vestibule for a moment.

Once outside he discussed freely (and loudly, as well) the things which drove him northward. He was a resident of Brooklyn who had many friends from Alabama living in New York.

It is estimated that more than 1,000 Negroes have come northward from the neighborhood of Birmingham, Ala., alone.

SAYS MIGRATION CONCERNS RACE AND THE NORTH

South Carolina Governor Thinks the Exodus of Negroes Not Much the Concern of Southern Whites.

ADVISED RACE LEADERS TO THINK CAREFULLY

Columbia, S. C., June 8.—In a letter addressed to a leading colored citizen of the State, Governor McLeod, of South Carolina, states in effect that migration of Negroes to the north and west is not so much the Southern white man's concern as it is of the Negro himself and the communities to which he goes.

The text of the letter in part is as follows:

"The lack of prosperity coming to the Negro in the south is by no means altogether to be blamed, or even in a large measure, to the treatment he received here. It is due more especially to economic and other conditions which neither he nor the white people who likewise are engaged in farming have been able to control. These conditions, we all hope, will change for the better, and upon a return of profitable farming to the south I am quite sure the exodus would stop in itself. My observation is that our Negro people shared in and enjoyed the days of prosperity. They have of course suffered in the days of adversity. They have not been alone however, in this suffering.

"I think the most serious problem from the standpoint of the Negro is whether or not his condition is going to be better and permanently improved by removal to the north. You must bear in mind the proven historical fact that while the northern people love the Negro en masse and as a race, they have no affection or consideration for him as an individual. On the other hand it is a fact that there are few white people in the south who have not friendly relations with some Negro or Negroes, and vice versa. All these things are to be taken into consideration.

Certainly no one will disagree with you on the proposition that the Negro is entitled to justice in the courts. The law against the solicitation of labor from this state is upon the statute books and is the law of the land. It applies to the solicitation of labor of any kind, white or Negro, and is primarily intended to prevent either agricultural or individual stagnation by a general exodus of labor at any time. It is likewise intended to protect laborers, who are likewise citizens, from being lured away by oily-tongued, per capita-paid solicitors who carry them into conditions which may or may not be lucrative or comfortable and out of which conditions they can with difficulty escape or return.

"It is well for thoughtful Negro people to bear in mind that the exodus of the Negro from the south is by no means entirely the southern white man's problem. He can in course of time recover, and will. It is primarily the problem of the Negro. He goes to a new home, different occupation, different climate, different surroundings and must find his way among an entirely different class of white people than those among whom he has been accustomed to live. It is likewise a problem of the communities and states to which the Negro is migrating. He is only wanted there as a laborer and is not welcomed by others than those in whose employment he goes. We have had experiences of the fact that race prejudice prevails in the north and in the west and expresses itself not only as against the individual, but enmasse.

"I am writing you more fully because as a leader of your people there is much that the thoughtful people of your race should consider, and he who encourages his people to leave their homes should certainly be thoroughly cognizant and reasonably sure of their future in the homes they are going to establish."

NEGROES GO NORTH IN SPECIAL TRAIN ON I. C.

600 Move Onto Chicago and Other Industrial Centers.

Waiting for "The Henry Ford Special" which was to have taken them to Detroit and $10 a day and "keep," 25 Copiah County Mississippi farm negroes spent two whole days and nights at the railroad station at Crystal Springs. They had paid $2 a head to a man who represented himself as an agent of the Detroit company. After waiting for two days they decided they had missed the train. One of them passed through last night on his way north.

A new record in the exodus of negro farm laborers to the industrial centers of the north and east has been established in the week just passed, when more than 1,500 passed through Memphis, bound for Chicago.

Another record for a single day was established yesterday when nearly 600 left. They came from all points in the Mississippi delta, from eastern Arkansas and from hSelby County, Tenn. They left on a special Illinois Central train composed of seven cars, which departed from the Frand Central Station at 8:20 o'clock last night. Two carloads had been attached to Illinois Central train No. 4, leaving at 8 o'clock. The seven cars represented "the overflow."

They had bought tickets to Chicago but few of them knew what their ultimate destination was. Only ten negroes of the departing horde last night were traveling on free transportation and had assurance of a job when they reached the "promised land." The remainder had paid their fares. They are mainly depending on friends in Chicago, Gary, Ellwood, Detroit, Mattoon and in the other industrial and railroad centers of the middle west. They are going, seeking only the golden fleece.

"Where are you going," one from the Mississippi delta was asked.

"I don't know where I'm goin, boss, but I'es going to travel as long as my money las'," he replied.

"Where are your belonging, boy?" another was asked.

"The 'stalment man done got 'em," was his pertinent reply.

Others left the fields because the grass had got in the cotton, but most of them were going, bound for some unknown destination, where high wages and little work are supposed to abound.

One negro had a letter from a friend in Gary warning him to not get mixed up with any labor agents. When he left Memphis he gave a labor agent $3 to get him a job at $8 a day on a construction gang. He finally found a job at 39c an hour in a steel mill after he learned that the Gary address the labor agent had given him was pogus.

Many of the negroes who left last night had their wives and families with them. When the exodus first began the negro men would leave first and would have their wives follow.

The baggage cars on the special and No. 4 were loaded to capacity last night. The negroes were taking all their belongings. Early yesterday morning they started arriving. All day they poured into the city until the streets in the vicinity of the Grand Central Station about dusk looked like a section of Beale Avenue.

But few were left on the platform at the station when the special pulled [illegible] weeping. The [illegible] north."

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA. Times Union

JUL 25 1923

NORTHWARD NEGRO MOVEMENT

After a careful study of the last federal census a Cornell professor announced: "In every one of the Northern states negro deaths outnumber births; in the Southern states in general the conditions are reversed." This leads the Greenville Piedmont to say: "So this negro exodus is really race suicide."

We are confident that the movement of the negroes to the North will result, in the long run, in loss rather than gain to the majority of those moving, but we do not think the fact stated by the Cornell professor is sufficient to justify the conclusion that the movement is really race suicide. Many other things besides the number of births and deaths should be taken into consideration.

In the first place, the fact should be considered that the death rate in the cities throughout the country is slightly in excess of the rural death rate and the great majority of the negroes of the North live in cities while the vast majority of those in the South live in the country. The death rate in the cities is made greater than that of the country by the fact that portions of every city are badly congested and the death rate is exceptionally heavy in the congested territory. The negroes moving North are crowded into the most congested parts of the cities to which they move and consequently their death rate is greatly increased. It may or may not be greater than it is in the congested parts of Southern cities, and in Southern cities the negroes also live in congested portions. A comparison of the death rate of negroes in Northern cities with that of negroes in Southern cities would be convincing one way or the other, but a comparison of the death rate of the crowded negroes of the North with the negro agricultural population of the South would not prove anything.

Another thing to be considered is the fact that this movement is not by families. Generally the men go North and sometimes they send for their families and sometimes they do not. This would make a very poor showing for the birth rate. The movement is of such a character as to make the death rate seem larger and the birth rate seem smaller.

While we do not accept the statement of the Cornell professor as indicating race suicide we are confident that the negro is better able to stand the Southern than the Northern climate and this belief is not at all based on the investigation of the professor. The fact that slavery continued in the South and was abandoned in the North was to a very great extent due to the inability of the negro to stand the climate of the states of the North. Aside from all questions of health, however, is the fact that the negro has equal business opportunities with the whites in the South while he has not in the North. No man is refused work in the South because he is a negro. When the labor supply in the North becomes sufficient the preference will be given to the white man.

GAINESVILLE, GA.

JUL 19 1923

Effest of Negro Migration on the South

Negro labor has been cheap labor, and because it has been congested in the cotton-growing South, it has made cotton a cheap labor crop, a low-priced crop. The Negro has lived in a shanty, has gone half-clad, poorly fed, and made cotton on this basis, and the white man making cotton had to compete with this sort of cheap labor. It has been a competition as ruinous as that which the white Californians faced when incoming Chinese and Japanese with their low living standards began to threaten California with pauper labor and pauperism. The reason England nas not been able to grow cotton in her colonies is simply because Southern Negroes and Southern whites, by going poorly housed, poorly clad and poorly fed, have made cotton virtually on a slave wages basis, and therefore cheaper than England could grow it in Africa.

Moreover, a large part of our Southern Negroes making cotton have not really been farmers, but simply persons eking out existence by getting rations from a store while they helped pile up an over-production of cheap cotton by growing "cotton and nothing else but cotton" to pay for their supplies. No wonder farming hasn't paid. Agriculture has been prostituted to make profits for a mercantile class.

If more Negroes of this "cropper" type go North, it will lessen the production of cotton and boost cotton prices while at the same time making room for more real farmers in the South, The new farmers will grow the hay, meat, lard, canned goods, milk, poultry, cheese, etc., of which we now import so much; will take better care of the soil; and will take more interest in rural social and community life, rural education, and general rural progress. And such a result, as we have said before, will help not only the white farmers of the South, but thrifty and enterprising Negroes also—The Progressive Farmer.

NEGRO MIGRATION REMEDIES SHOWN BY RACE LEADERS

Many Will Remain North.

"Some of the negroes who go north and west will of course return in time to the South and signs are not lacking to indicate that many of them are finding conditions in their new homes far different from their expectations, but probably most of the migrants, and especially the younger and more capable ones, will adjust them to their new surroundings, and will be permanently lost to the South. Whatever the effect of this movement in the long run it is hard for the farmers to adjust themselves to the shortage in available labor so suddenly, and at present, many planters are worried about the outlook for the immediate future. The large plantation owners who depend upon tenant or hired labor are of course the chief sufferers from the migration, the small land owner not being affected as a rule since a large porportion of his work is done by members of his own family, and in the cases where he rents a part of his small farm to one or two tenant families, the relation between landlord and tenant is so close that he has found less difficulty in holding his labor than the man who employes meany workers and comes in contact with them through overseers.

"While the farmers are chief sufferers from the shortage of colored

NEGRO MIGRATION REMEDIES SHOWN

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION

JULY 5, 1923

sought such things. It was stated that 45 per cent. of the population of Georgia is colored, and the reason for the troubles and inequalities of the negro were all laid to the "effort to conduct a democracy with a large proportion of the population barred from politics."

All negroes were urged to exercise their right to vote, whenever they could establish such right under the Georgia law.

It was also urged that the legislature pass an anti-lynching law, several speakers stating that they would rather see such a law on the state statutes, than have it passed by the federal government, because they believed it would be better enforced under state rule.

In the address, which was adopted to be sent to the members of the legislature, and which it proposed to put before as many residents of the state as possible, the evils under which the negro says that he is laboring in Georgia, and which are cited as the causes for his migration away from the state, are given as follows:

Causes of Migration.

Lack of credit facilities for negro farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions, both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for negro children.

Poor accommodations for negroes when traveling.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is asked.

Mob violence.

Educational Facilities.

In connection with the lack of educational facilities for negroes in Georgia, it was pointed out that out of $750,000 spent by the state for higher education, only $15,000 goes to negro institutions. Speakers declared that the young people of the race, whose ambitions drove them to seek higher education, were compelled to leave the state, if they were to secure the training they desired.

It was stated that one of the greatest needs of Georgia today is that of agricultural training schools for negro farmers. "How," asked the speakers, "can the negro farmer practice that diversification of crops which the white man tells us will save him from the poverty of boll-weevil cotton, when he has been trained to raise cotton and nothing else, and when there is no place to which he can go to learn other kinds of farming?"

Address Signed.

The address, which was drawn up by a special committee and then read to the entire meeting and adopted unanimously, was signed by the following:

Rev. R. S. Williams, D.D., bishop C. M. E. church; Rev. J. S. Flipper, D.D., LL.D., bishop A. M. E. church; Rev. W. A. Fountain, D.D., Ph.D., Bishop A. M. E. church; Dr. M. W. Reddick, A.M., principal Americus institute; Dr. John Hope, LL. D., president Morehouse college; Dr. John H. Lewis, president Morris Brown university; Rev. J.

M. Nabritt, D.D., president State Baptist convention; Prof. B. S. Ingram, principal Indiana High school, Macon; Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, vice president Gammon Theological seminary; Dr. H. R. Butler, grand master most worshipful union, Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. Georgia; Sol C. Johnson, editor Savannah Tribune.

Heman E. Perry, president Standard Life Insurance company; Captain R. T. Walden, attorney at law; Rev. A. B. McCoy, secretary Sunday School department, Presbyterian church; Dr. W. F. Boddie, cashier Citizens' Trust company; Dr. A. M. Wilkins, vice president Citizens' Trust company; Walter Scott, president Savannah Savings Bank; L. E. Williams, president Wage-Earners' bank, Savannah; B. J. Davis, editor Atlanta Independent.

Address to Legislature.

The address in full is as follows:

To All White Citizens of Georgia: Greetings: We, the undersigned representatives of 45 per cent of our state population, beg leave to submit to you the following:

God has graciously endowed this section of our country with advantages scarcely to be equalled by any similar section on the globe; and especially has He favored Georgia above that of any other of our southern states. The favorable climate, the moderate rainfall, the productivity of the soil, the variety of agricultural products and the rich mineral resources of our state, make it a veritable paradise, fit for the home of the best people in the world.

The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here). The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations, together for two centuries, give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world.

With such advantages as these in our possession, it ought to be possible so to formulate a program as most richly to benefit both groups, and to bring us into that heritage which the God of nature has so richly provided for us here.

But, in spite of these facts, each group is facing a condition that threatens the well being and welfare of both, at least for the present, and this condition may continue for a longer period that either of us suspects. We refer to the conditions that cause the migration of negroes in large numbers to other sections of our country. We are keenly sensible of the fact, that all things being equal, there is probably no more suitable place to be found in the whole world for colored people than our own southland. We are also aware of the fact that everything might not be gain to us by migrating, for, by so doing, the economic, social, religious and educational organizations which we have built up in the last 50 years may be greatly retarded and in some cases, their permanency threatened. We might add, also, that we are strongly of the opinion that if the conditions to which we are about to refer could be properly adjusted, the migration movement would be greatly retarded, and some of those who are now away might return.

On these conditions, we feel that we have just grounds of complaint and that you have it in your power largely to remedy them, if you are willing so to do.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION.

Economic.

Thousands of colored people, as well as white, because of the ravages of the boll weevil on cotton, which is the economic mainstay of the south, are without means of earning a living. This condition would not be so calamitous but for the fact that the colored people do not know and practice diversified farming. No real effort has been made to teach them practical diversification on the farms. The basis of our rural financial operation is built mainly on cotton production. No credit machinery is provided to initiate, propagate and sustain diversified farming.

The financial powers are directing their attention mainly to the solution of the same problem, as it affects the economic condition of the white farmers in the rural communities. The resources that are available are not sufficient to meet the needs of both colored and white farmers, and discrimination has been shown in the distribution of relief.

Better Wages.

We recognize quite thoroughly that it is not possible in an agricultural section like ours, under boll weevil and other unfavorable conditions, for the farmers of Georgia to fully meet the high wages offered by the manufacturing centers in the northern states; that lack of markets for the articles produced and the inadequate marketing system of our section make such wages prohibitive on the part of the Georgia farmer.

We are as thoroughly convinced, however, that it is possible for the Georgia farmer to pay a wage much more nearly commensurate to the labor that he requires, than is now paid; and those who have an intimate knowledge of the scanty means of existence which a large majority of the rural negro population receives from the landlord, are convinced that the high cost of living makes his stay on the farm all but prohibitive.

Poor Housing Conditions.

Another is the poor housing conditions. In our cities, the closely crowded tenements with poor sewerage, streets and lights, make it most uncomfortable for the people who are forced to live there. In our rural communities, the shanties grouped together in quarters on the plantations, without light or paint, or places for privacy, are not only uncomfortable, but are prolific breeders of diseases, immorality and crime, which in turn, have a baneful effect upon the efficiency of the laborers. In our judgment, no wiser investment could be made than that which would provide for our colored communities, homes that would at least be in a measure comfortable, which would in the very nature of things, increase the self-respect of the inmates and greatly improve the character and quality of the services which the landlord would receive.

A third is the method of supervising the farms in many of our rural comunities. A very large proportion of the agricultural interest is owned by landlords who live in the cities and small towns, and who leave the care of the farm in the hands of overseers. These overesers, in most cases, have absolutely no interests in these laborers, excepting the amount of work they can extract from them by long hours and hard driving. Many of them are known to lend encouragement to gambling, whisky making, adultery and crooked living in general, as a means of holding his labor on the farm under the threat of the law, if said laborer should choose to withdraw.

What is needed on these farms is not overseers, but captains of industry, who become the leaders of the laborers whom they supervise, and who take an interest in their home life; seeing that they are kept clean and healthy; who are concerned about their religious life, making it possible for them to attend church on Sundays and thus to be lead into higher thinking, rather than allowed to loiter about the plantations and spend the Holy day in riotous living; leaders who would insist upon it, as far as possible, that the laborer should become interested in his own economic welfare, and instructed how to save some of what he earns while times are good, for a rainy day, thereby relieving the landlord of the financial burden that is so commonly felt under the present system of management.

Educationally.

Inadequate provisions for the education of colored children is also a very strong incentive to migration. Although we are 50 years removed from the beginning of the public school system in Georgia, four-fifths of all the public schools for colored are taught in churches and lodge halls, with absolutely no equipment whatever to aid the teachers in imparting the instructions which they are supposed to give. In many of them, there is not a sign of a blackboard, nor a single desk, to say nothing of maps, charts, etc., while the public schools of the white people are equipped with the necessary apparatus essential to modern ideas in education, at the expense of a public school fund. Nine-tenths of these rural colored schools are taught by teachers who have never completed as much as a first rate, eighth grade grammar school course, and who know absolutely nothing of the advantages of a normal school training, such as is necessary to prepare people for the holy task of developing the human mind. The salary of these teachers in many instances is smaller than the wage of the plowhands laboring on the same plantations.

As to high school education, aside from a few teachers' training schools, made possible by the philanthroy of Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, there are less than a dozen junior high schools for colored youths, and only one for a four-year course, while there are more than one hundred for whites.

Although the negro performs 75 per cent of the agricultural labor in our state, there is not a single first-class agricultural school for colored people in Georgia, and only three of any kind, and these receive such small appropriations that improvement upon what they are now doing is practically impossible; while there are twelve for whites, one in each congressional district, aside from the state agricultural college.

We recognize the fact that even the schools for white people are receiving altogether too small an appropriation, that our state university, colleges and technical institutions for whites are themselves suffering immensely from the lack of funds to do the work which is absolutely needed, but we do not consider these facts sufficient grounds for those who have in charge the distribution of the funds appropriated, to divert practically all of the funds for these colleges to those for whites to the almost complete neglect of those for negroes. For instance, out of an appropriation of $750,000 to this higher educational work, $735,000 was appropriated to the white and against $15,000 to the colored. How does this $15,000 for the higher education of colored people in Georgia appear compared to the North Carolina appropriation of $1,250,000; Louisiana, $500,000; Mississippi, $400,000; Texas, $500,000, and Virginia, $750,000?

We also believe, as the records in other states prove, that the public school interest for colored people in Georgia would be greatly enhanced if our state authorities would appoint an upstanding, high-toned, well-prepared colored supervisor, whose office and labors would be under the supervision of our state superintendent of education. Georgia, with her boundless resources, surpassing most of the southern states, cannot honorably plead poverty as an excuse for her failure adequately to care for and nurture the educational interests of any part of her citizens.

Socially.

Accommodations for travel are a constant menace to every self-respecting colored person who boards our passenger trains. It is not unusual to find the coach provided for colored passengers to be at the same time the baggage car, mail car, the butcher's booth and the conductor's desk, where our wives and daughters are frequently subjected to the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered.

Unequal Law Enforcement.

Very few things have contributed more to the present unrest among the colored people and to induce them to seek shelter in other sections than the inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law. Too often he is made to feel that law was designed solely for his punishment, but not for his protection, along with other citizens. His life is too cheap in Georgia. In practically every instance of personal difficulties between a white man and a colored man, the colored man alone must suffer. If he strikes in necessary defense of himself or habitation, he invariably suffers the extreme penalty of the law, if perchance he escapes the fury of the mob. If his life is taken by an individual white man, the coroner's jury invariably denominates it justifiable homicide. If his life is taken by a mob, even in broad daylight, it is always found that he came to his death at the hands of parties unknown. This inequality in the administration and enforcement of the law can be remedied if those empowered with the authority of government would observe the oaths that they have taken to administer the law with justice and impartiality.

Labor Contract Law.

Unskilled colored labor in Georgia has suffered grievously by the operation of the iniquitous contract law. Under the guise of this law, colored laborers have been held in a state of involuntary servitude, for long periods of time, subjected to corporal punishment, murdered with impunity, confined to certain restricted quarters, their down-sitting and uprising being as closely guarded as in the days of legal slavery, from all of which conditions and cruelties he has often been wholly unable to escape.

We urge the repeal of this law in order that heartless landlords may no longer have apparent legal leave and sanction in their trampling upon the constitutional right of the laborer to be rewarded for his honest toil.

Mob Violence.

Our greatest disturbance, however, is the open defiance of our laws in the form of mob violence. The most disturbing menace of all evils which we now suffer is the menace of the mob. No influence has done more to drive colored people away from the state, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our state, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of colored labor here, than the influence of the mob. In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe over night; and unless checked, it is bound to become a cancer to gnaw away the vitals and destroy the usefulness of one of the most richly endowed states of the union.

The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization. This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary, would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us. We desire for ourselves and our children because of our blood sacrifices, our self-denial and our toil for Georgia and our country, to feel that the immortal Declaration of Independence written by the illustrious Thomas Jefferson and others is the foundation upon which Georgia's civilization rests, and that the words set forth by it are really and truly the basis upon which all the people are to work out our future well-being.

Cause.

The cause of most of the trouble to which we have above referred lies in the fundamental error of attempting to run a democracy without all the people. The leaving of 45 per cent of the population of Georgia out of its government affairs, in our judgment, is largely responsible for the one-sided program which the state is operating, and the neglect that the colored people now sustain.

In a democracy, one's vote is his weapon of defense against any such inadequacies as the colored people are forced here to suffer. And all history shows that any defenseless group in any social compact like ours, has always been the subject of gross injustice and undue discrimination. The colored man's fate, therefore, is but the common fate of all people who have been denied the right of the ballot in a democracy. So severe have been our trials, and so much have we been neglected, that we feel, and the records will show that as a group, we are despised and rejected by altogether too large a number of the white people among whom we have lived for three centuries. We lay the blame for this most unfortunate condition at the door of the cheap political demagogue, who, to satisfy a purely selfish ambition, and for personal motives, from platform and through an unfair press, have maligned us, misrepresented us, and prejudiced many good white people against us who otherwise would today be our substantial friends, by their self-made scarecrow "social equality" and "negro domination." These same demagogues, having thus disposed of the colored man in the governmental affairs in our state, are now busy seeking to array class against class among the white group to the end that the white man of big business and of big business capacity, may also be eliminated from the politics of the state, and the government left to the mercies of their rapacious ambition. How well they are succeeding, let the laws of the statute books and the conditions of our state government tell.

We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality or desire for negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood this test, let the pens of your own illustrious worthies and the tongue of your own immoral Grady tell.

Record of Patriotism.

We, their sons and daughters, modestly though proudly, boast that we are "Chips off the old block." Our record of patriotism is common knowledge to all, and we only covet a fair chance to serve in the largest possible way, our fellowmen.

It is written that "Man shall not live by bread alone." We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well-rounded humanity. Grant us this, and we pledge you our noblest effort in making Georgia what it justly deserves to be—the best and most beautiful of all the states in the union. If you deny us this, and insist upon it, that we must continue our existence under the injustices which we have so much and so patiently endured, then we are frank to declare that it were better for us, however sacred and enchanting the old home and church ground, however strong the ties that bind us to our good white friends of the south, of whom we know we have by far a larger number than have yet declared themselves in public, to leave these friends with a prayer of God's blessings upon them and to leave these homes, and these churches and whatever little earthly possessions we have accumulated within these years, to the ravages of fate and as a "rendezvous for the owls and the bats," while we go forth empty handed to seek some spot upon this earth, where an opportunity may be given to develop ourselves into a well-rounded humanity.

"With malice toward none and charity for all," we challenge you and await your answer.

IMMIGRANTS NOT COMING TO SOUTH

Alabama Shows no Increase Over the Normal Movement of Previous Years

Montgomery Advertiser

BY RUSSELL KENT

Montgomery Advertiser Washington Bureau

7-20-23

WASHINGTON, July 19.—More than twice as many immigrants went to the South after arriving in the United States in the fiscal year which ended June 30, than in the previous year, according to preliminary figures of the Department of Labor.

The increase, however, is due principally to a heavy influx of Mexicans into Texas, which multiplied its immigration by two and a half times in the year just closed. Less than 9 per cent of the total immigration in the year went to thirteen southern states.

Figures for June are not available in detail, the department merely estimated a total immigration of 30,000 for the nation during that month.

For the first eleven months of the fiscal year, 46,766 immigrants declared southern states as their future permanent residences. This compares with 21,907 in the full twelve months of the fiscal year 1922.

Alabama made about the same record of new arrivals as in the previous year, but the net increase to the state is greater because fewer aliens left the state in 1923 than in 1922. In eleven months, 374 immigrants arrived destined for Alabama and 40 departed. compared with 419 arrivals and 121 departures in twelve months of 1922. rivals and 349 departures compared with 964 arrivals and 824 departures. Mississippi gained in the last year with 39,029 arrivals and 1,247 departed, compared with 258 arrivals and 1,247 when in eleven months 302 arrived and Texas in eleven months of the 1923 fiscal year had 32 departures, compared with 14,421 arrivals and 88 departures in the full fiscal year 1922. Georgia had 419 arrivals and 2,602 departures in the 1922 and 54 departures compared with 373 fiscal year. The figures continue to show, despite the slightly larger immigration arrivals and 124 departures in the previous year. Similar figures for Florida show that the South is not interest- are 2,696 arrivals and 1,258 departures of 1923, that the ing immigrants to any considerable ex- compared with 2,399 arrivals and 1,972 departures, and for Louisiana 941 arrivals.

Labor— 1923.
Migration Movement.

NEGRO MIGRATION PRESENTS PROBLEM

Great Negro Walkout—Hits South in Pocket—Georgia Loss of $250,000,000 Forecast—Action by Bankers Results—Urge Higher Wages and Improved Conditions—Northern Labor Affected

By LELAND OLDS
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

Increased wages, decent living conditions, schools and a square deal in business and legal transactions are among the gains which are likely to come to the southern Negro as a result of his spontaneous walkout against coolie wages and an inferior status in the community. The migration northward which is attaining the proportions of a general strike, has hit business men in the south in their pocket books. As a result changes will follow.

Georgia's loss of wealth from her farms as a result of the number of Negroes who have already gone north is estimated at $27,000,000 a year or $250,000,000 in a decade by President J. S. Peters, Georgia Bankers Assn. In his words, "This will be a tremendous loss in wealth to the merchants, jobbers, railroads and other business interests of the State."

A survey by the bankers association indicates that 77,500 Negroes have left the state during the current year. In the last 3½ years a total of 228,938 have gone north. There are 46,674 idle farm dwellings and 55,524 idle plows in the state.

Go to Steel Industry

South Carolina reports a similar exodus. A canvas by the extension service of Clemson college shows that since Nov. 1, 1922, 50,000 Negroes had left 46 of the 51 counties in the state. Railroad officials estimate that 22% of the Negro population has moved north hitting chiefly for Pennsylvania. Early emigrants are now sending for wives and children.

Reports of the same kind come from New Orleans and Memphis.

Lines along which the status of the Negro in the south will be improved as a result of this peaceful withdrawal from work are indicated by President Peters as follows:

"First—Wages must necessarily increase to a par with those of the north and east with proper allowances for the difference in the cost of living. It may be said that we cannot pay the wages offered by the industrial centers, and if this is true then the emigration will continue until the oversupply either brings down the wage level in the north and east or the supply here justifies an increase.

"Second—Living conditions in the Negro section of our towns and cities must be improved by the authorities, and in this connection it might be well to add that little effort, if any, has been put forth heretofore in taking care of the sanitary conditions of Negro communities. As a result few of the streets are in good condition and too often we find them covered with cans and other rubbish. Very few of them have water, lights, gas and telephone and other community conveniences.

Peters also points out that the south must prepare to extend educational facilities to Negroes and to overcome the condition in which Negroes do get a fair deal in business and legal transact

This migration will undoubtedly mean a movement of the Negro in the south. From p... tical peonage he may advance to a status approximating that of the white wage earner. But even that status will not be found worthy of a human being.

Oversupply of Labor in North Threatened

The statement from Georgia suggests that this leveling up of the Negro's status may be accompanied by a leveling down of the position of white labor. Peters refers to the Negro as the south's best source of labor supply because "he will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any people save the oriental coolie." And he points out that the migration will likely continue until it creates an oversupply of labor in the north, which depresses the wage level.

That is what Judge Gary wants. One almost wonders whether publicity for terroristic acts against southern Negroes has not been inspired from the office of U. S. Steel. But defeat for Gary's ideal of cheap labor does not lie in curbing the migration, but in the united action of the workers of both races.

HON. THOS. MILLER SAYS MIGRANTS MAKE GOOD

Ex-Congressman Miller defends the Negro migrant who comes north seeking justice and work in the following letter to the Public Ledged.

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—I am a Negro who knows the Negro thoroughly in all phases of life, for I was born in South Carolina and labored fifty years in the "black belt." In my county, Beaufort, there are more than sixteen Negroes to every White. In that district there has never been a riot or a case of midnight assassination of a White person of the outrage of a White woman by a Negro since emancipation.

Therefore I write to thank you sincerely for having given space from time to time to those who are writing pro and con about the Negro exodus from the South.

Dr. Max Barber's summary of the causes of the Negro exodus published June 10 is self-evident; but if any one doubt it, I beg he investigate.

In your Sunday edition of June 17 Dr. W. R. Watson warns people of Philadelphia against the Negro exodus, saying:

First. "The worst element of the Negro race is coming here."

Second. "As a matter of fact, the North is sitting on a volcano."

Third. "The South considers herself fortunate in getting rid of the Negro element moving North."

Fourth. "That they will be treated just like the Whites and that they think more of that treatment than high wages."

The doctor says "the North is sitting on a volcano." Why so? Because a few hopeful, industrious Negroes have come up here?

In a recent number of the Manufacturers' Journal, Mr. Davis, a member of Mr. Harding's Cabinet, says ::that in the last fifty years more than 8,000,000 immigrants from Europe who are below the average of American citizenship have come to America." They have infested the large Northern cities. Yet this great Government has assimilated them, controlled them, punished them when necessary and has made good citizens out of most of hem. Then why should any of us say at because 100,000 Negroes who are yal, patriotic, industrious, have come nto our midst, they have brought vith them a volcano of destruction?

Third. Unless Dr. Watson regards every Negro who breaks away from peonage, or every Negro who seeks a market for his labor, the worst element of the Negro race, he is in error. In addition to the great labor element, there are farm-owning Negroes have come here and purchased homes all over Philadelphia. There are skilled laborers, mechanics, bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, plumbers, workers in metal, cabinetmakers, business men builders and contractors, real estate agents, dentists, druggists, doctors and lawyers. The Negroes who have come here are an inestimable asset to this great city instead of a volcano. They are real producers of wealth and are conservative, law-abiding citizens.

There is not a county in any one of the Southern States, where the Negroes are the mainstay of industry, but that the White people are united in doing everything in their power (except giving the Negro a fair deal) to keep the Negro from leaving the South.

Fourth. The cause of the Pilgrim Fathers leaving Europe, the cause of the Dutchman settling New Amsterdam, the cause of Penn landing and settling upon the Delaware, are the prime causes for the Negro leaving the South. He sees an opening for him to stand up as a man, to work and be paid as a man, to live and be protected under the laws as a man. He is here, with his patriotism and his labor, to sell his labor in the best market and to live under the law, knowing that he will be protected by the law, in his property, his manhod rights and free from the fear of "Judge Lynch."

The acts and the worth of the high born are heralded in print and by voice to all mankind; but it is seldom that the mud sill of society, the poor laborer, white and black, ever has a printed page or voice to advertise his true worth.

THOMAS E. MILLER, LL. D.,
Former Member Congress from the Seventh District of South Carolina.
Philadelphia, June 23, 1923.

U. S. POST OFFICE HINDERS MIGRATION

Georgia Branch Holds Up Money Orders Sent From North

By John T. Clark

A law has been introduced into the State Legislature in Georgia to make it a statutory offense to solicit labor in the State of Georgia for any point outside of the State. No license can be obtained at any price, and one found guilty will serve a term in prison from three to seven years.

The following instances makes it appear that the Legislature in Georgia has enlisted the assistance of the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Federal Post Office in keeping Georgia Negroes from leaving the State:

A colored man from a small town not far from Savannah came to Pittsburg three months ago. He obtained work and found a place with a friend for his wife and child. He obtained a post-office money order for $50 and sent it to his wife in Georgia to come to Pittsburgh. The Georgia post-office clerk refused to pay over the money. She returned the order to her husband in Pittsburg, who collected the money and then sent it by telegraph. The Georgia representative of the Western Union would not give her the money. The man then came to the Urban League office more determined than ever to move every member of his family out of Georgia.

Another evidence of the truth of the statement that "Prohibition does not always prohibit."

GREENSBORO

JUL 23 1923

TO HALT NEGRO MIGRATION

Editor of The Daily News:

The exodus of the negro from the south with the consequent result of abandoned crops, as reported in the newspapers, has prompted me to offer my services as a dollar-a-year man in an effort to bring about a new situation in the south by financing and building houses at net cost.

I am not in the building business neither am I a land developer—simply trying to start the flow back to the land by forming communities of small farmers.

Too much dependence has heretofore been put on negro labor in the raising of cotton and too little consideration given to the building of homes and small farming under intensive cultivation; there are too many large plantations which should be cut up into small farms.

Therefore, I agree to co-operate with any individual, state, county, or civic body, or board of trade in any city which will finance an educational campaign, showing the advantages of small farming in the south, where climatic conditions are more favorable than in the north.

The community plan is semi-co-operative in the sense that the plowing and cultivation will be done with motor machinery owned in common and charged by the hour; crops marketed through an agent of the community, the intention being to operate under the commission form of government.

The farms will be in units of from 5 to 20 acres—50 families, or more, will constitute a community.

The educational plan contemplates a "soap-box" campaign by speakers who will address people in groups, stressing the importance of owning a home on a small farm where a family may produce enough for own use, and some to sell, where the head will engage in market-gardening, while other members find employment.

These communities will be located near large cities where labor conditions and good markets exist. The appeal to the manufacturer will be the stabilization of labor. In case of cessation of business the help will not migrate, but will be self-supporting.

It is not intended to deal in land but to co-operate with the land owner. When the settler is ready, he purchases his plot direct, pays cash and gets deed. Then I will finance and build home at net cost, donating free service as inducement to encourage "back to the land and home-owning."

When we are able to say to the people of both the north and south that a certain locality affords a plan of financing the owning of their own homes through instalment payments, the same as rental, you can readily see the effect. If we place fifty families in your vicinity, the result is apparent.

J. B. FINSTER,
79 East 18th street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

GAINESVILLE, GA.

JUL 19 1923

Judge Blanton Fortson's Views Strongly Favoring Negro Exodus

Editor Constitution: I have read with profound interest Dr. Thornwell Jacobs' article in Sunday's Constitution on the negro emigration and hasten to endorse it and to congratulate you upon opening your columns to so full a discussion of this most vital question to the south.

De Tocqueville, writing in the year 1832, remarked in his "Democracy in America" (Vol. Chap. XVIII.) "the most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory."

Viscount James Bryce, writing sixty years later, said in his "American Commonwealth" "But for one difficulty the south might well be thought to be the most promising part of the union, that part whose advance is likely to be swiftest and whose prosperity will be not the least secure. The difficulty, however, is a serious one; it lies in the presence of 9,000,000 negroes."

All discerning foreigners who have made a study of the question have reached the inevitable conclusion, so far as I am aware, that this section will be perpetually retarded in its development so long as it contains so large a proportion of this inferior race.

Our own thoughtful observers have reached similar conclusions. Thus that distinguished Virginian, Philip A. Bruce, in his "The plantation Negro as a Freeman" expresses the almost universal opinion of those who have thought the problem out in its larger aspect, when he says:

"It would be far better for the whole country if he (the negro) were withdrawn, even though withdrawn so suddenly as to wholly blight for a time the material interests of the south. It would be better, indeed, for that entire section to be relegated to its primeval condition with a view to its being settled again exclusively by a white population just as if it were virgin territory, than for it to maintain its present position partially through the manual exertions of the blacks, but with the individuals of that race increasing so rapidly as to threaten the extinction in the end of every element of prosperity, with no hope of subsequent revival."

The old theory, not often heard how, that white men cannot work in the southern climate has, of course, been utterly exploded. Most of the cotton, I believe, is now made by white labor; in fact the southern summers do not have the intense heat of those of the western and mid-western prairie states.

Indeed it cannot, I believe, be questioned that with our climate, soil, forests, minerals, waterpower, harbors and other natural advantages, had the south been populated only by white men of the Nordic strain it would be today, instead of the least, the most advanced section of our country. So firmly have some of our thinkers been convinced of this that they have seriously advocated compulsory emigration of the negro.

And now, as it seems, when in obedience to economic laws there is beginning to be a voluntary and orderly bringing about of this most desired consummation, some of us are inclined to view it with apprehension and others even to thwart it.

Should we not, on the contrary, do all that we can, legitimately, to promote it? Can we not see ahead of the immediate and temporary depression of agricultural paper and the value of farm lands to our ultimate deliverance?

I believe that we can. I believe that the convincing logic of Dr. Jacobs' position will be recognized and the conferences that have been called to consider the question will come to his conclusions. I also believe that if the thought and energy now being marshaled in an effort to stop the negro exodus be directed rather towards alleviating the temporary distress it is entailing the migration will be accompanied by a minimum of financial disturbance.

Perhaps the solution lies in further emending our immigration laws so as to admit a proportionately larger number of northern Europeans and to reduce the number of all others and then endeavor to divert the desirable immigrants to the south

But whether we get immigration or not, and we certainly do not want any that cannot readily be assimilated, the present exodus of the negro, if it be maintained at its present rate for the next ten years, will be a transecendent benefit to the south.

Blanton Fortson,
(Judge Superior Court, Western Circuit.) Athens, Ga., July, 9, 1923

JUL 19 1923

EFFECT OF NEGRO MIGRATION ON THE SOUTH.

Negro labor has been cheap labor, and because it has been congested in the cotton-growing South, it has made cotton a cheap labor crop, a low-priced crop. The Negro has lived in a shanty, has gone half-clad, poorly fed, and made cotton on this basis, and the white man making cotton had to compete with this sort of cheap labor. It has been a competition as ruinous as that which the white Californians faced when incoming Chinese and Japanese with their low living standards began to threaten California with pauper labor and pauperism. The reason England has not been able to grow cotton in her colonies is simply because Southern Negroes and Southern whites, by going poorly housed. poorly clad and poorly fed, have made cotton virtually on a slave wage basis, and therefore cheaper than England could grow it in Africa.

Moreover, a large part of our Southern Negroes making cotton have not really been farmers, but simply persons eking out existence by getting rations from a store while they helped pile up an over-production of cheap cotton by growing "cotton and nothing else but cotton" to pay for their supplies. No wonder farming hasn't paid. Agriculture has been prostituted to make profits for a mercantile class.

If more Negroes of this "cropper" tpye go North, it will lessen the production of cotton and boost cotton prices while at the same time making room for more real farmers in the South. The new farmers will grow the hay, meat, lard, canned goods, milk, poultry, cheese, etc., of which we now import so much; will take better care of the soil; and will take more interest in rural social and community life, rural education, and general rural progress. And such a result, as we have said before, will help not only the white farmers of the South, but thrifty and enterprising Negroes also.

"A Goose to the Acre," Is Slogan of Cotton Growers

"A Goose to the Acre" is now the slogan of cotton growers in southern Missouri and eastern Arkansas, according to G. H. Banks, field service director, and Joe Carter, state representative of the Arkansas Cotton Growers Cooperative Association who arrived in Memphis yesterday after a tour of the territory.

"Geese are being used everywhere to rake the fields of the migrating negroes, and everywhere Mr. Carter and I went we found the cry for "geese, and more geese" insistent.

"The farmers have learned that while the geese will not touch the growing cotton they thoroughly free the ground of all grass and weeds. They were first used because of their known love for "johnson grass" but their value to the farmer was quickly demonstrated.

"One farmer with 40 acres of cotton sent to St. Louis and bought 30 geese at $7.40 a head. I understand the growers have been drawing heavily on Memphis for their geese and have about cleaned out the market. It sounds rather silly but it is the truth. The farmers have found geese to be a Godsend.

"In Dunklin County, Missouri, the farmers have been quick to see the advantage of geese and the big cotton crop that county will have this year will be largely saved through the work of the geese."

Labor - 1923
Migration Movement.

HOUSE WOULD FURTHER REDUCE IMMIGRATION

Norfolk Journal & Guide
2-10-23

Proposed Measure Would Cause Annual Cut of 100,000; A Matter of Interest to Colored People.

Norfolk, Va.

(Special to Journal and Guide)

Washington, D. C.—Race members throughout the country are evincing much interest in the general immigration bill just whipped into shape for consideration by the House Immigration Committee.

The reason for this keen interest on the part of colored people is because the race problem in this country and immigration are two closely interwoven subjects, particularly from an economic viewpoint.

It is reported by U. S. Department of Labor that northern industries are gradually absorbing Negro labor that has been migrating from the south in large numbers for the past several months. The increased demand for the output of these industries added to the shortage of foreign labor caused by the limitation of immigration, is affording race labor an opportunity for widening its area in industry.

WANT BARS LOWERED

Another reason that makes any attempt to change the present immigration laws interesting to Negroes is that it is reported that southern statesmen are being importuned by their constituents to seek a lowering of the immigration bars so as to allow more foreign labor to enter the country in order that the industrial field in the North and West may become more tightly closed to the Negro. This they believe will check the general exodus of colored laborers from the southern plantations.

The new immigration bill as constructed by the House has provisions even more favorable to the race than the present immigration law. For instance, it provides that the basis for determining the percentage quotas be fixed on the 1890 census instead of the 1910 census as now obtain and the percentage quota is reduced from 3 to 2 per cent.

The cut in the African quota, which is already relatively small, would affect the race adversely, however.

Northward Migrants Choose Farms In New Jersey Rather Than Big City Like Philadelphia.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Sir:—

We were not aware of any extraordinary migration of Negro families from the South to Philadelphia.

I have been in communication with various prominent organizations and individuals who would have definite information if such extraordinary migration to Philadelphia had taken place. The Travelers' Aid Society which meets all trains and ferries states that they have seen no indication of the immigration of Southern Negroes. Of course, the release from the Department of Labor, under date of January 31, 1923, states that there is a slight Northern shift of Negro labor and cites Philadelphia as one of the cities toward which such labor is directed.

2/13/23

The Armstrong Association has no information nor has its attention been directed toward any unusual shifting of population. The Henry Phipps Institute which has been conducting, through a corps of Negro women nurses, a series of surveys among the colored population, reports certain small settlements of Southern Negroes, approximately late arrivals.

The Rev. W. F. Graham who, in 1917, was a member of our Committee on Negro Migration advises us that the Negro families from the South now coming Northward are from rural sections and are stopping in the rural districts in New Jersey. Comparatively few of them are crossing the river to Philadelphia. From other sources we have obtained similar indefinite information.

Our conclusion is that, though there may be a trend Northward, the numbers coming to Philadelphia are few compared with the migrations of several years ago.

BERNARD J. NEWMAN,
Managing Director
Philadelphia Housing Association

Colored Workers Move Northward

Pittsburgh Courier
Chicago Defender

(By The Associated Negro Press)

CHICAGO, Ill., Jan. 26.—The migration of colored workers continues North. The working outlook for spring will be record making.

The Labor Department reports a maximum employment of virtually all industrial plants in Chicago this year. Building during 1922 was practically double that of 1921 and it is estimated that more than $300,000,000 will be expended in Chicago this year. All industries in and around Chicago will run at full force, according to the present outlook.

1-26-23.

Conditions throughout Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin are also unusually bright. The Detroit district reports a general shortage of workers. This condition also prevails in Ohio.

Wire and steel mills in Indiana are working at capacity. In Wisconsin a general labor shortage is reported.

Charles J. Boyd, general superintendent of the Chicago free employment department of labor of the state of Illinois, reports that the ratio of applicants to jobs available at the Illinois free employment offices were increased to 116.6 for 100 jobs available from 112.2, the November figures. A year ago 210.0 persons registered for each 100 jobs available—more than a hundred per cent increase.

Compared with December, 1921, there were 8,404 more opportunities for employment in the combined offices of the state this year than last.

The occupations in which there was a greater demand in December than November were machinery, printing trades, food, beverages, tobacco, and miscellaneous.

Tells Hardships Of Negro Worker In Recent Exodus

Atlanta Constitution
2-21-23

Declares Many Sickened and and Died in Cold, Filthy Tenements of North.

BY LOUIS B. WRIGHT.

Greenwood, S. C., February 20.—(Special.)—A story of hardship and suffering among the negroes from the south who have been lured to the north by tales of high wages and better living conditioons was told here yesterday by Robert White, a negro who brought the corpse of his mother back from Washington to Greenwood for burial. His mother died of pneumonia and White asserts that many other negroes are suffering from disease and the rigors of the northern winter. With him was James Harrison, another negro, who went to Washington, but who has come back after suffering many hardships.

Negroes that go north need expect to find nothing good for them there, White and Harrison said. "There ain't nothin' good up there and there's nothin' at all there except hard work," Harrison declared emphatically.

Many Hardships.

The negroes described how they weer crowded into cold and filthy tenements, where members of their race sickened and died. Lodging cost them $6 to $8 per week and they had to furnish their own coal or wood and lights, they said. They made about 40 cents an hour, Harison said, as laborers on construction work, but it took every cent they made to buy food and clothing enough to keep warm. "You can't make nothin' up there," Harrison asserted.

Greenwood undertakers stated yesterday that out of every group of negroes going north, a certain per cent usually came back in caskets in a few months after their departure from the south. Not a week passes without a few caskets, bearing the bodies of Greenwood negroes who have died in the north, coming back for interment. In spite of the frightful death rate in the north, negroes are leaving this locality.

Leaders Discuss Negro Migration

East Tennessee Star
Knoxville, Tenn.
2-22-23

(Preston News Service)

Jackson, Tenn., Feb. 20.—Negro farmers of West Tennessee will meet tomorrow at Lane College for a two day se-ssion to discuss farm problems and endeavor to devise ways and means to halt the ever increasing migration of Negro farm labor to industrial centers. Prominent Negro farmers fro m every agricultural section of the state are expected to attend this meeting, several having arrived already. Agents from the state agricultural department will attend the sessions and deliery addresses.

DIXIE WHITES WILL BE FORCED TO GO TO WORK

Chicago Defender
2-24-23

Labor Problem in South Grows as Race Flees Lynching for Northland Cities

A migration of our people to the north is in full swing. All the "gateway" cities to the south report the movement and every southern state appears to be experiencing it. In some sections, most recently hit by the boll weevil, it almost approaches in extent the exodus of Colored labor during the war. In others it is small but for the last half year it has been quite steady, writes Arthur Evans from Nashville, Tenn., for the Chicago Tribune.

Reports gathered at first hand on this tour from state officials in the Carolinas, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky, indicate that since the shortage of common labor appeared in the northern industrial centers last spring, say, in June, between 100,000 and 150,000 Negro workers have moved to the north. This appears to be a conservative estimate; some place the figures considerably higher.

Agents Round Up Workers.

Large industries which have found it difficult to get enough unskilled laborers—sometimes because of the low wage offered—have had agents in the south for months rounding up workers. The iron and steel industry is reported among the most active in this respect. The railroads, too, have been recruiting large gangs for maintenance of way operations.

The Negro labor is not going to any one particular point in the north, but appears to be fairly well diffused among the industrial states. Large numbers heading north through Atlanta, Memphis, Louisville, and other points are said to be bound for the steel mills in the Chicago-Calumet-Gary region, for the rubber factory towns in Ohio, the steel centers in Pennsylvania, and Ohio, while they are moving in large groups into the automotive cities of Michigan. From the Carolinas there is a steady Colored exodus into the mill cities of New England and the east. Many are Negroes who went north during the war to work in munition and food products plants and elsewhere, but who came back when the business slump set in.

Attracted by Higher Wages.

During the six or eight months since a shortage of common labor has been experienced in some basic industries, they are flocking north again attracted by the higher wages.

Employing interests in the south regard the migration with mixed feelings. In the textile regions many manufacturers say it is a serious problem because it is depleting the supply of cheap labor in the cotton fields. Among the cotton raisers it is "viewed with alarm." Others, however, take the opposite view. They say it is one answer to the campaign which some large employing groups in the north have been pushing for months to let down the immigration bars in order to let in cheap unskilled labor from Europe. They point out that the south has a vast quantity of cheap labor living under poverty ridden conditions and that to drain off some of the surplusage into the northern industrial centers will be of benefit to both those who move and those who remain.

Expect Race Problem.

True, it may tend to give the North more of a share in the race problem, but in looking for a labor supply, many down here maintain it would be better for the big industries to consider the cheap Negro labor instead of cheap European labor.

Besides all this, in the mountain regions of the south, is a vast potential supply of white labor, of Anglo Saxon stock, which now is living largely in a condition of poverty. It is this supply on which the textile industries of the South have been built up. They are moving so fast that there are 16,000,000 spindles in the south, as against 20,000,000 in the rest of the country.

And still in the mountains of the southern states is a white population of at least 2,000,000 to 3,000,000, a

large part of which might be drawn upon as a labor supply—and experience is that despite the illiteracy rate, which is prodigious, it is easily transformed into semi-skilled labor. It is readily adaptable to mill and factory work.

Louisville Sends 1,000.

At Louisville, the state employment office alone has sent, since May, more than 1,000 Negro workers to a point in Ohio to work as common labor for the most part in the steel mills.

"My idea is that the Negro population ought to be drawn upon instead of letting down the immigration bars," said Pat Filburn, supervisor of labor of Kentucky, the other day. "They're Americans, aren't they, and any distribution of common labor which helps them surely ought to help the country as a whole? It's infinitely better than herding in cheap labor from Europe and elsewhere.

"Supposing it does lessen the supply and increases the pay in the cotton fields; what of it? My theory is that it would be a good thing all around if cotton field labor were able to get more profitable pay."

THE NEGROES' "HOME!"

A news dispatch from Greenwood, S. C., of more than passing interest contains the following significant statement:

Atlanta Constitution

"A story of hardship and suffering among the negroes from the south who have been lured to the north by tales of high wages and better living conditions was told here yesterday by Robert White, a negro who brought the corpse of his mother back from Washington to Greenwood for burial. His mother died of pneumonia and White asserts that many other negroes are suffering from disease and the rigors of the northern winter. With him was James Harrison, another negro, who went to Washington, but who has come back after suffering many hardships." 2/25/23

The dispatch further states that scarcely a day passes that a casket containing the body of a negro who had gone to some place in the north does not come in to Greenwood.

When it is considered that the same story is coming out of practically every section of the south from which negro emigration to the north has been particularly heavy, it may be appreciated just what the negro exodus from the south has meant to these misguided individuals, who have not alone been deceived by labor recruiting agents, but have been made restless by local conditions that have needlessly terrorized in many instances, but that are chiefly inexcusable under any circumstances.

The negro belongs to the south, and he is the south's most dependable laborer in rural and farm communities.

There are worthless men and women among them, some of them vicious, some of them irresponsible, some of them criminals. But are there not worthless and criminal classes in all races?

Those who violate law should be dealt with to the fullest extent by the law, through the constituted authorities, just as any violator of law, whether white or black, native or alien, should be dealt with by the law

The protection of society, the integrity of institutions, the progress and happiness of a people can only be secured and maintained by rigid law enforcement, without regard to class or caste; and that enforcement should not only be rigid, but through the constituted enforcement channels.

The negro not only belongs to the south, but he is treated best and fairest on the whole by the southern people, who understand him best, and who are more appreciative of his characteristics.

Statistics will show that the negro has prospered more in the south, where he has had his churches and schools, and felt the helping hand of the white race. He has accumulated property and become a factor in material progress in a far more marked degree, on a ratio basis, than in any of the northern, or even the border states.

The greatest trouble has come from terrorizing on the part of a few irresponsible people, and it ought to stop. It does not represent southern thought, or reflect the equity of southern traditions.

The negro is unmistakably a factor in the agricultural and industrial life of the south, and he should be helped in becoming more useful and more efficient and dependable in the working trades to which he is best fitted.

In the meantime, the negro himself should realize that the southern white people are his best friends, that he assimilates best with southern conditions, that he is happier and more useful in the land of his birth; and those of them who harbor sectional and racial animosities, and who are disturbers and troublemakers among their race, seeking social equality and the vices that go with that spirit, can not only very well afford to migrate to other sections, but the south can well afford to lose them to any section that wants them.

That class, very fortunately, is negligible in the negro race. Most of them are law-abiding, and with fair community treatment will remain restful and contented and fill creditable places in the working trades that nature intended for them.

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN
FEBRUARY 17, 1923

A NEW NEGRO MIGRATION

Reports from Southern States indicate a migration northward of negroes comparable in many respects to that which drew so many from the cotton fields in the war-boom years to answer the call of Northern industry. That migration was reflected in the census figures of 1920, but it was pointed out that the emergency having ceased, negro labor had largely drifted South again.

The present movement may be more permanent, for it is prompted by a shortage of common labor which threatens to become chronic if present quota restrictions on immigration continue, or, as threatened, are increased. Estimates of the number involved in the present movement vary from 100,000 to 150,000 or considerably greater.

The consequences of this migration are two-fold, as demonstrated by the war experience. The problems of Northern cities are increased. And the South has a new problem of labor shortage, with no available supply. The Southern negro comes North to take the places which hitherto have been filled by the immigrant now barred. And he leaves a gap in the South which "Nordic" immigration will not fill, and which can be filled by no European race with quite the satisfaction which the negro, whatever may have been his shortcomings, has given.

As one of the direct consequences of an immigration policy which seeks to close the gates against a class of immigration which has been essential in the development of the United States, these companion results, in North and South, invite careful consideration.

Immigration and Cotton

Restriction Should Benefit Cotton Prices

Birmingham, Alabama,
The Progressive Farmer 2-24-23

By B. L. MOSS

RECENT and prospective legislation affecting the admission of immigrants to America is likely, in my opinion, to have a profound effect upon industrial and economic conditions in the United States, and in the South particularly. Our National legislators, it seems, are beginning at last to see that we cannot keep on admitting any and all classes of people, if our American ideals, principles and institutions are to be preserved.

MR. MOSS

A year or so ago Congress passed a law authorizing various nationalities to enter this country at a rate not to exceed 3 per cent per annum of the total of such nationality in America at the time of the census of 1910. The object and effect of this was and has been to exclude many thousands of Southern and Eastern Europeans—peoples different from us in ideals and standards of living and difficult of assimilation. At the same time, the law, as intended, has encouraged the entrance of North Europeans—peoples closely akin racially to us, familiar with our form of government, and quickly assimilable.

A measure now before Congress, and which seems to have a good chance of passage, would cut the percentage to 2 based upon the 1890 census, thus still more closely barring the door to undesirables. It is stated that under the present law we are getting about 350,000 immigrants a year, and that the new measure would give us about 168,000 a year. Compare this with the million or more a year we were getting a few years ago and it will be seen how drastic the cut has been and will be.

For one, I favor excluding every foreigner who has not in him the makings of a good citizen. We have too many "reds" already. I shall ask my Representatives in Congress to vote for the restrictive measure now proposed, because I believe we need quality in citizenship, rather than quantity.

Negroes Go North

I BELIEVE that such measures are to be permanently in force hereafter, and that they are bound to have a profound effect upon industry and agriculture, in the South particularly. When we were getting a million immigrants a year, most of them went into the great industries of the North and West. This great stream has now been dammed back, Northern industrial centers are needing labor, and in order to get it their pull of high wages is steadily taking Negroes out of the South.

For 50 years, the men who have grown cotton, white and black, have been underpaid. This has been so because millions of laborers from Europe kept the Northern industries supplied, and there was no outlet for our underpaid surplus of labor. So it was either make cotton at starvation wages or starve. Distance, lack of communication, and a total ignorance of the higher wages in the North also served to keep Negroes in the South. High wages during war time broke the jam at last, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes went North. This stream continues steadily, and will continue, it seems to me, until wages and living conditions, rural and urban, North and South, are on something like a parity.

Cheap Labor Gone

THE ultimate effect of all this, it appears to me, is going to be to the immeasurable benefit of the cotton-growing South. Our cheap labor is going to be cheap no longer; it has learned where the high wages are, and it is going to get them. If cotton production cannot pay these higher wages, then enough producers are going elsewhere to an extent that will automatically decrease production and increase prices.

If we have a race problem, it, too, is going to be simplified by the operation of these influences. There is bound to be a diffusion of Negroes over the United States, wider by far than ever before. The black South will grow whiter, the white North blacker.

There has been and will be complaint at our loss of Negro labor, possibly some sections and individuals will be temporarily hurt by it. Manufacturing and industrial centers have been and will be clamoring for a modification of the immigration restrictions. But amid all this, it will be well for us to remember that America has already come dangerously near to letting in more perverted thinking foreigners than she can ever assimilate. The proposed further restrictions will benefit the whole nation, and the Cotton Belt in particular, because they will help to put cotton prices on a level that will assure an approximate living wage to the farmer.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

LEAVING THE SOUTH.

It is estimated that more than a hundred thousand Colored people have left the South in the last few months. It is said that 50,000 left 41 counties in S. C., since Nov. 1st last, and that thousands of farms are cropless. 11,840, 346 farms in Georia, are in weeds because 80,000 Colored people have left the States of Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas, as these States have the largest losses. The movement is rural to urban, also to such an extent that cities are being overcrowded.

It is needed that the migratory trend is an established fact, not a guess work. Official government, recognized school departments, religious statistics, common observation of departures and arrivals and deserted farms, all substantiate the reports. Never were Southern white people more alarmed about the matter than they are this very day. The white people of the South who are known to be fair and just have our sympathy. Those who favor the repressive measures long suffered aught to be deserted by the men and the women who have sustained their industries, and we are glad to know a just God is opening their eyes.

The Union-Review need not again relate the causes of the wholesale migration. It is common knowledge that in the general South, life and property are ever in jeopardy, that justice is denied in court houses, that schools are shameful, that peonage is degrading, that travel in common carriers is a disgrace, wages are inadequate, segregation an insult. Preachers find notices tacked on the church doors warning them to leave mobs wreak vengeance upon not only the guilty but to the innocent also. White preachers are as silent in view of the heathenish practices as grave yards, teachers are reticent, Statesmen are reserved, business men restrained, white women, some of them, would change conditions but white men stand aloof withholding support.

A Southern Paper speaks thus.

"Plain Talk,"—Everybody seems to be asleep about what is going on right under our noses—that is, everybody but those farmers who waked up one morning recently to find everyt Negro over 21 on their places gone—to Cleveland, to Pittsburg, to Chicago, to Indianapolis. Better jobs, better treatment, higher pay—the bait held out is being swallowed by thousands of them about, and while our very solvency is being sucked from underneath us we go about our affairs as usual—our police raid pool rooms for 'loafing Negroes,' bring in twelve, keep them in the barricks all night, and next morning find that ten of them have steady jobs and were there merely to spend an hour in the only indoor recreation they have, our country officers hear of a disturbance at a Negro resort and bring in fifty odd men, women, boys and girls to spend the night in jail to make a bond at ten percent, to hire lawyers, to mortgage half of two months' wages to get back their jobs Monday morning although but half-dozen could have been guilty of the disorderly conduct.

Mr. Chandler Harris, a white man writes:

The Better Negrooes." — The point I desire to make that the overwhelming majority of the Negroes in all parts of the South, especially in the agricultural regions, are leading sober and industrious lives. A temperate race is bound to be industrious. Even in the towns the majority of them are sober and industrious. The idle anr criminal classes among them make a great show in the police court records, but right here in Atlanta the respectable and decent Negroes far outnumber those who are on the lists of the police as old or new offenders. I am bound to conclude from what I see all about me, and from what I know of the race elsewhere, that the Negro, notwithstanding the late start he has made in civilization and enlightenment, is capable of making himself a useful member in the communities in which he lives and moves, and that he is becoming more and more desirous of conforming to all the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society.

Speaking in Boston, if we recall correctly, the late Henry Grady, the South's most brilliant advanced man said:

"We Must Solve The Problem."—Not in passion, my countrymen, but in reason—not in narrowness but in breadth—that we may solve this problem in calmness and in truth, and lifting its shadows let perpetual sunshine pour down on two races, walking together in peace and contentment.

If the problem be solved at all— and I firmly believe it will, though nowhere else has it been—it will be solved by the people most deeply bound in interest, most deeply pledged in honor to its solution. I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which the faction has contended since Cataline conspired and Caesar fought.

The Union-Review will not say more at this time, except to declare it seems our folks are in the grip of a migration psychology as pronounced as impelled the Jews to leave Egypt. They are going to their 'New Freedom, not singly but in the mass, and we see nothing that can stop their going. In fact, God seems to be saying, "Let my people go." The talk about Colored folks wanting "social equality" with other than their own people is all bosh, and white men are now as saying as much. No, we do not want that: we want our constitutional rights and every privileged statutory enactments ocffers citizens, and every other thing human beings have a right to enjoy. We are not, should not, be held responsible for every fool thing some fool Colored man may say. Here and there a white man says what the bulk of his race rejects as being unjust or contrary to the policy that is best for the South. Not even all great men all wise. Job said as much thousands of years ago. Let's therefore, confer, both South, and North, pray much, plan with energy, execute our mutually approved plans with vigor always.

Colored people going North must attend the church, study night and day their new environments, train their children, restrain their youths, live quiet, sober, industrious lives. They must keep away from the meshes of the 'underworld.' Both the White and Colored North have a stupendous task here.

TAMPA FLA TRIBUNE
MAY 5, 1923

NEGROES MIGRATING

A local news story in The Tribune tells of recruiting agents in this city, employing negroes to go to some northern point for employment, the nature of which is not stated. These agents, it is understood, have enlisted a considerable number of negro laborers and they are leaving on every train.

Similar movements have been noted here in recent years and it is also noted that many of the negroes who migrate to northern jobs soon get enough of their experiences there and drift back to Tampa and vicinity.

Farmers in Southern states are beginning to complain again of lack of labor due to emigration of negro workers to the north. The Department of Agriculture says 32,000 have left Georgia within a year. South Carolina's loss is put at over 22,000, Arkansas' at 15,000 and Alabama, Florida and Louisiana have all been affected seriously by the continued migration. The South is beginning to take measures to retain the much-needed workers.

Under normal conditions the negro seems to be happier and more contented in the South, especially the typical Southern negro. If he is given a square deal he is not inclined to leave his old home. It would appear that the South has the solution of this problem, of keeping the negro workers, largely in its own hands.

NEGRO MIGRATION MOVE UNABATED

Richmond, Va., July 3.—Labor conditions in the south, the result of the migration of the negro, have not improved but probably have grown worse during the last month, according to the monthly statement of the federal reserve bank of Richmond, made public here. South Carolina has lost more negro laborers than have North Carolina and Virginia, it is stated.

Reviewing the labor situation in the fifth district, the bank statement says:

"Although there has been a decided increase in the number of new construction projects started during the past month in comparison with earlier months of the spring, there has been no let-up in work on buildings already under construction, and of these there are enough to give employment to more skilled workmen than are available.

"The real shortage of labor in the fifth district is in the ranks of unskilled workmen, however, especially among the negroes. The migration of colored men from the farms to northern and middle western industrial centers appears to continue unabated, and southern employment agencies report that agents for large corporations in the industrial centers are exceedingly active.

50,000 Leave South Carolina.

"A survey recentiy conducted by the extension division of Clemson college in South Carolina states that approximately 50,000 negroes have left South Carolina since November 1.

1922. This survey was made under the direction of the chief of the extension division of Clemson college, and the data were supplied by the county farm demonstration agents, leading farmers, bankers, merchants and other community leaders, and it is generally believed in the state surveyed that the estimate of the number of negroes who have migrated is well within the fact. The number leaving North Carolina and Virginia is less than that leaving South Carolina, but is still sufficiently large to cause concern in the agricultural sections that depend upon hired labor. The imigration in North Carolina and Virginia appears to be based upon glowing pictures of supposed conditions awaiting the negroes in the northern centers, but in South Carolina many negroes have left the state from stern necessity. In the sections of that state which have felt the full ravages of the boll weevil there are hundreds of negroes who have found it really difficult to get sufficient money or credit to provide the barest necessities of life, and many of the landowners for whom these negroes formerly worked are in little better condition.

Some Will Return.

"Some of the negroes who go north and west will of course return in time to the south and signs are not lacking to indicate that many of them are finding conditions in their new homes far different from their expectations. but probably most of the migrants, and especially the younger and more capable ones, will adjust themselves to their surroundings, and will be permanently lost to the south. Whatever the effect of this movement in the long run it is hard for the farmers to adjust themselves to the shortage in available labor so suddenly, and at present many planters are worried about the outlook for the immediate future. The large plantation owners who depend upon tenant or hired labor are of course the chief sufferers from the migration, the small land owner not being affected as a rule since a large proportion of his work is done by members of his own family, and in the cases where he rents a part of his small farm to one or two tenant families, the relation between landlord and tenant is so close that he has found less difficulty in holding his labor than the man who employs many workers and comes in contact with them through overseers.

"While the farmers are chief sufferers from the shortage of colored labor, other industries are also hard hit. Lumber mills are having difficulty in securing sufficient workers to keep their plants running to capacity and brick yards report similar trouble. Paving and road contractors throughout the fifth district could use many more workmen if they could be had at wages the contractors can afford to pay, and city street and sewer work is being delayed in some cases by insufficient working forces. There is hardly a single large employer of colored labor who has not lost some workers during the migration, and those lost in many cases have not been replaced because new workers are not available.

N Y C POST
JULY 14, 1923

The Negro Movement North

Negro migration from the rural South to industrial centres in the North has done more than attract national attention. It has called forth such a variety of explanations that if any considerable number of them happens to be correct, not a negro will remain south of the Mason and Dixon line. Since the attraction of industrial centres is so obvious when compared to the present uncertain outlook for agricultural pursuits, the reasons for the present migration need not be sought in studies of Southern conditions. If the negro were running away from the South he could just as well have begun fifteen or twenty years ago, for the change in his status, considered as a whole, has been marked by improvement in the South during the last two decades.

For more than half a century industry has been drawing labor from American farms as well as from Ellis Island. When the drastic curtailment of immigration which resulted, first from the war in Europe and then from our present immigration laws, sent industrial wages higher than ever without wiping out the shortage of man power it was natural that such a great reservoir of labor as the Southern States possessed should be suddenly and powerfully affected. Agents went after the negro for the first time—and he responded.

There can be little doubt that many parts of most of the Southern States had more negro labor than they could use. The ignorant negro tenant farmer raising cotton "on the shares" has been an important factor in producing the annual crop, but he cannot have contributed much to the improvement of agriculture or rural life. Probably hundreds of thousands of this type can be spared without danger of serious economic damage and probably with profit to those who remain to reap the benefits that must result wherever there was a marked excess of labor.

Good results may follow this migration. The use of machinery in the South ought to find encouragement. White tenant farmers may discover it is easier to maintain a higher standard of rural life freed from the depressing effect of an excess of negro labor and share croppers always available for the landlord. There are now many parts in the South and Southwest which discourage negro immigration by very drastic means, not so much because of race feeling as because negro tenant farmers have a tendency to flock together and create an excess of the landless, with consequent injury to themselves and their neighbors. A notable example of this is the western half of Texas, where there are scarcely any negroes at all. The total population of that half of the State is not in excess of 1,500,000, which is less than one-third the State's sparse population, occupying half its area. Immigration is eagerly sought, but not negro immigration.

And what of the negroes who are flocking North? What will become of them?

Of one thing we may be sure. Many of them will save money and return to the Southern States from which they came to buy farms and "settle down" for life. The negro is not nearly such a spendthrift as he is usually represented to be—especially in humorous fiction and on the stage. Nearly every Southerner knows that the negro will buy land if he can. And what he buys he holds with a tenacity that is sometimes amusing. Oil booms may come and go, but he clings to his corn, cotton, and 'tatoes patch.

This is the credit side of the negro migration, of which the debit side carries as its principal item the problems created in the North by the new invasion.

Acute Situation Faces Planters As Result of Exodus

Southern Owners, Frantic Over Possible Loss of Crops, Appeal to Northern Chambers of Commerce for Aid.

SCOTT, Ala., June 28.—Approximately 42 colored families have left cotton plantations at Scott during the past week, according to a statement made by Dr. G. H. Estes, one of the leading cotton planters of Pulaski county and local business man.

The situation has become so acute as a result of the exodus of the cotton growers that local cotton planters are trying to negotiate with the chambers of commerce at Chicago, St. Louis and other large northern cities to secure, if possible, the return of the workers and their families in special trains, Dr. Estes said.

Poor crop conditions resulting from cold weather, heavy rain and floods, as well as the inducement of high wages in industrial centers of the North, are responsible largely for the general departure of the negroes, Dr. Estes said.

The conditions at Scott is such at present that cotton planters are facing the prospect of being without labor to care for the crop unless the migrants can be replaced or induced to return to their homes. Free transportation, it is thought by leading planters of the vicinity, will be a strong inducement to many of the workers.

The condition at Scott is a reflection of the general condition over the state, according to cotton planters. Negroes since the beginning of the season have been gradually leaving their farms until the present alarmingly large numbers have prompted the planters to plan immediate action for the return of their helpers.

The planters are willing to bear the expenses of the transportation.

TRUCKLOAD OF NEGROES IS STOPPED IN ALBANY

Albany, Ga., July 3.—(Special.)—Considerable excitement among the negro population of Albany was occasioned Monday by the holding up for several hours, in front of the city hall, of a large truck on which about twenty-five negroes, men and women, were "just passing through." A stout platform had been built on the truck, and the passengers were making themselves as comfortable as possible on it.

Many stories were current as to where the negroes were going and where they had come from. It developed that they were "emigrants," but it proved to be a new kind of emigration they had embarked on. They were southward and not northward bound. The party was traveling from McDuffie county to Faceville, in Decatur county, where they will be employed in a large saw mill. The trip they were making was of about 200 miles.

It developed that the holdup of the party here was due to telegrams to the police department from Thomson asking that certain members of the party be detained. But whatever the charges were, they were arranged by the white man in charge of the movement, who used the long-distance phone and soon had the police department here under instructions to "let the cavalcade proceed." The party expected to reach Faceville this afternoon.

It seems that reports reached Faceville that a good many negroes were out of employment in McDuffie, and a representative of the saw mill went there to recruit labor for his plant. That he was successful was indicated by the load his truck was carrying. Members of the party stated that they were making a change because they thought they "could do better working in a saw mill."

Negroes Flocking to Michigan.

LANSING, Mich., June 26—Young negroes are flocking to Michigan industrial centres by the hundreds, according to a report made to the State Administrative Board today. The report, submitted by L. Whitney Watkins, Commissioner of Agriculture, and Carl Young, Labor Commissioner, blames unrest prevalent among young negroes since the war, and conditions in the South, for the influx.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

NEGRO LABOR AND THE STEEL TRUST.

Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, has been under fire regarding the twelve-hour day observed in the corporation's plants. Various organizations all over the country have been protesting against the fact that the Steel Trust works its men such long hours.

Mr. Gary was at first on the defensive. Some weeks ago he came out in a statement in which he defended the twelve-hour day, making the old capitalistic argument that the men were really better off working twelve hours than they would be working eight hours because they had four hours more at work to keep out of mischief.

But now Mr. Gary is willing to abolish the twelve-hour day. The only reason he asserts for not carrying it out is that the plants have not sufficient men to work them. He declared that at least sixty thousand more workers must be had before the twelve-hour day can be abolished. Mr. Gary knows that these men cannot be secured by the immigration from Europe. He made a desperate effort some months ago to impress the government that the immigration gates ought to be thrown wide open, but he failed to do so. He now states that the men may be secured by bringing Negroes from the South and by letting in Filipinos and Mexicans. We do not know just how many Mexicans can be let in and we are not sure that the little brown men from the Philippines could stand the work in the steel plants. This leaves the greatest opportunity open for Negro laborers from the South.

In commenting upon Mr. Gary's statement, Ethelbert Stewart, Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, said, "The recent importation of Negroes from the Southern States has brought about a sufficient supply of labor in the industry. They can get plenty more from that source if they need them."

We believe that the Steel Corporation, now convinced of the fact that it cannot force the government to let down the immigration bars and flood the country with foreign labor, will turn to the Negroes of the South for their supply of man power. This will mean a fresh impetus to the exodus.

In relation to the above we have received a clipping of a full-page advertisement which appeared in the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" of July 3. The advertisement is headed, "STAY IN THE SOUTH." It has a picture of a railroad train headed North bringing Negro migrants and a shadow representation of Booker T. Washington standing in front of the train waving it back. The reading matter of the advertisement consists largely of advice put into the mouth of Booker T. Washington urging the Negro to stay in the South.

On the same night that this advertisement appeared the Ku Klux Klan paraded around the grounds of Tuskegee Institute threatening the security of the institution which Booker T. Washington founded and the safety of those who succeeded him in carrying on the work. The irony of the picture in this advertisement compared with what happened the same night at Tuskegee need not be pointed out.

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
JUN 2 2 1923

Negro Migration from the Northern Viewpoint.

Anything which might be said in regard to the present migration of many good negroes of the South to the North by Southern editors would probably be misunderstood. If the negroes were urged not to go and gloomy pictures were painted of their future in the North, they would immediately consider that there was a selfish motive prompting the statements. The Chronicle has had some very interesting discussion on this matter lately through its columns and, undoubtedly every one has read the articles by Mr. Willet and the letter from Editor Richard H. Edmonds of the Manufacturers Record. They are both loyal Southerners with widely divergent views, however.

The Chronicle feels that the migration problem is a serious one inasmuch as it would, if continued, mean that instead of the negroes there would have to be brought in white people to take their places in the agricultural districts and supply the labor deficiency in the cities. The problem is also a serious one for the negro since it means that he is leaving the land of his birth and the land of his ancestors for many generations and going into a strange country with different clamatic conditions, and, different industrial conditions. We are printing below a dispassionate discussion of the subject by Alva W. Taylor, an able writer and thinker in the Christian Century (Chicago). The Christian Century is an undenominational journal of religion, published for the Christian world. What it says, therefore, is worthy of the greatest respect and attention. Mr. Taylor writes as follws, under the title "When the Negro Comes North":

There is a small, steady stream of Negro migration from the south to the north. When there is a labor shortage it increases. There is a large increase at the present time. We read in press reports of fifteen hundred Negroes leaving one city and three hundred a country place. No one knows the sum total for any particular period, but it is large enough to cause apprehension. In the south those regions suffering the largest loss fear the depletion of labor, especially on the farms. In the north those cities receiving the largest numbers are apprehensive of race conflicts.

To many a Negro mind the north offers freedom from the race limitations of the South. It allows him to vote and offers him larger income. He expects to see the racial ban raised and to be freed from the depressing feeling of inferiority. These things attracts in the measure that he becomes educated, reads his race papers and answers to that legitimate human aspiration—the aspiration to be a man and a citizen on an equality of right with all others.

There is, of course, a certain increment of shiftless labor that is picked up by the corporation agent on the promise of larger wages. These workers come, not so much to earn more money, as to work less. They thus confuse the situation from every angle. The man, however, who comes north to better the social position of himself and his family is deserving of the most careful consideration from both the south and the north, and he brings to both sections many problems quite apart from his own.

The characteristic overt expression of racial antipathy in the south is lynching; in the north it is the race riot. There have been riots in the south and lynchings in the north, but the overwhelming number of lynchings are in the south, the north producing the great race riots. Chicago, East Saint Louis, Springfield, Tulsa and Omaha find few parallels in the south.

Out of the 4,161 lynchings during the past thirty years, 2,018 have occurred in the six states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas. In the eight other southern states, reaching from Oklahoma to Virginia and including Missouri, 1,031 lynchings took place. Thus there-fourths of all these mobs murders occurred in the south. In the country at large seven out of every eight were of Negroes; in the south the proportion was larger. Rape was the cause in less than one-fourth of the cases. Many of these mob murders have been accomplished by a savagery that betokens the ease with which man reverts to barbarism, and most of them have been accomplished without serious efforts at prevention by officers of the law.

There is no record of the number of lives lost in the race riots. If all were known, the fatalities would perhaps run well up toward the number credited to lynching. The number of whites slain is published abroad; the number of colored persons killed is concealed if known. Many persons also are injured in these riots, and millions of dollars of property destroyed. Lynching is much more deliberate and less destructive than the riot. The south has a code to govern racial relations and tends to act with deliberation in its overt acts. The north has no code and tends to act in an eruptive fashion. The patent fact is that the northerner is in no wise different from the southerner when the circumstances are similar. If there is less racial irritation has not been so sheerly a mass problem. Now that large centers of Negro population are developing in the north, there is danger here of sporadic social action of the volcanic type.

There is great need of mature study of this whole question by both colored and white leaders. Will the Negro fare better in the north? Will a marked migration to the north affect conditions in the south favorably to both races? will the coming of the Negro into the industrial

centers of the north result in a depression of wages and the injection of the race conflict into the labor question? How can the Negro migrant be housed in the northern city without both lowering his living conditions and increasing race conflict?

The University of Chicago Press has issued the report of the Chicago commission appointed by the governor of Illinois to investigate the causes of the race riot in this city in July, 1919.* It is a fine example of the kind of study that should be made in many centers where the coming in of the Negro migrant presses his living quarters out into the white sections, increases the number of common laborers who compete for a wage and adds to the friction that always arises where peoples of widely different type meet and live close together.

This report is not concerned with the riot alone, but also with the social conditions that made it possible. Thus it takes up the study of housing, wages, crime, social contacts and public opinion. The questions of wages and crime are found to be minor. There was not much dilution of wage scales and the increase of crime was found to be in minor offenses. Racial antipathies were found in the shops, but they were more marked in the parks and playgrouns, and on those streets frequented by workmen going to and from work. The housing problem and social contacts were found to offer the major irritants, and the latter was heightened by the methods of the press of both races and by the increase of legendary tales on the part of each race about the other.

In the older Negro residential sections there was no trouble. The ferment was in the new sections where the great increase of Negro population (it had more than doubled in ten years) compelled an overflow into blocks hitherto white. White property owners resented this intrusion wherever it threatened real estate values or brought an intermingling of colors in the neighborhood. Their attitude in turn irritated Negro residents. For the white it connoted a change of residence against his wish and perhaps a loss of property values; for the colored man it entailed crowded quarters, excessive rentals and the knowledge that he was not wanted. White real estate organizations stimulated resistance and even resorted, it is believed, to bombings of both the newcomer and of the white man who sold to him.

In the social contacts of white and colored were found materials of a highly explosive nature. The riot of 1919 was precipitated at a bathing beach when a Negro boy was accused of swimming across the lined fixed between whites and blacks by that kind of consent which arises without definite contract, but by practice. The firing soon began, with the white youth the undoubted aggressors, but with much daring among the colored boys also. There was no intrusion of the sex question; it was wholly and broadly racial. Most of the gangs that carried on warfare were white lads between the ages of seventeen and twenty years. The killings and lootings were laid at their door. The anarchy of the youthful gang of the city streets here broke out in a conflict of race feeling.

Recently a Negro leader telegraphed Judge Gray that he need not seek alien labor, that the Negroes could give him millions of English-speaking laborers. In the mind of this leader of his race was rankling a bitterness at the suppression of his race in the south. He does not ask what is mistakenly termed "social equality"—or in other words, racial intermingling. He does desire an equality of opportunity for his people. Does a migration into northern industrial centers offer it?

A few years ago Abraham Epstein of Pittsburgh made a close, first-hand study of the Negro migrant in the steel city. This field was found to offer small promise to the aspiring colored man. Less than three out of one hundred of the families were found in separate houses. Thirty-five per cent of them were in tenements, fifty per cent in rooms, and the remainder in camps and shacks. One-half of the families were in one room and two-thirds of the indidvduals slept four to sevent to the room. Only one in three of the families had three or more rooms and these averaged three and one-half boarders for each family.

Mr. Epstein described the living conditions in these words: "Sleeping quarters are provided not only in bedrooms, but also in attics, basements, dinning rooms and kitchens. In many instances the houses in which these rooms are located are dilapidated dwellings with the paper torn off, the plaster sagging from the naked lath, the windows broken, the ceiling low and damp, and the rooms dark, stuffy and unsanitary. In one or two instances, these rooms, with more than six people sleeping in them at one time, have practically no openings for either light or air."

Ninety-five per cent. of the negro migrants were found working at common labor, whereas only 54 per cent. of them had been common laborers in the South. The labor unions, with one or two exceptions, spurned them as members. The foremen in the shops usually treated them as inferiors. Eighty-three per cent. of them were working from ten to more than 12 hours per day, and the drive of the machine and the gang took the place of the ease of motion to which they had been accustomed on the Southern farms. The wage was found to be only 70 cents per day higher, or about one-fourth more than was received before coming North. The outlet for skill was less than the assurance that the workers would be pressed into the category of common labor greater.

The majority of these migrants were found to be sober, church-going folk, who either brought their families or planned to send for them. Three-fourths of them were between the ages of 18 and 40. They came looking for larger opportunity and greater personal freedom, and for equality before law and custom. They exchanged the cabin for the tenement, and the out-of-door life for that of the shop and street. In the South they felt a limitation in the right to look upward; but when they came North they found a limitation in the right to look outward. In the South their right to vote was curtailed; in the North the worst sort of politician exploited their vote, and the "solid colored vote" became a menace to both the negro and the community.

With education comes aspiration, and aspiration seeks equality of opportunity. The true friend of the negro does not want racial intermingling on the social plane, but he does want for all men the right to earn according to their skill, to vote according to their intelligence, to live according to their means, and to breathe the air of freedom according to their sense or responsibility. It is not a question of North or South, but a democracy shot through with the ethics of Christianity.

NEW ORLEANS LA ITEM
MAY 1, 1923

9,000 NEGROES LEAVE MISS. IN TWO SEASONS

May Cause Fields to Be Neglected Says Federal Statistician

About 9,000 negro laborers have left Mississippi since last fall, according to the report of D. A. McCandliss, federal statistician for that state. A recent investigation by Mr. Candliss brought out the fact that 7,000 negro farm laborers have left the state for northern points, and some 2,100 have gone to other southern states. About 4,900 have moved within the state from one county to another.

"Just how much this migration will effect this year's crop it is a little too early to say. With favorable weather throughout the season the farmers will have enough laborers to take care of the crops, but if the farm work is seriously hampered by bad weather the labor shortage may cause some fields to be neglected.

"While this migration of negroes has been going on, a considerable number of white farmers have moved into the state from other sections, many from the north. An inquiry is now in progress to learn the extent of this influx.

"The majority of those leaving the state have been young negroes without families; some of them unmarried, and some young married couples. Thos who have gon to points in the north have for the most part gone into industrial work, being drawn away from farming by higher wages and other attractions.

"Many of those who have gone to other southern states have olcated on farms; some have gone to southern Missouri to raise cotton, where the boll weevil has not yet penetrated. Others have been tempted to go into saw mill, timber, and railroad work.

"Most of those who have left the state have gone from the Delta sectiion, though a considerable number have also gone to northern points from Hinds and Holmes counties. Most of the movement within the state has been from the hill counties to the Delta."

Northern Trend May Result In Building Of Many New Houses

New Market for Negro Talent and the Organization of Two Theatrical Circuits Seen in New Movement.

By J. A. JACKSON

The first noticeable effect has been the diminished patronage in a few of the southern cities. In some cases theaters have actually been obliged to close. Skipping the closed town has added to the transportation costs of shows and acts, and reduced the route by one or more weeks.

A more pleasing outgrowth of the migration is the promise that is held out for the establishment of theaters in Northern centers of Negro population that has heretofore been too small to be considered by

The most natural result will be that it will be possible to find a big new market for Negro talent. These towns will provide the needed junction between the already established theaters in the big Northern cities. All indications point to the organization of a new circuit with Washington and Louisville as the southernmost cities.

show interest and patronage.

Within the past three months several different theatrical groups have set about investigating the possibilities in the towns whose Negro population has been augmented by the migrants. Contrary to the general impression, these Negroes are not going entirely to the big cities. Many are going to the smaller towns. Bridgeport and New Haven, in Connecticut; Haverstraw, N. Y.; Bethlehem, Altoona, Johnstown and Farrell, Pa.; Akron and Youngstown, in Ohio; Gary, Ind., are typical of the cities that may in the very near future justify the establishment of a Colored theater. There are many other similar cities.

centers of the north result in a depression of wages and the injection of the race conflict into the labor question? How can the Negro migrant be housed in the northern city without both lowering his living conditions and increasing race conflict?

broadly racial. Most of the gangs that carried on warfare were white lads between the ages of seventeen and twenty years. The killings and lootings were laid at their door. The anarchy of the youthful gang of the city streets here broke out in a conflict of race feeling.

The University of Chicago Press has issued the report of the Chicago commission appointed by the governor of Illinois to investigate the causes of the race riot in this city in July, 1919.* It is a fine example of the kind of study that should be made in many centers where the coming in of the Negro migrant presses his living quarters out into the white sections, increases the number of common laborers who compete for a wage and adds to the friction that always arises where peoples of widely different type meet and live close together.

Recently a Negro leader telegraphed Judge Gray that he need not seek alien labor, that the Negroes could give him millions of English-speaking laborers. In the mind of this leader of his race was rankling a bitterness at the suppression of his race in the south. He does not ask what is mistakenly termed "social equality"—or in other words, racial intermingling. He does desire an equality of opportunity for his people. Does a migration into northern industrial centers offer it?

This report is not concerned with the riot alone, but also with the social conditions that made it possible. Thus it takes up the study of housing, wages, crime, social contacts and public opinion. The questions of wages and crime are found to be minor. There was not much dilution of wage scales and the increase of crime was found to be in minor offenses. Racial antipathies were found in the shops, but they were not marked in the parks and playgrouns, and on those streets frequented by workmen going to and from work. The housing problem and social contacts were found to offer the major irritants, and the latter was heightened by the methods of the press of both races and by the increase of legendary tales on the part of each race about the other.

A few years ago Abraham Epstein of Pittsburgh made a close, first-hand study of the Negro migrant in the steel city. This field was found to offer small promise to the aspiring colored man. Less than three out of one hundred of the families were found in separate houses. Thirty-five per cent of them were in tenements, fifty per cent in rooms, and the remainder in camps and shacks. One-half of the families had three or more of the families had three and one-half rooms and these averaged three and one-half boarders for each family.

Mr. Epstein described the living conditions in these words: "Sleeping quarters are provided not only in bedrooms, but also in attics, basements, dinning rooms and kitchens. In many instances the houses in which these rooms are located are dilapidated dwellings with the paper torn off, the plaster sagging from the naked lath, the windows broken, the ceiling low and damp, and the rooms dark, stuffy and unsanitary. In one or two instances, these rooms, with one or two exceptions, spurned them as members. The foremen in the shops usually treated them as inferiors. Eighty-three per cent. of them were between the ages of 18 and 40. They came looking for larger opportunity and greater personal freedom, and for equality before law and custom. They exchanged the cabin for the tenement, and the out-of-door life for that of the shop and street. In the South they felt a limitation in the right to look upward; but when they came North they found a limitation in the right to look South their right to vote was curtailed; in the North the worst sort of politician exploited their vote, and the "solid colored vote" became a menace to both the negro and the community.

With education comes aspiration, and aspiration seeks equality of opportunity. The true friend of the negro does not want racial intermingling on the social plane, but he does want for all men the right to earn according to their skill, to vote according to their intelligence, to live according to their means, and to breathe the air of freedom according to their sense or responsibility. It is not a question of North or South, but a democracy shot through with the ethics of Christianity.

NEW ORLEANS LA ITEM
MAY 1, 1923

9,000 NEGROES LEAVE MISS. IN TWO SEASONS

May Cause Fields to Be Neglected Says Federal Statistician

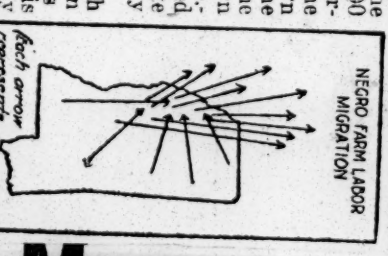
About 9,000 negro laborers have left Mississippi since last fall, according to the report of D. A. McCandliss, federal statistician for that state. A recent investigation by Mr. Candliss brought out the fact that 7,000 negro farm laborers have left the state for northern points, and some 2,000 have gone to other southern states. About 4,900 have moved within the state from one county to another.

"Just how much this migration will effect this year's crop it is a little too early to say. With favorable weather throughout the season the farmers will have enough laborers to take care of the crops, but if the farm work is seriously hampered by bad weather the labor shortage may cause some fields to be neglected.

"While this migration of negroes has been going on, a considerable number of white farmers have moved into the state from other sections, many from the north. An inquiry is now in progress to learn the extent of this influx.

"The majority of those leaving the state have been young negroes without families; some of them unmarried, and some young married couples. Thus who have gon to points in the north have for the most part gone into industrial work, being drawn away from farming by higher wages and other attractions.

"Many of those who have gone to other southern states have located on farms; some have gone to southern Missouri to raise cotton, where the boll weevil has not yet penetrated



Others have been tempted to go into saw mill, timber, and railroad work.

"Most of those who have left the state have gone from the Delta section, though a considerable number have also gone to northern points from Hinds and Holmes counties. Most of the movement within the state has been from the hill counties to the Delta."

Northern Trend May Result In Building Of Many New Houses

New Market for Negro Talent and the Organization of Two Theatrical Circuits Seen in New Movement.

By J. A. JACKSON

Performers and those interested in the show world have just begun to notice the probable effects of the migration of wage-earning Negroes to Northern industrial centers.

The first noticeable effect has been the diminished patronage in a number of Southern cities. In some few instances theaters have actually been obliged to close. Skipping the closed town has added to the transportation costs of shows and acts, and reduced the route by one or more weeks.

A more pleasing outgrowth of the migration is the promise that is held out for the establishment of theaters in Northern centers of Negro population that has heretofore been too small to be considered by show interests catering to Negro patronage.

Within the past three months several different theatrical groups have set about investigating the possibilities in the towns whose Negro population has been augmented by the migrants. Contrary to the general impression, these Negroes are not going entirely to the big cities. Many are going to the smaller towns. Bridgeport and New Haven, in Connecticut; Haverstraw, N. Y.; Bethlehem, Altoona, Johnstown and Farrell, Pa.; Akron and Youngstown, in Ohio; Gary, Ind., are typical of the cities that may in the very near future justify the establishment of a Colored theater. There are many other similar cities.

The most natural result will be that it will be possible to find a big new market for Negro talent. These towns will provide the needed jumping between the already established theaters in the big Northern cities. All indications point to the organization of a new circuit with Washington and Louisville as the southernmost cities.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

NEWPORT NEWS VA HERALD
MAY 14, 1923

THE NEGRO AT THE NORTH.

Yielding to the lure of higher wages and promised better social and living conditions, many negroes from the South have recently migrated to the North. It is stated that 32,000 negro farm hands have left Georgia within the recent past, 22,000 have left South Carolina, 15,000 have left Arkansas, and while the number from Virginia is not given in the statistics we have, it is known that it is considerable.

This migration is a matter of keen interest and has called forth much comment from newspapers in the North as well as in the South.

But although the negro is a good workman in certain lines of industry, wherever large numbers of that race are gathered together, there is a racial problem. Last week the Harding Administration's "deference to the whims and wishes of the South" was condemned in lengthy resolutions adopted in a convention of negro Republican leaders in session in Trenton, N. J. The resolutions demand of the Republican party widespread reformation designed to give the negro fuller recognition.

Indignation at what were considered slights said to have been suffered by the negro population of the larger States at the hands of the Harding Government, was expressed in an amendment to a general resolution, which was voted down after a heated debate.

Dr. Walter G. Alexander, of Newark, who, with T. Thomas Fortune, of Trenton, editorial writer of negro publications, led the fight in advocacy of the amendment's adoption, epitomized what appeared to be the meeting's sentiment when he declared with angry emphasis that "if Harding is going to play with the South, he can't play with us."

A general resolution embodying criticisms of the following alleged shortcomings of the President and the Republican party, was finally adopted:

Deference to the whims and wishes of the South; failure to name negroes to appointive positions because of Democratic Senators' objections; slipshod enforcement of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments, enfranchising the negro and legalizing the income tax.

The resolution included these suggestions; A change in the policies of the State leaders of the Republican party, appointment of negro representation on the State Republican Committee and candidacy of at least one negro for Congress from New Jersey.

That indicates that conditions in the Northern section of the country are not so delightful for the colored man as the employment agents in the South would make it appear. We do not know how it is in the far South, but in Virginia the negro is very well situated, his relations with the white man are friendly and we believe that nine out of ten of the colored citizens of Virginia will do better here, very much better in the long run, than they will do by migrating to the unknown North.

Labor Exodus Menaces All Southern Industry

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE
JUNE 10, 1923

Plantations and Factories Deserted as Negroes Migrate Northward in Search of Higher Wages

By George I. Milton Jr.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 9.—The exodus of negro laborers to the North is giving increased concern all through the South. Already it seems sure to cripple cotton chopping and gathering, and its effect on Southern manufacturers is quite manifest. The emigration is twofold: of skilled labor, from the cities and industrial centers, and of unskilled workers from the cotton fields.

It is easier to discover the causes for this exodus than to find remedies for it, although grave consideration is being given all through the South to ways to stop it. The reason for the migration from the fields is largely the tenant system, or "cropping on shares," which has prevailed largely on plantations since reconstruction days.

Under this system the planter would rent or lease to the negro tenant a tract of land, accepting as rent for it a certain proportion of the cotton raised, varying from a third to a half of the total yield. In "good" years, when an ample amount of cotton was raised and sold at a fair price, the negro tenant netted enough usually to repay the planter, merchant, etc., for advances and to provide rough but plentiful food and warm, cheap clothing for himself and his family. The planter on his side secured a fair money rental through the sale of his share of the cotton.

Weevil Proves Downfall

With the devastating incursion of the Mexican boll weevil this state of affairs changed for the worse. The negro tenants, usually ignorant and untutored in modern farming methods, were unable to cope with the pest. Raising naught but cotton, they found themselves at the end of the year with such a meager yield that they could not even begin to pay back advances, to say nothing of providing food and clothing for the coming year. In many counties of Georgia last year the yield of cotton was only one-tenth the normal.

What happened to the negroes growing cotton on shares is obvious. Stark poverty and want were their portion. They could keep themselves and their families only by borrowing, and the borrowing limit of a negro tenant is rather quickly reached. The alternative was to leave the farm. Most often the possessions of the negroes were covered by chattel mortgages and they had to leave all their possessions behind them when they left. Nevertheless, they had either to leave or to starve.

The responsibility for this is partly the Southern planters. They have allowed the negro tenants year after year to follow the line of least resistance—planting nothing but cotton. To be sure, turning them from this path is a difficult matter, for the negro is a hard subject to teach, and requires a great deal of persistence and infinite patience. Yet the planter is morally obligated to force his tenant to follow the system of diversification of crops, heavy use of fertilizer, selection of quick maturing varieties of cotton plants, and other practical ways of minimizing the boll weevil evil and increasing the food and cash crop yield of the farms.

Skilled Labor Also Leaves

Until the Southern planter realizes his responsibilities along these lines and takes steps to improve the negroes' agricultural methods, the portion of the latter will be either feast or famine, depending upon the appetite of the boll weevil, and the world demand for the fleecy staple.

The other phase of the emigration problem is industrial. This is twofold: the skilled negro workers, mechanics, machinists, molders and the like in the industrial cities, such as Chattanooga, Birmingham, Memphis, etc., are attracted by the higher money wages being offered in the industries of the North and East. The stoppage of immigration has caused a severe shortage of manual labor in the East, and wages there have gone up. Competition for labor has been so vigorous that Northern manufacturers have turned to negro workers in the South as a means of filling the demand. The skilled men are leaving in great numbers. A single train late in May carried over 500 eastward from Memphis.

Many of the skilled workers who have been in the Southern cities for some years are yielding to the lure of higher wages and going East. Estimates of the total number, skilled and unskilled, which has so far gone, vary from 80,000 to 200,000, with 100,000 the generally accepted one. The skilled labor number, of course, is much less—perhaps only 30 per cent of the total. But it is large. Quite a number of Chattanooga manufacturers of fabricated iron products report that about half of their skilled negro molders have left.

The cities in the central South have not lost particularly in population, for there has been a rush to the Southern cities from the cotton fields by the unskilled negro workers there. But there has been, in this transference of labor, a great loss in efficiency. The Southern manufacturers are hard put to it to train ever-changing crews of men and to keep their production at its peak.

High Wages No Stimulus

One of the peculiarities of negro workers in the South is that they work not so much for the wage per diem as for the total wage. Factory managers have found that when they increase wages above a certain point the negroes have a tendency to "lay off" every few days, and not to return to work until their funds have run out. In other words, with the African psychology, higher wages, instead of being an incentive to increased production, act as a deterrent, cause laying off and fail of their whole purpose.

Northern manufacturers, accustomed to the working methods of immigrants who will toil an endless number of hours at top speed to draw a fat pay envelope, are disconcerted at the habits of work of negroes, and find them much less satisfactory employees, of considerably less efficiency and not worth the scale offered white workers. In addition to this, when cold weather sets in, there is usually a drift back to the South of part of the labor which went East. Quite a proportion, however, stays in the East in the industrial cities. There is enough of the reaction, however, for a regular seasonal fluctuation. The regretable thing is that the negroes leave the South when there is need of workers in the field and seldom return in time to take part in the cotton picking.

Southern leaders are realizing that, with all these factors, there are improvements which must be made to better the negro's living conditions. He must be paid better wages, have more political freedom, be freed from the menace of the Ku-Klux Klan, which has aided tremendously in driving the colored man North; he must have more opportunities for advancement out of the manual labor class, etc.

The recognition of these needs is becoming more and more marked; the Ku-Klux Klan seems gradually on the down grade; efforts are being made in many quarters to give better housing conditions. Expenditure for negro schools is increasing, although not yet on the per capita level with those for white children. The scale of wages, in kind as well as in money—in other words, real wages—has gone up perceptibly. There is hope of a solution of the problem; but it is a grave question whether any appreciable start can be made on it during the present cotton season.

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
MAY 9, 1923

The Negro Movement to the North.

The New York Herald, declaring that the negro migration from the South to the North is against the best interests of both sections, calls upon the agricultural South to join the industrial North to bring about the repeal of the present immigration regulations. The paper attributes this migration to these regulations. The Herald's survey of the subject is a strong one. It says:

"Southern negroes are again on the move toward Northern jobs. Thirty-two thousand negro field hands, 13 per cent of the original supply, are said to have left Georgia since last summer. At that rate the whole South has lost some 200,000 laborers. In North Carolina alone the departure of 5,000 unskilled negro laborers has resulted in shutting down fifty highway projects.

"In spite of heavy northward migration during the war years the South still contained three-quarters of the negro population of the United States in 1920. That census was taken at the peak of the count concluded when many thousands of blacks, out of work, hurried back home, where the sun shines on both sides of the fence in winter. The northward migration was again begun last summer during the shopmen's strike, and has been gradually gathering speed under the influence of rising industrial wages.

"There are approximately 1,600,000 negro males between 18 and 44 years of age living in South. Because of the negro's willingness to roam, this bloc constitutes a labor pool upon which industry draws in busy times by means of high wages. But that is a heavy blow at cotton production, for these Southern negroes are mostly country dwellers and plantation workers.

"Cotton acreage must be reduced and cotton prices rise in proportion as negro labor leaves the fields. There is no chance to substitute other labor, because the climate in the best cotton growing areas prohibits white men from protracted field work. Therefore cotton growing in Egypt and other competing areas will be stimulated, to the satisfaction of European spinners, who have long resented the virtual monopoly of the American South in cotton.

"This shift in population has several other disturbing features. The coming of more negroes intensifies the housing problem in Northern cities. There are never quite enough houses for negroes. As a result they crowd over into white neighborhoods, a habit that frequently makes bad blood and leads directly to racial upheavals.

"Another difficulty, from the standpoint of sociology, is that while the negro men come North the women tend to stay South. In 1920 there were 332,271 more negro women of marriageable age in the South than there were males. Unsatisfactory domestic relationships are certain to flow from this disproportion.

"High wages are the magnet drawing negroes North. An unnatural labor shortage, caused by a stupid immigration law, creates a situation disturbing to the real advantage of the North. Short of admitting more ablebodied white men from Europe, there is no shutting off the current that robs the South of native labor without permanently benefiting the North. Given a chance, the North can find more assimilable neighbors and more efficient laborers in Europe than in North Carolina or Georgia.

"The agricultural South should join the industrial North in working for the repeal of the 3 per cent quota act. The interests of the two sections in this matter are identical."

NEWPORT NEWS VA PRESS
MAY 12, 1923

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

Agriculture in the South is being seriously affected by the large movement northward of negro farm-hands and tenants. Nothing less could come from a migration which has reduced the negro farm labor of Georgia by 13 per cent, that of Alabama and South Carolina by 3 per cent, that of Florida by 2 per cent, and that of Arkansas by 2½ per cent—and all this in the past twelve months. For the first time in a century, according to the Columbia State, the whites of South Carolina outnumber the negroes.

Nor is this the entire story. The Department of Agriculture at Washington, after giving notice of the size of the exodus, comments upon its quality. It is no longer a case of the shiftless and loose-footed making for a new haven. The thrifty farm tenant, with some accumulation of property, has joined the migration. Men who might have been thoug' rooted in the soil have pulled up sakes and with their families are making for the big industrial cei ters.

What is behind this enormous uprooting? Northern industry has, of course, been bidding especially for negro labor. The wages offered have been very attractive. But it must be something more than a coincidence that Georgia which leads in the number of its lynchings should also lead in the number of its lost workers. That there is some relationship between these facts is, at any rate, the conclusion of so excellent a witness as J. S. Wannamaker, president of the Cotton Growers' Association, who recently declared, in the course of a discussion of the problem of labor shortage on the farm, "The negro can be kept on the cotton plantation by kindness and personal attention. The landowner needs to get on the job."

The going of so many negro laborers with its harmful reaction upon the economic structure of the South accentuates the need for high service and genuine co-operation which has been urged for years by interracial bodies. Race relations will be ameliorated and the public good strengthened to the extent that the negro problem is approached without passion or prejudice to the end that strong and wise leadership on both sides may make for a common understanding and happiness.

It is a puzzling question. Major Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, who is quite familiar with the situation in the South and who is a man of superior intellect and of conservative views, attributes the migration in part to the fact alleged that living conditions are better for the negro in the North. He admits that higher wages is a lure and the greatest incentive, but he also says that wages in the South are very much higher for the negro than they were before the war, and he admits that, all things also being equal, the negro prefers to live in the South where he is best understood and where he feels at home. He admits that there is segregation in the North, and that it must be more and more so as the negro population increases, but the opportunities in the North, he thinks, are greater, school facilities better, and housing and living conditions more satisfactory. And, further, that the negro is moved by the desire for greater social freedom and the wish to be free from the haunting fear of mob violence.

But there is no such fear as that among the negroes of Virginia. The negro feels quite secure here. He knows that so long as he conducts himself as a decent citizen he will be treated with due consideration, and that if any charge be brought against him, he will have his day in court.

Living conditions and school facilities in Virginia are not all that could be desired, but this applies to the white race as well as to the colored race. Living conditions for the negro in Virginia and school facilities have greatly improved in the past ten years and are constantly improving, and recent statistics show that the negro citizens of Virginia have acquired much property within the past fifty years. And it need not to be said that the negro is as secure as the white man in his property rights.

Yet many negroes have left this State. Many have left Newport News and Hampton in the recent past; and the end is not yet.

What is the reason? We cannot believe that it is other in this State and in this section of the State than the lure of higher wages in the manufacturing centers of the North, where labor, such as the negro is so capable of rendering, is scarce and in brisk demand.

N Y CITY WALL ST JOURNAL
JUNE 11, 1923

EFFECT OF NEGRO EXODUS

Wages Stimulated Somewhat, Especially for Skilled Workers—Slump in Insurance Premiums

CHATTANOOGA—Exodus of negroes from the south has stimulated wages already, especially of skilled labor.

Negroes who formerly worked on farms are coming into cities in great numbers, and are keeping unskilled labor wages at a comparatively slight increase.

There has been some slight let-up in the departure of skilled workers, but the number of those going is still alarming to manufacturers and employers generally.

Textile workers have not yet manifested unrest. There has been an increase of about 5% in their wages. Some manufacturers have been expecting organization by the Amalgamated Textile Workers, but so far there are no indications to bear out predictions. There is no shortage of textile workers, and most mills are running day and night shifts.

A corollary of the negro exodus has been the slump in premium returns of southern insurance companies doing large industrial and instalment business among the poorer classes. Reports to local home offices from collectors in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia are that thousands of the insured have picked up and left, without address or anything, losing all share in premiums already paid.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

FIFTEEN HUNDRED HAVE COME TO ST. LOUIS FROM SOUTH IN THREE MONTHS

Migration Of Colored People Expected To Be Greatly Increased With The Coming Of Warm Weather. No Concerted Effort Has Been Made To Care For The Newcomers, Except Through The Urban League. Organizations In Other Cities Formed To Look After Their Social And Economic Welfare.

Considerable has been published lately in reference to the anticipated heavy migration of Negroes from the South to Northern States. This shifting of the race population has been going on throughout the winter and will no doubt be on in force with the coming of warmer weather. Information from various centers indicate that a united effort has been made to take care of the influx. Housing conditions are being looked after, employment being arranged and social organizations formed to make the strangers welcome, comfortable and contented. So far as has been reported, no concerted effort has been made in St. Louis, to care for the newcomers, except by employment agencies

1500 Arrive in 3 Months

About 1500 Negroes have arrived in St. Louis from the South since the first of the year and about 80% of these have settled in St. Louis and the several surrounding towns such as Kinloch, Webster Groves, Kirkwood and Clayton. The others departed principally for points East, such as Chicago, Gary, Grand Rapids, and the Pittsburgh Industrial Districts.

Most of the newcomers are from the States of Arkansas Oklahoma, Texas, Mississippi and Tennessee, while a few have come in from Florida

Urban League Alert

For the past three months the Urban League has been observing the migration as it is affecting St. Louis, and the above are the facts as announced by its Executive Secretary, Gordon H. Simpson. During the latter part of January about 100 a week came to St. Louis. The month of February brought approximately 500 while in March the number was over 500. Last Sunday morning, April 8, alone brought in 225 newcomers. The prospects are that the warm weather will bring a greater number than the above. New arrivals come in principally on Sunday mornings, while during the week the numbers are rather small.

For instance, last Sunday morning the Mobile and Ohio No. 7 from Mobile and New Orleans brought in 80, including ten family groups, the Missouri Pacific No .18 from Hot Springs brought 25, mostly men, the Missouri Pacific No. 6 from Texas and Arkansas brought 105 men, women and children. The other trains brought in numbers ranging from 3 to 10.

Many Meet Friends

Quite a large number of the newcomers were met by friends, in most cases all were taken care of as to housing and assistance in adapting themselves to city environment. Some few had previousy arranged for employment. In many cases the migration is a reunion of family ties, mother and children coming up to join the men folks who have been in the North for some time.

Work For All So Far

The Urban League has also been observing the employment situation and finds that there is for all men and women who want to work. The month of March was one of the heaviest in the history of the Employment Department, 184 men and 202 women having been placed in suitable employment with a commercial value of $4748.00, or an average of $12.30. There is an increasing demand for labor. Since the first of the year the Urban League has placed in suitable employment about 250 men and women who had recently arrived from the South.

ABOUT 10,600 NEGROES LEFT THE STATE OF ALABAMA AND ADDITIONAL 14,800 LEFT FARMS RECENT MONTHS

F. W. Gist, Agricultural Statistician, Gives Some Interesting Fgures and Facts on Migration of Laborers From the State

About 10,600 negro farmers have gone from the farms of Alabama to other states in recent months, according to information gathered by F. W. Gist, agricultural statistician, and given out in a statement Saturday. In addition to the movement to other states, about 14,800 negro workers have moved from the farms to industrial centers within the state. Those moving out of the state constitute 3.5 per cent of former negro farm workers, while those going into industrial centers within the state constitute 4.9 per cent of those formerly on farms. These figures were arrived at by computing the percentage of the movement reported to the statistical service into the approximate number of negro farm workers. The exact number of these, including farmers, tenants, and hired laborers, is not yet available from the census of 1920, but at the census of 1910 there were in Alabama 348,379 male and female farm workers of all ages and classes. The number of negro farmers reported by the 1920 census was about 87 per cent of those reported by the 1910 census. Applying this percentage, which is the only basis available, to the total number of workers in 1910, 303,000 is the indicated number of negro farm workers in Alabama in 1920. This must be taken as only an approximate figure, and hence the estimated number moving is approximate.

The percentage movement arrived at, 3.5 out and 4.9 inside the state, came from the reports of about 450 regular reporters, county agents, and bankers, who are in close touch with the situation and whose opinions aggregated are to be depended upon. These same sources of information were previously circulated and expressed the judgment that the supply of farm labor was 6 per cent short of the demand and that the supply of farm tenants was 8 per cent short of last year. In the meantime something like 9,000 negroes are coming to working age each year on the farms of the state, or 3 per cent of the total workers on farms. This analysis of growth and movement leads to an accuracy which is within 1.5 per cent as between the results of the two inquiries.

The investigation of this subject grew out of the constant reference in recent months to a supposedly serious exodus of negroes from the South to industrial centers of other states. The statistician in each southern state was directed to make the investigation on his own initiative for his own state. The results for the South as a whole have already been published in the press, showing in some states a serious movement in recent months, especially in Georgia and South Carolina. The details of the investigation are here given for Alabama, together with the sources of information, so that none may need to be misinformed.

In addition to the reports received from all parts of the state from the sources named above, the statistician personally investigated the situation in Birmingham. The only licensed labor agent for outside movement in that district reported that he had not made any shipments in several months. The municipal and federal labor agents both reported that they knew of no heavy movement to outside states, and that local demands could not be supplied either from the unemployed or from the farms. All these sources stated that local wages were quite as good as those in other states, and that there was no incentive to heavy movement to other states. Therefore the reported outside movement of 3.5 per cent is only attributable to individual and sporadic moving of a more or less normal volume.

Detail Percentages.

Coming to details of this investigation by districts, the following percentages show the rate of movement in the various sections of the state:

	Percentage movement. To other states	To state centers
Northwest section ..	1.1	2.5
Tennessee Valley	2.4	2.3
Mineral section	2.8	4.2
Northwest section	3.6	5.5
Blackbelt west	1.3	3.4
Blackbelt east ...	4.0	4.8
East central section .	5.0	5.5
Southwest section	2.6	9.0
South central section	6.8	6.2
Southeast section	5.1	4.7
Total for state	3.5	4.9

The above average is weighted according to the negro population of the various districts. The movement to state centers includes those going into the mineral district and those leaving the farm for timber and other industries throughout the state.

The same sources of information (regular crop reporters and bankers) in their first report gave an indicated increase in the total acreage cultivated of about 3 per cent over last year. At the same time about 400 farmers (crop reporters) expressed their individual intention to increase the total acreage utilized to about 8 per cent. As the latter included a very material increase in hay and other non-cultivated crops, there is no discrepancy between the two expressions. It was these individual farmers who stated their intention to increase their cotton acreage by 13 per cent. The figures were given at the time with the distinct explanation that they were only the expressed intention of those reporting and no attempt was made to make from their statements an estimate of what all the farmers intended to do, the natural inference being that they were more or less typical. Whether with the apparent labor shortage they will be able to successfully carry out their intention remains to be seen.

Economic Committee.

In the meantime the present situation, as largely indicated on the side of probable production by the reported intention to plant and on the side of consumption by a knowledge of the economic conditions of the world at present, were given careful and unquestionably able consideration by a committee of the ablest economic thinkers of this country. Among these it will be informing as well as interesting to mention Warren M. Persons, of Harvard University; George F. Warren and F. A. Pearson, of Cornell; Thomas S. Adams, of Yale; H. W. Morehouse, of the American Farm Buerau Federation, and H. A. Wallace, of the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association. These gentlemen, together with prominent financiers, private economists, and officials of the government, said a few things in regard to cotton, which, from an unbiased as well as a highly intelligent standpoint, may well be considered without any assumption of preconceived hysterics. These are quoted:

"There is no evidence at present that the 1923-24 consumption of American cotton will fall below the 13,000,000 bales being consumed this year.

"On the basis of farmers' intention to plant 12 per cent greater acreage than they planted in 1922, the cotton acreage harvested in 1923 would be 36,888,000 acres. If the yield per acre in 1923 should prove to be the same as the average for the past five years, the total crop would be 11,810,000 bales. If the yield should be the same as the lowest in the last five years, the total crop would be 9,610,000 bales. If the yield should be the highest in the last five years the total crop would be 13,770,000 bales.

"The indicated carry-over of lint cotton (including mill stocks) in the United States at the end of the present cotton season will be 1,184,000 bales, compared with 2,832,000 in 1922 and 6,534,000 in 1921."

Cotton in Stocks.

In other words, with 3,000,000 bales to start with and a crop of 10,000,000 bales there will be at the end of this year practically only the mill stocks in sight in this country. An average crop, which is the statistical expectancy until conditions indicate otherwise, this year will give a supply for the coming season of 12,994,000. A repetition of this year's consumption, as seen probable by the committee, will be 6,000 bales more than the supply. On this hypothesis even, taking the high side of the viewpoint, there is nothing in an indicated increase in acreage to bring about a decline in the price from either a statistical or economic standpoint.

A day or so after the report in question cotton went down. One smart gambler sent out his challenge that he was short of cotton and expected to stay short. However, on Wednesday this smart guy covered 50,000 bales of his shortage and the price went up 90 points. In the meantime there is no cotton in the farmers' hands to be affected, or practically none. With orderly and intelligent marketing of the coming crop the situation is not at all hysterical to say the least of it. At any rate we have heard of no such suggestion even from the Farm Bureau member of the committee quoted above.

This resume of facts and viewpoints is given as a possible basis for serious study of the farmer himself. If the situation looks dangerous he still has time to change his intention.

Condition of Farmer.

The present week has been some better from the farmers' view.

Some interesting statistics have just come to hand showing the extent to which the farmers of this country feed themselves. It may surprise some folks to know that Alabama stands sixth of all the states in this respect. It is estimated that 69.6 per cent of the foodstuff consumed by Alabama farmers is grown on the farm where consumed, while 4.4 per cent is grown locally on other farms. The states standing ahead of us in the respect are North Carolina, with 72.4 per cent grown at home; Virginia, 72.0; Maryland, 71.3; Tennessee, 71.1; and Ohio, 70.2. It is also estimated that of the 26 per cent not produced at home or on adjacent farms, 17.1 could be reasonably displaced by local production. There are no comparative figures on this point for former years, but our comparison with other states in this respect gives us cause for congratulation. Where we fall down along this line is in the fact that only 44 per cent of the food supply of all the people of the state is grown locally, in which point of view we are well behind, only seven states producing a lower percentage of food supplies for the nonproducing portion of the population. Maybe some of the fault of this phase of the matter is chargeable to the farmer; maybe some of it is chargeable to the consumer; doubtless

SCOTT OFFERS SOUTHERN LABOR TO STEEL KING

Addresses Letter to Chairman of Directors of U. S. Steel Corporation Calling Attention to Unskilled Labor in the South.

ASKS INDUSTRY TO USE THIS AMERICAN LABOR

Washington, D. C.—Replying to the statement of Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation as carried in Associated Press dispatches last week, stating that the immigration bars should be lowered so as to allow foreign labor to enter the country to develop the country's resources, as the Judge put it, Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer, Howard University, and formerly special assistant to the Secretary of War during the World War, addressed a letter to Mr. Gary in which he strongly called attention to the twelve millions of Negroes in this country, the bulk of whom are laborers of the South, and are prepared and willing to develop the resources of the country if given the opportunity to do it.

Mr. Scott in his letter to Judge Gary said:

"I have read with interest your statement reported in Associated Press Dispatches this morning deploring alleged shortages of labor due principally to present immigration laws. You are reported to have said that 'there is a great abundance of labor on the other side of the world that would be glad to come here and develop our American resources.' May I venture to say that there are in this country today twelve million colored people. Eight million of these twelve million are in the South. They are citizens of the American Republic. They are tied to a one crop system and oppressed by economic conditions that hinder and prevent their fullest development and the enjoyment of the fullest American citizenship. They possess strong bodies and have a real patriotic attachment to American institutions. They are in position to supply the labor shortage to which you refer if plans are undertaken on a large and important scale to transfer them to the centers where their services are needed. It seems unnecessary to look to foreign shores to supply any labor shortage that may exist in American industries when there is this large and sympathetic group within reach. These colored Americans are not aliens, they have never sought to disrupt the Government nor do they harbor Bolshevistic or Anarchistic ideals. They are ready and willing to help develop the resources of their country. Will it not be possible for one circumstanced as you are to lend the weight of your great influence in opening larger economic opportunities for this group who are struggling under adverse conditions in the rural districts of the far South where lynching and peonage are practiced upon them with impunity. Your support of such a movement will be gratefully appreciated."

APRIL 24, 1923

NEGROES MOVING NORTH.

The continued northward migration of negroes may well have far-reaching consequences. The movement assumed serious proportions in 1915, and continued on a large scale throughout the war. Lured by high wages, the negroes left their Southern farms for the factories in colder climates. Not until the latter part of 1920, when the industrial slump made itself felt, was the exodus temporarily stopped. Today, however, the shortage of common labor in various occupations has again begun to appeal to them, with the result that several of the Southern States have had a serious decline in their negro populations. The Department of Agriculture reports that nearly 13 per cent. of Georgia's colored farm labor supply moved North during the last year, and that from Alabama and South Carolina more than 3 per cent. of the total negro farm population left during the same period. Florida reports a loss of about 2 per cent. and Arkansas about 3½ per cent.

These figures are significant when it is considered that they represent the movement of one year only. Already in the South there have been complaints of the labor shortage which the flow North has occasioned. Much of the labor in the South has been intermittent. Many negroes who own their own farms have been content with earning a bare living. Negro farm hands, also, have generally been ready to lay off for a few days when they have had a few spare dollars. The result has been to accustom the South to an abundance of labor. The renewed drawing away of the surplus by the prospect of high wages in the North is therefore naturally disturbing to the economic life of the South.

In the North, too, the migration is felt. Except in certain regions, the newly arrived negroes have not come in numbers large enough to produce serious economic changes. As early as 1919, however, the Government considered the problem of sufficient importance to establish a director of negro economics in the Department of Labor to help in making smooth the way of the negroes in their new environment. When any new people comes into a well established settlement there is always the possibility of misunderstandings—a possibility which is great enough when living standards differ, and which is even greater when race consciousness is strongly defined.

According to spokesmen for the labor unions there are no restrictions against negroes joining those organizations. In the South there are locals composed entirely of negroes. In the North there are colored members in many different organizations. How far assimilation can proceed without difficulty still remains to be seen. Clearly, however, in the North as well as in the South, this change in population is a serious problem. Its possible effects require sober attention.

THE HEGIRA NORTHWARD.

The Richmond, Va., News-Leader discusses under the caption of "Negro Migration and the Remedy," the wholesale migration of colored people to the Northland, where wages are higher and the conditions surrounding them are presumed to be better. Portrayal of conditions and those which are to follow is in line with past experiences. But some people never learn by past experiences and they pay double price for their folly. While many have gone to a northern clime, many others have remained behind. The able editor of this influential journal discusses the migration and the remedy, but it does not speak specifically as to the cause.

There are two classes of white people here in the dealings with the Negro One class is doing everything that it can to create a feeling of unrest amongst this class of people while the other class by inter-racial movements and kind treatment of this class of people is endeavoring to neutralize and improve existing conditions. In recent years, there has been a systematic attack made upon the better class of Negroes and their efforts to build up a competence and to improve surrounding conditions have been handicapped by this animosity and ill-feeling which has resulted in down-right persecution of this upper class of black population.

The result has been that this class is asking itself the question "What does it profit a man to build up a competency and to earn a respectable livelihood and then have certain elements of the white race come and take it all away, while our white friends simply express their disgust and abhorrence of the ha and then "pass by on the other side?" Still the News-Leader pays a tribute to these colored people and were its advice followed, conditions would be improved.

But it contents itself with advice and it ends there while the conditions of which we complain grow steadily worse. This situation causes thinking colored people to migrate and they proceed to a section of the country, where they believe that improved conditions will result. The writer has spoken all over the North and West so to speak and even now, he is met with the words: "I told you so." Still, we believe that the natural home of the Negroes of the Southland is the place where he now resides and that the time will come when all of these handicaps and embarrassments will pass away and he and the better class of white people will control the situation.

Let us hope that those, who have eyes and see not, those who have ears that hear not will awaken to the need of heeding the advice of the far-seeing editor of the News-Leader and check these onerous conditions before it is too late.

Labor - 1923
Migration Movement

DEC 14 1923

Changes of Negro Population.

From The Savannah Morning News.

Is the negro to furnish the "seasonal workes" of the country in future? Is he to come south for the cotton seasons and go north for jobs at other times? If he does the chances are he will never own his home, never have a place that he will regard as home—and that is something the leaders of his race should think about. Five hundred families of negroes were said to have gathered at the railroad station in Chicago intending to come south, but 90 per cent of them were frightened away by stories told in the evident effort to make them stay in the north. It is plain that many negroes who go north want to "come back home." It is evident also, that many who go away are not coming back. The truth is that the section which offers them what they like best is going to get them—and the south has the definite advantage of the climate they prefer.

The point is that climate alone will not control their movements and other factors must be considered; employment, living conditions, opportunity to send their children to good primary public schools, treatment by the white race—these things are bound to have their effect. Wild stories told them by labor agents from the north can not continually be effective; too many negroes will be in the north and will be in communication with too many others in the south for them generally to believe year after year the strange and foolish stories told them. After a while they will begin to make their own comparisons; they will weigh the rival advantages of the old home section and the north. There will be for many years a considerable shifting back and forth—and maybe then there will be a settling down, with such a wide diversion of the negro population that the so-called race problem will not be continually stirred up by politicians who have no other issue than sectional antagonism.

So, while many negroes may be shifters, "seasoned workmen," the chances are that after a few more years the drift of negro population will have ceased. It is up to the south to hold on to its great common labor supply; it can do it if it will.

LaGrange, Ga.
DEC 31 1923

NEGROES TO GO NORTH NO MORE

Camilla, Ga., Dec. 30.—A total of twenty-two negroes arrived in Camilla the other night from various points in the "North" and reported to their old employers asking for work. The negroes obtained satisfactory trades for another year in many cases and will farm again. The majority of the negroes left in the earlier part of this year and were driven back by the cold as well as other disadvantages. They reported that the cold weather was too much for them and that besides the high cost of living brought their saving from teir wages down to a zero margin. They expressed themselves as satisfied to remain at home in the future.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
Advertiser
DEC 16 1923

INVESTIGATION OF NEGRO MIGRATION

Agricultural Agent Campbell of Tuskegee Travels 4 States Making Inquiries

TUSKEGEE, INSTITUTE, ALA., Dec. 15.—Special to The Advertiser.—T. M. Campbell, field agent for the United States Department of Agriculture with headquarters at Tuskegee Institute has just returned from an extended trip through the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, where he has been making a detailed study of the motives of the negroes for emigrating from the South to the North in large numbers for the past twelve or eighteen months.

While making this study Agent Campbell made contacts with both colored and white agencies as follows:

Colored: Urban Leagues, employment bureaus, churches (preachers), societies, homes (their own stories), Y. M. and Y. W. C. As.

White: employers of negro labor, officers of the law, local traffic and railroad officials, housing agencies, reformatories, penal institutions, city and state health departments.

Te report of agent Campbell will be issued shortly.

LANCASTER, PA. NEW ERA
DECEMBER 29, 1923

WHY NEGROES LEAVE THE SOUTH.

(Howard Snyder, in The North American Review).

The South has made a gross blunder in trying to coddle itself into believing that the way to keep its abundance of labour was to "keep the nigger down," and that the average Negro neither could nor would learn. Nothing could have been more fatal to the South, in so far as holding the Negro goes. My own observations during the past ten years among Negro children and their parents leads me to believe that the average Negro child is eager to go to school. But of schools for Negroes most rural communities have only terrible make-shifts. Many rural schoolhouses are little better than sheds; there are often fifty or sixty pupils to one teacher; no equipment; and a poorly trained teacher who receives from twenty to twenty-five dollars a month for teaching. The terms often do not exceed three months in length. Not once but scores and hundreds of times have I been told by Negro tenants of the poorest and most lowly families that they were going North to school their children. That the Negro likes his sunny South and mild climate is surely true, and many leave it with bitter longing, but leave it they are surely doing, and like other peoples who have migrated from one part of the earth to another they are doing it in hope of finding ing something better.

PHILA. PA. PUBLIC LEDGER
DECEMBER 28, 1923

IF THE WHOLESALE MIGRATION of Negroes from the South has had no other effect than that noted by Secretary Johnson, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, namely, the reduction of the number of lynchings from sixty-one in 1922 to twenty-six in the year just closing, it will not have been a wholly useless gesture. But it has done more than that. It has awakened the people, North as well as South, to the seriousness of the problem presented by the Negro population that forms nearly one-tenth of the total for the country and to the necessity of some harmonious and just adjustment of inter-racial relations. There are many indications of a changed feeling in the South on the subject, of a real effort to remove the disabilities under which the Negro is made to suffer and of a desire to offset, by a more humane policy, the economic advantages which have drawn away from the Southland so many of its most needed workers.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. Observer

DEC 11 1923

THE "SPECIAL TRAIN" STAGE.

OF COURSE, it was bound to be a case of another Utopian dream shattered. The information now coming out of the negro-congested centers of Northern and Western cities is exactly of the sort this paper had anticipated would develop with advent of the Northern Winter. The negroes are coming back home. An Illinois Central special train reached Memphis yesterday loaded with negroes who had departed Chicago, destined for the good old cotton fields of Mississippi. This is but the first trainload of others that are to follow, according to statements of the railroad men, who are in position to know what is going on. As a matter of fact, the railroad transportation agents have arranged for "a series" of special trains to bring the negroes back home, not only from Chicago, but from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other Eastern cities. Between now and New Year's Day it is probable that the papers will be carrying accounts of movement of trains homeward-bound with negroes in volume approximating reports of the outward movement during the earlier part of the year. The railroad men have made bookings for thousands of these disappointed negroes and the distribution is to be among the cotton States in general. Mississippi is to feel but the first of the returning tide. General disappointment in expectations is at the bottom of the homeward movement. The negroes have felt the first touch of what Winter in the North and West means, but worst of all, they have found the field of employment overcrowded. When there is a surplus of labor in these sections, the negro is invariably the last from whose ranks needed recruits are drawn.

A great many of the migrated negroes have found desirable employment, to be sure, but these, compared to the bulk, constitute the favored few. The ratio is possibly three idle negroes to one employed. They went North in numbers so large as to flood the labor market. The same friendly agencies that met their importunities to be carried out of the South, are now being appealed to in reverse order. We are to judge from what the railroad agents report, that the Southern farmers may make preparations for a return of as much of the negro labor as they may have need for. Many farmers have learned the profit of Independence and will have no employment to offer.

It is but a repetition of the old, old story. Ever since the days of the first Liberian enterprises, the negro has been regarded as legitimate victim of the exploiters. He has been weaned away from such visions as the Good Ship Star of Zion, that was to take him into the land of hope and promise; he has quit paying for steamboat tickets he never gets to ride on. The Liberian colonization agent now finds no hearers in the South. But until this last experience in bolting the South for a life of ease, prosperity and happiness in the North, his eyes had not

been fully opened to the uselessness of it all. Enough of them left home this year to constitute an object lesson in experience. The returned negroes are not only going to stay at home, but the head-shaking they will do in the future will be sufficient to keep those who remained yet more firmly rooted to the old place. Out of these experiences, however, the negro stands to profit. The Southern farmers, as a general thing, have passed many troublesome moments with their conscience. They have reflected upon the fact that from the standpoint of treatment, the negroes have had the better of the argument. They have reflected that they could have made living conditions for the negroes very much more endurable, and moreover, they will admit that they have not, as a whole, requited the negro according to his service—that, in short, they have not paid him as much as they should have been paying him. The returned negro to the cotton belt is likely to find better housing conditions and better wages. For this, he is sure to give better work. So, in the end, the experiences of the year are destined to turn out to the advantage not only of the negro, but of the farmers, as well.

In this general discussion of the negro going and the negro coming, the State of North Carolina is given comparative exclusion, for conditions in this State have been of a more satisfactory sort and the discontent less easily fanned than in States further south. In no State in the Nation has the negro been provided with better educational facilities than in North Carolina; in no State has he received better treatment at the hands of employing agencies. He has had less cause to get out of North Carolina than may exist in any other State, and consequently the movement from this State was inconsequential, as compared to that of other Southern States. The Observer believes that within the course of a few years the relations between the whites and the blacks in all Southern States will have been adjusted to a situation similar to that obtaining in North Carolina.

Madison Wis.-
Maricopa
NOV 9- 1923

PERIODIC NEGRO TREK.

"The negro farm laborers are moving north in great numbers," said Governor E. Lee Trinkle, of Virginia several months ago while on a visit to New York, "but before long they will all be coming back again." To an extent, at least, this prediction is being verified, reports from various parts of the country showing that a strong movement of negro laborers southward has begun. In Chicago and other Lake Michigan cities alone there are some 17,000 negroes in the ranks of the unemployed, most of whom are preparing to set out for the cotton and rice fields of Mississipi and Louisiana.

The negro laborer(who for so many decades was a fixture in the South,) is now furnishing the material for a great migratory army of workers. In periods of industrial activity, when the demand for labor is acute, it moves North to take advantage of higher wages. When business slackens and factory forces are reduced the negro is the first to be laid aside and seeks employment once more in his native South.

The first really great negro migration occurred during the war, when millions of men were diverted from productive activities to the services or the munition factories. At that time the movement was confined most entirely to the border Southern States, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. And with the industrial depression of 1919 and 1920 most of these workers were thrown out of employment and forced to return to their former homes.

The tide turned northward again in 1922, when returning prosperity and the new immigration laws conspired to put labor once more at a premium. This time even the Gulf States were involved and many a cotton plantation of Georgia or South Carolina was stripped bare of its workers. Now this wave, in turn, seems to have spent itself and the return movement to have set in.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of these periodic treks. They serve as labor safety valves, providing industry with the needed hands in periods of great activity and reducing automatically the proportion of the idle when business is slack; they arouse the ambition of the Southern negro and widen his horizon by bringing him into contact with conditions in the North; they inspire him to demand and force the Southern planter to concede better wages and better living conditions; since with each great wave many of these colored workers remain permanently in the North, they

White Settlers for the South

From the beginning of the negro migration northward it has been evident that the movement, despite its temporary disadvantage, might be turned to the ultimate benefit of the South. This newspaper repeatedly has urged an organized search for white settlers of desirable type to take the places of the negroes leaving our agricultural lands. It has suggested that terms sufficiently liberal and fair to attract such settlers would prove mutually advantageous, and that no other kind of terms would attract settlers of the right type in sufficient number or prove of permanent benefit.

Organized efforts to that end are now under way in various sections of the South. The Southern Alluvial Land Association is seeking the co-operation of Washington authorities in working out a plan of "selective immigration," under which it is hoped to bring in agricultural immigrants of assured desirability, for permanent settlement upon Southern farms. While this ambitious program is under consideration, local organizations here and there are at work with more modest settlement projects.

The arrival of an "advanced guard" of Canadian farmers was recently reported from a South Mississippi county. Our own St. Tammany parish has entertained a party of Canadian prospectors and is hopeful of results in terms of new and highly desirable settlers. Word came from Laurel, Miss., last week that its Chamber of Commerce is backing a project for colonization of 500 thrifty farm families—North Europeans, who already have been "Americanized"—upon farm lands near that city. Twenty-five farms, it is added, already have been prepared for their occupancy.

During the next few years dozens of similar projects should be and doubtless will be launched. If these succeed—and there is excellent reason to believe that they will wherever sound organization is followed up by fair treatment of the newcomers—the movement of desirable white settlers this way will gather headway and before long will march under its own power.

NEW ORLEANS LA
DEC 3 1923

NORWICH, CONN.
DEC 1 1923

The Situation In South Carolina.

A radical change is going on in the one time old aristocratic commonwealth. According to a statement seen in the New York Times, less than one-third of the lands of the state are under cultivation. Fewer and fewer white farmers are living on their farms. Thirty-eight thousand families live on farms as renters. In the last two years 9,000 of families have moved away to the cotton mills and lumber camps. Thousands of negroes have migrated from the large estates, and the boll weevil has been doing its fatal work on the one time great cotton plantations.

But it is pleasing to see there are patriotic South Carolinians who are determined that the old state, one of the original thirteen, in which Francis Marion and his rangers won immortality, shall again come to the front. Among such to be found doing honest work for the rejuvenation of the old state, once the home of great men and patriots, that it may again come to its own is former Governor Manning. The purpose is to take up the abandoned lands to colonies as may choose to take hold and occupy them on terms prescribed.

The proposition is, as we have seen it stated, to raise a fund for the purchase of the abandoned lands and make initial loans, protected by mortgage, but on terms so liberal as to give colonists a chance to clear their lands of debt and become actual and bona fide owners. As the New York Times says:

> This will doubtless mean the adoption of a diversified agriculture and the production of many things that the state has now to import. But whatever the result in actual productivity, it is a fine bit of public service that these new pioneer patriots have given to their state, to which after their journeys of inspection through twenty states they have returned with a greater respect for "its potential resources."

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"For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."—Matthew 8:15

Labor – 1923
Migration Movement

EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM SOUTHLAND TO EQUAL THAT OF 1918

Pittsburg American
Pittsburg, Pa.

Staff Correspondence
(For The Associated Negro Press)

CHICAGO, Ill., March 2.—A careful investigation of conditions throughout the South by The Associated Negro Press, and by authentic reports from the Department of Commerce of the United States Government, 1923 promises two outstanding facts: First the exodus of Colored people from the South will equal and possibly surpass that of 1918; Second, there will be work in practically all of the northern industrial centers, from New York to Chicago, and between, and in the far Northwest for all those who desire it. 3-2-23

Thoughtful southern employers are alarmed at the present outlook, and leading newspapers of the South, daily, without exception, are appealing to the public to assist in setting things right in order that Colored people may be willing to remain in the South and do the heavy work.

In a number of instances, local laws have been passed, and there is an effort to enforce them, especially as regards the coming into the districts and taking workers away wholesale. A remarkable fact brought ou by all investigations discloses tha grim winter has not halted the ney exodus which began early in the sum mer of 1922.

The Literary Digest, New York, i a featured article reviewing the opin ions of both North and South on the subject, reveals the causes as brough out by Lester A. Walton in a specia article in the New York World, o which Walton is a staff correspondent Walton began his story by saying "Every day is moving day in Dixie." Verily, this is true. There seems to be no power that can stop what is going on. Persuasion? That means nothing in the face of continued lynchings persecutions, the Klux and general oppression, say those who are coming. Force? That only adds to the gravity of the situation, and compels the resorting to devious ways of "Crossing the line."

"These people are "coming with all their earthly possessions." Many of them have friends and relatives who have preceded them; others are aroused by the dreams of a larger freedom. In many of the cities, with the experience of the other exodus behind them, are "taking time by the forelock." They are preparing to not only provide the newcomers with places to live and a hearty welcome, but they are preparing to urge upon them the great necessity of caution in the midst of their "New Freedom," as it is sometimes called.

In Newark, N. J., citizens have grouped together and provided a large hall which is used as headquarters for all new comers. The visitors are met at the station, and invited to the headquarters, and from there assigned to their stopping place and work, as for example, at a great national convention.

This method will doubtless be followed in other cities to some extent. Local Urban Leagues are alert in supplying both information and work through their employment departments.

Probably the most pretentious arrangements are in progress in Chicago. Leading citizens and organizations are determined that those coming to Chicago shall not be fleeced by sharks and schemers of various descriptions. Chicagoans have learned that many are coming here with the idea of investment; already there has been more building contracting thus far than for many years. There will be no effort to "colonize" or "segregate" but instead urging the people to buy in locations already established, there is being suggested that there be "building from the ground up." There is a $10,000,000 fund available for this purpose. Charles S. Duke, civil engineer and Harvard graduate, has been appointed to pass upon the funds for the South Side of Chicago.

DECLARE FEAR IS BEHIND MIGRATION

Norfolk Journal Guide

Reports Say Members of Race Are Being Driven From the Farms in Georgia. 3/17/23.

Special to Journal and Guide

New York City,—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has made public portions of a letter received from a person actively connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in which startling charges are made of the driving out of Negroes from Georgia towns, and confiscation of their property, including houses, automobiles, crops; and the death of numbers of the fugitives from exposure and hardships suffered on the flight. The name of the writer which is signed to the letter is withheld because it is feared the person's safety would be endangered were the name made public.

The letter says in part:

NEGROES PUT TO FLIGHT

"For the last month or two the white people have been putting the Negro to flight out of several towns in Georgia, about the time their crops were ready for gathering they began—some were run away from home with their crops standing in the fields ready to gather—hence white people went to their houses and gave them notices to leave in so many days and on other instances notes were written and signed by, as indicated, K. K. K., and intimidated them so that lots of them left their homes furnished just as they were while they were at home. Some with their houses cleaned up, beds made up and everything done as though they were at home—they left their homes with nothing but what they were wearing and a suit case and sometimes not that.

One family had to flee through the rain, snow and cold, wade and swim the streams and at last arrived here in Chattanooga for every one of that crowd to die except one, in less than two months, from the exposure they received in making their escape from their pursuers. One man who had a nice automobile drove up to a filling station where he had always lived, to have his car filled, the man in charge asked him who the car belonged to, and he replied that it belonged to him. The oil man ordered him out of his own car, saying that he got no oil from that station to move a car that belonged to him, and told him to leave the country. For weeks it was a most pitiful sight to see people traveling over this city by droves almost—thru the rain and cold—with little bundles, suit cases, early in the morning and late at night, forlorn, hungry, cold and nowhere to go. They sleep anywhere they could get to sleep and eat anything they could get—an organization contributed towards their food for several weeks.

"Several hundred of these people settled here in Chattanooga, and its vicinity, mostly in South Chattanooga. Athens, Ga., almost all the colored people were run away and they were run out of Jesup, Ga., around in the neighborhood of northern Georgia near Summerville, and Lafayette, which is near the line of Chattanooga."

50,000 leave South
50,000 Leave South

Within 90 Days

(Pacific News Bureau)

New York News 3.4.

So serious has become the wholesale migration of Negroes from the South to Northern, Western and Southwestern parts that the Memphis Cotton Exchange recently asked Congress to amend the immigration laws so that more laborers may be brought from Europe to the cotton growing sections of the South. Farm owners in many sections face disastrous financial losses in the immediate future, for acres have been left untilled and crops are yet to be planted. 3/10/23

According to the Literary Digest, "It is conservatively estimated that over 50,000 Negroes have left the Southern States for the North, West and Middle West within the past ninety days, and they are leaving on every train. From the Mississippi and Arkansas deltas fully 15,000 have gone. Georgia comes next with 12,000. South Carolina, Texas and Alabama each furnish an imposing quota in order named."

Additional thousands have left or plan to leave for Old Mexico, resulting in a propaganda report sent through the daily papers and one national Negro weekly that Negroes are barred from entering Mexico.

Regardless of all the methods and propaganda used to discourage the Negro from seeking new environments, the flow of Negro migration is increasing with such rapidity as to alarm the entire nation. Some argue that it will ruin the South; others believe that it will prove a blessing to the South by making the South a "white man's country and by scattering the Negro question throughout the entire nation until it will become a national problem instead of an exclusive Southern problem."

LABORERS FROM SOUTH ASKED TO BE MORE DECENT

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill.
3-17-23

Northerners Complain Dixie Workers Bring Bad Habits to Free Cities of North

Movement of Race men and women from Southern states to the North is causing some concern among the Race residents of the North The Southerners are not being received with open arms in every case. Many of them are being criticized by their Northern brothers.

Recently the charge was made that the immoral conditions in Cleveland, Ohio, schools was due to the influx of Southern immigrants.

Many Northerners are harsh in their criticism of fleeing hordes from Dixie.

One letter sent to the Defender, milder in tone and more sensible than many, came from Detroit. The writer explains that he is a high school student, and was formerly an inhabitant of Mississippi. He is very much hurt by the careless actions of his people, mostly from the South.

"I only wish," he writes, "that I could put my arms around all our degraded young men and women as well as the older ones and say just a word that would cause them to see just how they cast a shadow upon the Race.

"I am a Christian holding up the banner for Christ, but I have made visits to every place of bad repute. I have visited the pool room ad other underworld hangouts. I think every minister of the gospel should do the same at least once so he can understand his people better and know how to preach to them.

Women Shameful

"It is shameful to see our Colored women here in Detroit on street scantily attired, shoes unlaced, bosom open, hair dishevelled, speaking and singing every word of vulgarity that the tongue can utter, and men hollering and whistling across the streets to them. (I mean the illiterate ones from the South.) They get on the cars with a notorious voice. The young men loitering on the corners, some with caps turned sidewise, going in movie shows in overalls and getting angry and saying hard words because they are sometimes turned away because of their appearance. They go into first class restaurants half clad looking to be served.

"'Please' and 'Thank you' are words they never know—if so, they never use them.

"In the pool rooms they reach the height of their folly. I wonder sometimes what would that dear, sweet old mother, who claims that boy as her son, would say if she could hear her boy's words of vulgarity.

"These folks say, 'Oh, well, the white people do the same!'

"No, no, they do not. I know that's not true. When you pass a white pool room, you do not hear the noise that comes from the Colored. White bums on the street keep quieter than Negroes. Somehow, this must be a part of the Negro's nature.

"I hate the idea of using critical words about my people, but the truth is the truth. One need not try to deny what I say. Simply come to Detroit, or go to Pittsburgh or Cleveland. These three cities are infested with the class of which I have written."

MISSISSIPPI LOSES TENTH OF ITS RESIDENTS

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill.

100,000 Workers Have Left in the Last Six Months, White Daily Admits; Alarmed

3-17-23

Mississippi has a population of nearly 1,000,000 Race men and women. It is estimated that in the last six months one-tenth or approximately 100,000 of these have left that state. Mississippi is the state that sent a former governor to Chicago, offering employment agency directors $5 for each man who could be persuaded to go back.

The plantation owners of the state now have their backs to the wall. Lack of labor will bankrupt them. They have begun a frantic fight to retain the laborers they have. They are using propaganda, force and money. The newspapers of the state are the allies of the southern cotton barons in the attempt to fool the workers and make them stay where it is not good for them. Papers in all the towns, large and small, are publishing false pictures of the North in the effort.

The following story is one of the kind—from the Jackson, Miss., Daily News. It is the southern white man's own picture of the havoc that is being wrought:

560 Leave Each Day

"Do you know that approximately 100,000 Negroes have left the state of Mississippi in the last six months? This means that nearly 560 Negroes have departed daily to other southern states while reports show a few migrating to the North. Never in the history of Mississippi or any other southern state has the exodus of Negro labor been so critical. Information gathered at first hand indicates that labor experts everywhere over the state are employing every conceivable means to cope with the situation.

"Due to the impending crisis apparent in the Mississippi Delta account of the alarming number who leave the fertile valley, Negro labor in the hills are being drafted and carried to the Delta during the emergency, while the influx of whites has caused the schools in that section to be overrun, necessitating the relief of another emergency.

"Why are the Negroes leaving in such vast numbers and what is the cause of this seemingly unnecessary condition? This is the question that is uppermost in the minds of state educational authorities and one that they are spending long hours trying to solve.

Statistics Cited

"Statistics show that Negroes who migrate to the shops in the North receive something like $3.50 a day for labor while rent and living expenses is quite in excess of this amount, consequently there causes dissatisfaction and due to lack of funds they are unable to return to their old places on the farm. It is the opinion of educational labor heads in Mississippi that the fault does not lie with immigration agents, but with living conditions on a number of the plantations. While on the other hand a splendid example of what plantation owners are doing for their tenants is shown on the plantation owned by D. S. Jones. Hilandale. According to Mr. Bura Hilbun, state supervisor of Negro schools, Mr. Jones has a plantation of approximately 4,000 acres. On this plantation there are 125 Negro families, with approximately four to a family. Mr. Jones has spent about $20,000 for the construction of a school building, a pavilion for the children in bad weather and employs a Negro man and his wife 12 months out of the year to teach an 11 months school. Ten acres of land have been set aside for demonstration purposes. The smaller children attend school during the entire term while the larger ones go to school three months in the winter, in order to assist with the crops. There is no labor trouble here of any knd.

Fair Deal Asked

"In the language of Negro educational experts who have spent years of research work for the betterment of the Negro labor situation; until the plantations are cut up into smaller plots and sold to the tenant, until the Negro is made to believe that when a bale of cotton is sold he is going to share directly in the proceeds, and until a sufficient number of educational opportunities and iron clad promises of ample wages become in effect, not until then is the Negro labor situation going to become fully settled.

"There are between 900,000 and 1,000,000 Negroes in Mississippi. This comprises a population of nearly one-tenth of the Negroes in the United States. It has been suggested by competent authority that the chamber of commerce in Greenville, Clarksdale, Greenwood and Vicksburg employ agents to follow the Negroes out of the state and by sufficient means induce them to return."

LABOR CONDITIONS IN NORTH ARE SERIOUS.

Louisville News

If You Are Thinking of Moving—Read This.

Louisville, Ky.

Pittsburg, March 6.—Nearly 1,000 letters have been received by the Urban League of Pittsburg in the last three months as a result of an interview with a representative of the Preston News Service. These letters have been so urgent and have come in such numbers that they have made it difficult for the secretary to answer. 3/10/23

The interview referred to emphasized the large increase throughout the Pittsburg District for Negro labor in the mills, mines and foundries. In order to intelligently advise the thousands of Negroes who are waiting for the proper opportunity to come North the secretary communicated with sixteen of the large corporations in this district to find out if they knew how limited were housing facilities for colored people and if they were planning in turn to increase the number of houses to accommodate the extra number of Colored men they were seeking to employ. Only one concern replied stating that they were building twenty-six houses, but these houses upon completion would be taken by the men who are already in their employ with their families in the South waiting to be transported.

The League feels that the supply of colored labor alone will have to meet the industrial needs in the immediate future, and that industry will make proper provisions to accommodate this labor if Negroes will not flock North until organizations like our own can induce the industries to make proper preparations to accommodate them.

Several concerns have already begun to send their representatives South to bring large numbers of Negroes North, A concern brought 1,160 men into one industrial community in sixty days without building a single house nor making any added preparations to accommodate these men. This congestion has caused a tremendous amount of sickness, disease and immorality. Real estate men whohandle the property largely occupied by Negroes have advised the secretary that there is not a single house in the Pittsburg District that is vacant today. Rooms, usually with some other person can be had from $2.50 to $7.00 per week. With wages averaging about $4.00 a day there is little advantage in coming North and having to meet such unusual expenses. Especially does the Urban League insist that men do not bring their wives and families at this time, because of the serious shortage of houses and yet on the other hand the League's workers in various courts have come in contact with too many cases where men away from their families have become careless, irresponsible, gamblers and drunkards. To come North without their family is a serious matter, but to come North with your family is more than serious; for instance, last week a man brought his wife and four children with him from Virginia. He spent the first day in Pittsburgh without getting accommodations and spent the night in the police station. After making many attempts to get accommodated in the city the next day he was finally sent by a coal company to their mining town some miles away where two rooms were provided for him. The man had obtained work in one of fifty different places.

The situation can be helped if the more reliable solid element in the South can induce our people to remain South until they are definitely connected with a job with the prospects of getting a house to transfer their family life rather than to break it up.

Editorial Note—The above article was sent to the News by Mr. John T. Clark, Executive Secretary of the Urban League. Mr. Clark is a "Louisville boy."

Prescott Ark. News

Feb 8 1923

UNDULY ALARMED OVER NEGROES LEAVING THE SOUTH

Many Southern people rite us to say that the exodus of negro laborers is becoming an acute problem. The negroes, they say, are being enticed North, by offers of high wages for common labor in the big industrial centers. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a comprehensive discussion of the growth of the negro population in the United States since 1860, which shows that negroes and the trend of negro migration have been moving out of the South in increasing numbers over a period of years, though this migration is not as great as generally supposed. Neither is this migration of negroes wholy onesided, for some Northern born negroets move into the South, years there is a net difference in newholly onesided, for some Northern-gro migration in afvor of the North and West of only 725,000 out of a total negro population of 10,500,000. slowly in the entire country. The Negro population is increasing very gain between 1910 and 1920 was only 6.5 per cent in the United States and only 2 per cent in the South.

It might be worth while to study th other side of the picture. We North and West, including the presbelieve that many conditions in the ence of too many foreigners for the comfort of native Americans, too much bittery cold weather and other adverse conditions in contrast with better opportunities there and few foreigners are causing many thous- the better climate of the South, the the North to the South. The populatio trend ist oward the South, just as is the investment trend of the day. All over the South there is evident a new vigor and a more enthusiastic view as to the outlook.

Cotton, when marketed under old methods, was a curse to the South. It impoverished rather than enriched that section. Loss of farm labor would be bad, of course, but a wider distribution of the ngroes throughout the country would have its good side, worth considering. Moreover, previous phemonena of this sort have generally ended with the negro getting back to his own "home folks," soonr or later. He likes high wages and short hours, but he does not like the kind of work he has to do in the North to get them, nor the conditions under which he has to work outside of the South.

And the sun is warm in Dixie—

Harty Helton returned Saturday evening from Boonesville ad was ac- Helton's condition is unimproved and she will be placed under the care of a local physician. It is probable that she will go west soon for her health.

300 Awaited Train That Never Came

Atlanta Messenger

3-31-23

(By Associated Negro Press)

Columbia, S. C., Mar. 29—The train didn't come. Three hundred Negroes were disappointed and several of them found their way to the lockup because a "Detroit Special" failed to make its appearance at the Union Station here last Wednesday. 3-30-23

A rumor that a "special" would pass through this city and take on whoever of our Negro population desired to shake the dust of Columbia for the green grass of Detroit, Michigan, would be given free passage to City of the Automobile.

The rumor proved to be a canard. Later the persons who were arrested because they were blocking the station were liberated by the police.

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement.

THE MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON COLORED METHODISM

1/18/23

The Christian Index

The black man is leaving the South, bound for points in the north, west and east. Any one who rides the through trains will at once recognize that fact. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church is losing thousands of its best members in every state in the South. For one, the editor is glad that they are going. The South continually talks of the "Negro problem," and perhaps if three or four million colored people go to Mexico, Canada and the northern, western and eastern section of our own country, the tension will be relieved. We are not one of that number who advises them to stay, and let down your bucket where you are." They have been letting down their bucket for 60 years, and drawing it up with the same old result, mobs, lynching, inadequate schools, and every other imaginable humiliation.

The only rift in the sky at present is the splendid work being done by the Inter-racial Committee headed up by Will W. Alexander. Our General Secretary of Education, Dr. J. A. Bray, makes the following observations in the Birmingham Reporter last week:

"I must confess my very great surprise at revelations connected with the exodus of our people from parts of the South as evidenced at annual conferences of the C. M. E. Church in Georgia. Traveling on the railroads much and especially on the trunk lines out of the South, such as the Frisco Lines, the Illinois Central and the Louisville and Nashville railroads, I knew that there was a gradual stream of Negroes flowing north, but reports of church membership in the different sections of the State of Georgia showed an alarming loss of members. This was so pronounced that at three annual conferences of the C. M. E. Church, Bishop R. S. Williams, the presiding bishop, delivered strong addresses cautioning our people not to sacrifice their good homes and property and their hold upon sure positions in industry for an uncertaintiy. The bishop set aside a night known as "education night" at each conference and had the secretary of education of the C. M. E. Church, Rev. James A. Bray, to deliver an address devoted largely to warning against Negroes becoming "panicky" in their immigration movement.

The annual conferences which we attended in the State of Georgia held their annual session at La Grange, Milledgeville and Atlanta. These three conferences included the Colored Methodist Churches in the southwest, the central and the northern part of Georgia and although we did not attend the southeast conference, we were told by the presiding bishop that the reduction in membership due to the exodus was just as great as in the other three conferencs.

"As the writer sat and listened to preacher after preacher read his report to the annual conference, calling out so-and-so many "withdrawn to go north," for there was scarcely a report read that did not state several more or less gone north, the writer became curious to know just how telling the sum total going out of the C. M. E. Church in these conferences would show. The presiding bishop who holds the official reports said publicly that between three and four thousand had moved north out of these conferences since their last annual session.

In most instances the rural churches showed the greater loss. Not that a larger percentage had gone north from the rural districts, but many had gone from the rural districts into the cities as well as to the north, and while the city churches showed considerable loss there was some compensation from the rural districts.

Among the rural churches in all three of these conferences at La Grange, Milledgeville and Atlanta, the bishop and presiding elders had to combine several churches to make a membership large enough to support a pastor. Some of the smaller towns in which there have been good churches with strong memberships supporting a pastor well, have been so reduced in Negro population, that the churches are practically missions unable to support a pastor.

In Sparta, Georgia, the C. M. E. Church is one of the oldest Methodist congregations in the South. The sainted and well-known Bishop L. H. Holsey, one of the senior bishops of the C. M. E. Church, was a member of this church. For many years Sparta station has been one of the strongest appointments in the Central Georgia Conference. Some of the most outstanding preachers of the state pastored this charge. When the report was read by the pastor before the recent annual conference at Milledgeville, the membership of this noted church was so reduced by members going north, that the church was no longer found to be self-supporting and had to be placed on a circuit with another church, after being transferred into another conference. Other towns could be cited as instances, but suffice it to say that every town and city church of the C. M. E. connection, shows great loss.

"Royston, Georgia, a small town on the Elberton Airline railroad, a branch of the Southern from Toccoa, Ga., to Elberton, Ga., has been a prosperous little town with a large and prosperous rural community. Rev. J. D. Hudson the pastor of the C. M. E. Church at this point for five years until December 17th, appointed presiding elder of the Atlanta district, gives the following report: "In one day and to go on the same train this fall colored people bought tickets to the amount of more than $750. We asked why this expenditure of so much money to leave home. The reply came, "We have come to the conclusion that the best investment we can make in the South is in a railroad ticket to get out."

The writer was anxious to know if other denominations were similarly affected by the Negro exodus. Bishop J. S. Flipper of the A. M. E. Church, presiding bishop of all the A. M. E. annual conferences in Georgia, visited the C. M. E. Conference in Atlanta, December 14, and privately he told us and publicly in an address that the same alarming conditions confronted the A. M. E. Church.

The writer visited annual conferences and the tale of the stream of Negroes going north is almost uniform. There is a larger movement from Georgia, Alabama, Miss. than from the other states as we have been able to observe.

"Observtion and testimony bear witness that those going and those planning to go are not the "riff raff"—not the thriftless, not the ignorant, but a large percentage of prosperous, industrious and inteligent Negro citizens.

"Many of the strongest ministers of the Methodist Churches are being transferred to pastor these members who have migrated and have built or bought the finest houses of worship for Negroes in the country. Many of the most outstanding Baptist preachers are being called by these members who have gone from our Southland.

"In reply to the question put to these people as to why they have gone, are going and plan to go, the almost uniform reply is "to better our condition." We have asked earnestly, seeking light, "What are the conditions of which you complain?" The reply, "Poor schools and condition of travel, ill treatment without recourse, the mob and lynching spirit, denial of fair treatment in courts and we see no hope for better conditions."

Next week we shall make some observations on Bishops Carters, Phillips and Cleaves fields in the North and East, and how they are saving Colored Methodism the thousands that leave the South.

COTTON BELT FACES EXODUS OF LABORERS

Farming Difficult Under Weevil Conditions, and High Wages Offered in Industrial Centres Draw Tenants Northward

N Y C POST
FEBRUARY 3, 1923

[Special Correspondence of the Evening Post]

MEMPHIS, February 1.—One of the problems the South faces for the coming crop year is that of labor, and each day brings its more serious aspects to the fore without any promise of relief. It threatens to handicap the effort to raise a large cotton crop, for apparently the supply of workers in the cotton country has been an attractive source of supply for the industrial sections, and already they have obtained a large number of workers. They have been offering all kinds of inducements and the use of propaganda has been effective in causing thousands to leave the South and go to the North and the East.

The shortage in cotton yield for two seasons in succession has been particularly severe on the tenant class and negro workers, for the boll weevil has wrought a great change and made the growing of cotton more of a gamble than almost any other crop. The necessity for heavier financing since the cost of growing cotton has increased so much has also made the negro yield to the attractive inducements offered, while the activities of the Ku Klux Klans in various portions of the belt have contributed to the exodus.

Exodus of Negro Labor

Perhaps the Mississippi delta section, where tenant farming has a stronger hold than almost any portion of the South and the bulk of work is done by the negroes, is going to suffer most, although reports reaching here from Georgia and the other Eastern States say the situation is serious there also. There are many large plantations in the delta which are so short of workers that it seems certain that instead of an increase there will be a decrease in cotton acreage. Further northward, where the boll weevil did not do so much damage during the past season or two, there is not so much complaint, but even there some reports say that scarcity is assured.

In figuring on the possibilities of the coming crop more and more attention is being given to labor, for the weevil has brought with it the necessity of more intensive cultivation, and such is not possible without more labor. Moreover, plenty of labor is essential for saving the crop, for experience shows that one or two workers can easily plant and cultivate more than several times that many laborers can gather.

So serious is the prospect in this territory that recently a meeting of the local Cotton Exchange was held and a resolution adopted asking that Conkress amend the immigration laws so that more workers may be brought from Europe to lessen the efforts of the industrial sections of the North and East drawing negroes from the South.

Despite the prospect of insufficient labor, however, the general assumption seems to be that the planted cotton acreage will be increased. Dealers in seed report an abnormally heavy demand, and other indications point to plans for planting largely, although it is seriously doubted whether this will afford a basis for expecting a large crop, even compared with the one of the past season. Nobody seems to think it possible to grow more than 12,000,000 bales, even with a very favorable season, while it is feared that it could easily be cut down a million or two with average conditions.

Growers Get a Profit

The rapidity with which the remnant of the crop of 1922-23 has been sold has not reflected bearish feeling, but indicates that at current prices there was good profit over cost of production, and it was so much more than expected that the producers were willing to let the manufacturer have a chance at profit. Then, too, the foreign situation has been and still is a source of anxiety and uneasiness.

The amount of unsold cotton in the South at this time is perhaps smaller than in many years at the close of January, but those who watch the market fluctuations from day to day and take a part in the speculative end thereof are giving scant attention to statistics. Rather they are looking to the new season and its possibilities. In this market, which boasts of being the largest inland market in the world, the unsold stock in the hands of merchants a few days ago was down to 54,000 bales, and at the interior points conditions were proportionately as bad. Never before was a crop sold more rapidly, and it has been reflected by the impetus given general business and in settling accounts.

Banks Control Situation

But there is already manifest some slowing down in certain lines because the chief money crop, cotton, has been practically all converted into cash and the money used or diverted into other channels. Banks all are in excellent shape, but it remains to be seen how freely they will extend credit for raising another crop, with the increased risk attached thereto. The financial position of thousands of producers, who were compelled to devote the bulk of what they received for last season's crop to old accounts, is not strong and the attitude of the banks and other financial agencies will be important in its bearing on plans for another crop.

With the cost of calcium arsenate, the main reliance for poisoning the boll weevil, already double that of last season, and the indicated supply far short of what could be used, there would seem to be anything but a cheerful outlook for a sufficient crop of the staple. The possibilities of prices being very erratic were never better, and the speculative feature will no doubt be greater than usual, which will encourage a policy of caution among those who control the loanable funds. Added to the menace to yield is the uncertainty of what the world will need, for opinion is by no means unanimous that the scramble for cotton is going on indefinately at prices around $150 a bale.

Reports from trade and business circles continue to have a tone of optimism, but this is due to the fact that everybody who wishes to do so is at work at good wages, and that stimulus given by the high prices received for cotton during the past several months is still felt.

MIGRATION HITS THE METHODIST CHURCHES HARD

Afro-American

Reports In Annual Conferences Show Many Churches Absolutely Broken Up

PASTORS ALSO LEAVE

"Best Investment We Can Make In South Is Ticket To Get Out"

Birmingham, Ala., Jan. 20 (Reporter News Service)—Travelling on the railroads much and especially on the trunk lines out of the South, such as the Frisco Lines, the Illinois Central and the Louisville and Nashville railroads, I knew that there was a gradual stream of Negroes flowing North, but reports of church membership in the different sections of the State of Georgia showed an alarming loss of members.

This was so pronounced that at three annual conferences of the C. M. E. Church Bishop R. S. Williams, the presiding bishop, dellvered strong addresses cautioning our people not to sacrifice their good homes and property and their hold upon sure positions in industry for an uncertainty.

4,000 MEMBERS LOST

As the writer sat and listened to preacher after preacher read his report to the annual conference, calling out so-and-so many "withdrawn to go North," for there was scarcely a report read that did not state several more or less gone North, the writer became curious to know just how telling the sum total going out of the C. M. E. Church in these conferences would show. The presiding bishop, who holds the official reports, said publicly that between three and four thousand had moved North out of these conferences since their last annual session.

RURAL CHURCHES HARD HIT

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$750 IN TICKETS BOUGHT IN ONE DAY

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BEST PEOPLE LEAVING

Observation and testimony bear witness that those going and those planning to go are not the "riff raff"—not the thriftless, not the most ignorant, but a large percentage of prosperous, industrious and intelligent Negro citizens.

Many of the strongest ministers of the Methodist Churches are being transferred to pastor these members who have migrated and have built or bought the finest houses of worship for Negroes in the country.

Negroes Would Avert Exodus of Race From Alabama

Atlanta Constitution

Birmingham, Ala., January 18.—Pointing out that "a steady stream of negroes is leaving the south," a committee composed of ten leaders of the race today petitioned the Birmingham city commission and through it the legislature of Alabama to go slow in passing a so-called "zoning law" which is now being drafted for introduction at this session of the assembly. The delegation asked that the segregation clause be omitted from the bill.

Conference to Advise Negroes Who Migrate

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—The National Negro Conference and ex-slaves convention, it was announced today, will meet here April 16 to prepare advice for negroes planning to migrate North. Three million negroes are expected to come North during the year, conference officers said.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

TAMPA FLA TIMES
APRIL 26, 1923

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH.

The question of migration of negro laborers from south to north is one that interests economists both north and south. Not, however, as it interests the negro himself. For him it is a vital problem upon which his future life and happiness may depend. It must be approached with fear and trembling, with a fair and full consideration of all the differing conditions he is likely to meet in what he is apt to regard as a promised land, flowing with milk and honey. Many negroes have been north, found nothing but disappointment, and been glad to get back to the more congenial south. Every negro who contemplates the big migration should consult with some honest and candid member of his own race who knows of conditions up there from actual, personal experience, and should take with a liberal allowance of salt the alluring tales of the emigration agents. Wages are higher up there, but he will not find as many avenues of employment open to him as here in the south. The manual occupations are pretty thoroughly unionized, and the unions do not welcome negroes to their ranks. If he goes in as a strike-breaker he will find the opposition to him fiercer and more cruel and intolerant than it ever is in the [illegible]. He is a social being and as much of "chu'ch" and his [illegible]dies. He will be deprived of [illegible] privileges, unless he decides to live in a city district already congested with his race, when his condition will be deplorable enough. All these conditions he should consider very carefully before he decides to leave his old time home in the sunny south, if he would not find his last condition worse than his first.

With the economists the case is not so important. Their theories may be right or they may be wrong. There is no human interest attaching to them, and if wrong they will soon be forgotten and nobody hurt. We are glad to know, however, that they appear to be taking a very sensible view of the situation. We quote from the United Business Service, a Boston publication:

The problem of negro migration from the south concerns not only the south, but the whole country. The negro is indispensable to southern corn and cotton production, for even though white labor can be employed for these purposes, colored labor is preferable and in large sections, the only labor available. It has been conservatively estimated that over 50,000 negroes have left the southern states for the north, the middle west and the west, the last 90 days, and that they are leaving on every train. According to the O-K Weekly of Harahan, Louisiana, fully 15,000 have gone from the Mississippi delta and Louisiana, while 12,000 more have left Georgia, with imposing quotas from South Carolina, Texas and Alabama.

Far-reaching social and economic consequences are involved in this movement. While the labor situation in the south will be more complicated and discouraging, the labor situation in the north will likewise be affected by the introduction of a type, alien to many sections, as a competitive element, particularly in wage disputes. Negroes in labor unions hold a precarious position, when they are admitted at all, while as strike breakers they arouse racial animosities to a frenzy. The negro's place by nature and circumstances is in the south.

By the disturbance of social and economic conditions through sinister propaganda, encouraging the negro to leave the southern country-side, an already acute labor and social situation is further accentuated. Every effort should be made to stem the tide, while no encouragement should be given nor inducements made to solve the northern labor shortage by drawing upon available supplies from the south. The north will even more seriously regret a large negro population than the southern states, which have paid dearly for the social and economic blunders of slavery. In any event, the problem is one that demands dispassionate but sympathetic consideration.

LOUISVILLE KY HERALD
MAY 11, 1923

MIGRATION OF NEGROES, TOPIC

Leaders Of Race View Trend Toward North With Alarm.

Negro leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church from all parts of the United States, in annual session here, closed the second day of their scheduled four-day meeting with an address last night by I. Garland Penn, Sr., negro, secretary and head of negro work in the church. Penn spoke on "Whither Are We Tending?"

The movement of negroes from the South to the North is alarming, according to the speaker. Negroes who already are in the North are the real labor agents, because they obtain positions for their Southern relatives, Penn told his race.

The Rev. W. A. C. Hughes, negro, director of the Bureau of Negro Work, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, in a brief address asserted that the emigration of the negro to the North is because of Southern economic conditions found largely in the destruction of cotton by the boll weevil.

Outstanding among the speakers yesterday was the Rev. Guy H. Black, of the department of evangelism of the Methodist Church.

"Evangelism for Our Generation" was the topic of Mr. Black. Touching on business methods applied to evangelism, Mr. Black said: "Business methods and religion should not be divorced. When we applied business methods to church finances and changed from the hit-and-miss system of quarterly or yearly giving and adopted the every-member canvass and weekly envelope system, we revolutionized church finances. It was an epochmaking change in ministerial support and benevolent giving. Apply the same business methods to evangelism and I believe Christendom faces a new epoch of growth and development—the best Christendom ever has known."

Mr. Black advocated more personal work among laymen and less stress laid on public meetings.

"His Home Life" was the subject of an address by Hazel Mountain Walker, of Cleveland. Other speakers were Eva B. Barker and W. W. Alexander.

Snap shots from community centers, including the cities of Baltimore, New Orleans, Chicago and Cleveland, will feature tomorrow night's session. The meetings are being held at Jackson Street Methodist Episcopal Church, negro, on Jackson street, near Jefferson.

ENTIRE SOUTH HOUSED BY NEGRO MIGRATION

Meetings In Mississippi of Blacks and Whites Called.

JACKSON, Miss., May 13.—Joint meetings of whites and negroes in every county seat in Mississippi have been called by a special state committee to discuss methods to check the exodus of negro laborers from Mississippi. It was estimated by D. A. McCandliss, federal statistician, that 9,000 negro farm hands have left the state since last fall. Many farms are idle because of the lack of laborers and it is generally predicted that many farmers will curtail their crops next year for lack of tenants.

FARMERS INTERESTED IN LABOR MEETINGS

Seriousness of Negro Exodus Not Exaggerated.

JACKSON, Miss., May 15.—Secretary J. B. Lusk of the State Chamber of Commerce, states that letters received from various sections of the state indicate considerable interest in the coming labor conference meetings which were suggested at the recent conference on the labor exodus held here. The date set for these meetings is Saturday, May 19, and the various county and local organizations have been left to deal with them their own way and according to local conditions, calling them for any time of the day and at any convenient places. The State Chamber has no suggestions to make other than those contained in the address to the people of the state promulgated by the special committee appointed by the labor meeting.

Mr. Lusk states that information received since the meeting shows that the seriousness of the situation has not been in the least exaggerated. The prairie region in the northeast section of the state has been hit and farming in that section is badly cramped. The lumber industry is also complaining in spite of the fact that wages are unusually high in that business. The exodus still continues and coach loads of negroes pass through Jackson at frequent intervals, headed north.

A Farmer Philosopher On the Movement of The Negro Northward

Editor Constitution: There has been much said in regard to the negro exodus to the industrial centers of the north and east. They will continue to leave as long as farming does not pay as in the past several years, and farming has gotten to be the biggest gamble of anything.

When a big crop is made prices are below cost of production, and even when a short crop is made prices are almost invariably held down until the bulk of it is out of producers' hands.

Most of the land owners have been operating at a loss the past nine years and I venture to say that 80 per cent of the farms are heavily mortgaged.

It will continue to be this way as long as prices of farm products are controlled by the buyer and not the producer. Farmers are twenty years behind in organization, and, not being organized, they are at the mercy of all the organized industries.

Last fall the bulk of the cotton crop was bought of farmers at around 20 cents, and being manufactured on a basis of 30 to 40 cents.

So it is easy to see why we cannot do better by the negro, when neither he nor we get a living out of the soil. When you operate a farm at a loss you are not getting a living out of it, and the world will soon wake up to the fact that cotton, our principal crop, and only crop we can ever depend on for ready cash, cannot be produced at a profit under 30 cents.

If the south does not mobilize its resources to its own upbuilding it will always remain behind other sections. Not only is our labor leaving the south, but capital as well. Millions of dollars go north each year for automobiles and other manufactured articles, many of which should be manufactured here.

Getting back to the farmer and the negro again, much is being said in congress about farm credits, but nothing is said about profits for the farmer, and that is what he needs to pay off the credits he already has. If he had the profits he is entitled to he would not need so much credit and he could pay his negroes a living wage.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is easy to see why we are losing our negroes. We simply cannot compete with other sections for his labor under existing conditions and we cannot blame him for leaving.

He does not want to leave. He knows his best friends are in the south and they do not want him in the north, only when they are short of white labor.

If the immigration laws are changed to start the inflow of cheap European labor again, you will see them scuttle the negro, and he will return to his friends in the south.

A. P. TEEL.

Morris, Ga., May 15, 1923.

LOUISVILLE KY COURIER JRN
MAY 1, 1923

THE NEGRO EXODUS

The industrial expansion in the United States is having already its natural consequence—an increasing shortage of farm labor. In the South it has been marked by an exodus of negroes to Northern and Western cities. In the North there is a steady flow of the workers cityward. Soon the West will be calling for help, and it will be another problem to harvest its crops.

But so far the South has borne the burden of this migration. Within the last year, according to figures of the Department of Agriculture, 32,000 negro farm hands left the State of Georgia alone, while South Carolina lost 22,750 of its negro farm hands. It has made the raising of cotton a more difficult undertaking than it has ever been in the past. The South, however, is meeting the situation. It is meaning hard work for the land owner, the use of modern machinery and the aid of what white help is available, but it is putting the plantation on a more economic basis than it has ever been on, and it is forcing diversification of crops and scientific farming.

Just what the future will bring forth is difficult to say. Further industrial expansion will mean new migrations, with new problems on both

sides, problems for the city and problems for the farm. These will be met in time, just as they were met in Germany when the growth of her cities practically stripped the farms for a period of able-bodied workers. But it will not be an unmixed evil. One thing that will come out of it will be that the Southern plantation will be put on a more efficient basis.

The problem is not one of race, but of labor. The North and West will have their problems just as the Southern planter is having his problems right now. It will be necess find a balance for these migrations. There will be an equilibrium somewhere.

The prophets of pessimism today, strange as it may seem, are not the Southern planters, but the Northern newspapers.

DETROIT MICH EVE NEWS
MAY 12, 1923

Negro Migration

Editorial from the Chicago Journal of Commerce.

As an anchored industrial asset for the Southern plantation or factory, the Negro is one proposition. As an active seeker for better opportunities, willing to leave the section occupied by his ancestors, he becomes a difficult problem.

It is not from one Southern State to another that Negroes move. It is always north. Northern cities have found them a convenient asset as job-hunters. But as money-savers and capitalists with very large purchasing power in the aggregate, they have become somewhat embarrassing in some cities.

Once he has risen from poverty, the Negro is a liberal buyer—particularly of real estate—and develops pride of possession not satisfied with tumbledown houses. He wants his property to give ocular evidence of his prosperity, and it does just that, not only in Chicago, but in other Northern cities.

Many thousands came north during and after the war, attracted by high wages for common labor, and settled almost exclusively in industrial cities, with unerring judgment of where their best opportunities existed. Now another exodus from the South has begun. Now from Tennessee and Mississippi comes news of hundreds of Negroes from the cotton fields traveling north. Mississippi's state chamber of commerce, and Tennessee's department of labor are greatly concerned over the situation. When a colored man leaves the South, it is said he almost never returns. Obviously the Negro has learned to travel in order to

BUFFALO N Y COURIER
MAY 5, 1923

Migration and Immigration.

Last winter Memphis and other southern cities appealed to Congress to remove some of the restrictions on immigration so that enough labor might be allowed to enter the country to man southern farms this year. As near as Congress came to answering the appeals was the report of the house committee on immigration favoring the Johnson bill for further restrictions by reducing the percentage quota from three to two per cent and basing it on the 1890 instead of the 1910 population.

That the appeals were fully warranted is shown by the survey made in the last few weeks by the department of agriculture. The department reports that 32,000 negro farm hands have left Georgia in the last twelve months; that 22,750 have departed from South Carolina; and 15,000 from Arkansas. Alabama's loss is reckoned at three and one-half per cent of that state's negro labor supply, Florida's at two per cent, and Louisiana's at one per cent.

The migration of these negro workers, nearly 100,000 of them, has been to northern industrial centers. The department lists among causes the boll-weevil, discontent among negro-ex-service men and "breakdown of the contract labor system." According to the New Orleans Times-Picayune, the migration is "not by any means an evil unmixed." It may "even, in the long run, prove a 'blessing in disguise'," a view which the Columbia (S. C.) State also holds. Both these and other southern newspapers believe the going of the negro workers will be followed by incoming white workers and the tractor.

In normal circumstances, results might be as predicted. But circumstances now with respect to labor are not normal. The reasons for the negro migration from the south are not all included in the agriculture department's statement. Doubtless they were contributing causes, and the main reason the attraction of high wages industries have to pay in northern cities to get labor. How will the south replace these workers as long as the present labor shortage exists in the north, both in industry and on the farm, and immigration is kept practically at a standstill?

Our net gain in immigration in the last fiscal year was not sufficient to make good the loss of the south in negro workers. This net gain, according Secretary of Labor Davis, was only 87,121. The total inadequacy of immigration so far as labor is concerned, is shown plainly enough by these figures, even if they are accepted wholly as a gain in labor. But of the laboring class there were more departures than entries, so that we actually lost 16,824 more workers than we gained.

Mr. Davis stated the foregoing figures in a recent speech in Pittsburgh. They show a condition that ought to make everyone realize that the present immigration law is one of the worst things, economically, as Judge Elbert H. Gary has said of it, that ever happened to this country. Even Representative Johnson, chairman of the house immigration committee, though he tried to put through even worse legislation last winter, has been quoted as saying that it was a "silly" law. If the present condition continues—and it will so continue till Congress legislates constructively—migrations of workers from rural districts to industrial centers will force attention to be given to means for keeping up production on the farms.

WORCESTER MASS TELEGRAM
MAY 5, 1923

The Exodus of Cheap Labor from the South

With great interest in the textile industry, Massachusetts is concerned with the future of that industry in the South, whither many firms have moved, or intend to move, their plants. The advantages of proximity of raw material and cheaper labor have been claimed as reasons for the transfer, but a significant feature of the situation which is of increasing importance as the years go by is found in the reports of the Department of Agriculture that 13 per cent of the Negro farm hands of Georgia came North last year. What this may mean in the future is important to the entire South as well as to the textile industries located there.

For it is possible that this exodus, begun some time ago and increasing in volume each year, will mean the entire change of the industrial conditions in the South. Since slavery days began long ago the plantations of the South have depended for maintenance on cheap labor. The whole industrial system has been founded on that. There must be cheap labor to work the plantations or else there must be change in wage scale to meet the demand of skilled labor to take the place of the cheap labor which emigrates—as it is now doing in increasing volume each year. The contract labor system, which is an attempt to keep low labor cost and replace the workers who have moved northward, is also going. The question of the future therefore is of growing importance each year.

And when the Negro goes, and his successor demands higher wages and if he doesn't get them, refuses to work the farms and plantations, the cost living and the cost of operating an industrial plant in the district rises. When these costs rise, there disappears the very reason for location in the South which is now set forward as strongest argument for change. If there were any sign that the Negro exodus were diminishing, or that the South were attempting to change its industrial system before instead of after the exodus, there might be outbok for continuation of the old economic structure. But with the unskilled labor on which it is founded and upon which it has, indeed, been dependent for its very existence, moving Northward, there must come change. So the hesitation of the textile interests to rush into the South and to leave the territory where they are certain of supply of skilled and efficient labor appears, in the report of the government, to have been based on keen foresight.

N Y C CAPITAL
MAY [illegible] 23

The Negro Migration

SOUTHERN delegates attending the convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States complain of the migration of the Negro to the North. Cotton fields are lying idle, the "South's Negro labor reserve is being depleted," and the nation's "welfare" is affected, according to one delegate who considers the Negro as merchandise to serve industry, not to serve himself.

Not a word about the brutal treatment of the Negro workers. Not a word about peonage, lack of schools, disfranchisement, ostracism and lynching. He is expected to supply his masters with a "labor reserve" to be exploited or cast aside as the needs of the masters may require. His living conditions, his social status, his political and economic standing are questions that do not come within the view of these ruling whites.

For our part, we would not grieve if every Negro left the South and bettered his condition. He owes nothing but resentment to the white ruling class which has robbed him for generations. The nation's "welfare" is a worthless abstraction to him and he is wise in considering it such so long as his

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

Emigration From the Farms

The government's report on the migration of negroes from the farms in some of the Southern States is occastoning considerable alarm. Looking at the statistics, it does look as though agriculture might suffer from an inadequate labor supply.

But emigration from the farms has been going on for more than a century, and still agriculture has expanded. And the attractions of the city have not been wholly to blame for the urban drift. The development of labor saving machinery has been an important factor.

A century ago virtually all farm work was done by hand. The plow was still primitive in design; the planter or the sower dropped or scattered the seed with his own hands; the reaper likewise gathered with his hands, or used a simple implement in cutting the stands of grain. Threshing and grinding were still in a primitive state.

Gradually the development of machinery has reduced the number of jobs on the farm. A machine today does the work of ten men, or probably twenty-five. The farm hand has been crowded off the farm by the inventors of farm machinery.

This process is still going on in some phases of agriculture. At last it has affected the negro farm hand. He is the last of the hand workers. Cotton has always demanded much hand work, but machinery has been introduced into cotton culture on a large scale, in recent years. No practical cotton picker has yet been perfected, but a practical cotton planter has been put into use; some success has been achieved by cotton choppers; and the tractor is slowly replacing the old gray mule.

If the negro and the mule are disappearing from the farms of the South, it is in a measure a sign of agricultural evolution, not necessarily of dissolution. Not the least important among the urban industries that are taking the negro from the farms of the Southeastern States are the factories that make farm mac

MISSISSIPPI PLANTER SAYS NEGRO LEAVES SOUTH BECAUSE HE IS SWINDLED

School Teacher Claims Loss of Confidence in White Man Causes Migration to Northern Industrial Sections

JACKSON, MISS., May 2.—A committee composed of eight white men and five negroes to study the critical labor situation in agricultural and industrial sections of Mississippi brought about by the migration of negroes from this state to northern manufacturing centers, was appointed at a meeting of business men and plantation owners here today.

The committee is composed of L. O. Crosby, president of the Mississippi Chamber of Commerce; C. F. Lawrence, Grenada; J. B. Lusk, Jackson; W. W. Stone, Greenville; J. M. Hartfield, Jackson; S. L. Adams, Morton; R. T. Morse, Pittman, and F. F. Harmon, Jackson, and the following negro members: W. H. Holtzclaw, Utica; J. M. Williamson, Grenada; Lawrence Jones, Braxton; F. Coleman, Aberdeen, and Isaiah T. Montgomery, Mound Bayou, former slave of Jefferson Davis and a member of the Mississippi constitutional convention of 1890.

Williamson, a negro professor of Grenada, on invitation, addressed the meeting, and told why in his opinion the negro was leaving the South.

"Nobody loves the South any more than I do," Williamson said. "I have been teaching school for 18 years in this section and I am going to talk to you white gentlemen frankly, because that is why we are here. The negro is not leaving on account of economic conditions. He is a laborer by nature.

"The negro has gone north for two reasons—one is they have lost confidence in the white man and the other is the violation of their civic rights. The masses of the negro race want to stay here but they are not going to do it under present conditions.

W. W. Stone, former state [illegible] and a large plantation owner, said: "I have lived in the Delta for sixty years. I have lived among and handled negroes and the reason why the negro is leaving Mississippi is because some white men are swindling them. I know lots of folks who have become rich in this way. They think they are fooling the negro, but they are not."

He concluded by saying strict observance of the golden rule among both races was the only solution to the problem.

Another meeting will be held in the near future to further consider the matter.

According to figures compiled by the federal statistician here, 7,000 negro farm laborers left the state within the last six months.

BIG WAGES ATTRACT

MOBILE, ALA., May 2.—So serious is the labor shortage in South Alabama by negro laborers leaving for northern and western industrial centers that contractors and other employers of large numbers of this class of workmen have called on the county prosecuting attorneys to take action against labor agents.

Hundreds of negroes have been leaving this part every week attracted by the big wages and promises of labor agents of better living conditions.

SOUTHERN NEGRO STRIKE AGAINST POOR CONDITIONS

Jackson, Miss. April 25- The exodus of Negroes from this state has caused a panic among plantation owners. There are 1,000,000 Negroes in Miss. and it is estimated that one-tenth of that number has left the state within the past six months. At that rate it will be but a short time until this tate will be stripped of its plantation labor. Plantation owners see visions of bankruptcy. That they are genuinely alarmed is indicted by their willingness to make an effort to stop the migration by improving conditions on the plantations. The Jackson Daily News quotes Negro educational experts that theNegroes want education, they want the sense of ownership and a living wage. "Until the plantations are cut up in small plats and sold to the tennants, until Negro is made to believe that when a bale of cotton is sold he is going to directly share in the proceeds and until a sufficient number of educational opportunities and iron-clad promises of ample wages come into effect, then, and not until then, is the Negro labor situation going to be settled", said the Daily News. Increases of Five Dollars a week for day work and six dollars a week for night work are announced by Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3 after negotiation with the emyloying printers. The minimum paid to a union pressman will now be $49 for a 44-hour week, day work, and $51 for a 44-hour week, night work. The highest rate paid under the new scale is $60 a week. The rates are graded according to the kind of press on which the men work. Employers have accepted the jointly negotiated scale without protest, the union dcelares. The agreement is binding to March 26, 1924. The Chicago union belongs to the group of pressmen's organizations that are awaiting judicial decision o ftheir dispute with President Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' union.

FARM LABOR FAMINE RESTRICTS ACREAGE

Increased Wages Fail to Attract Hands, Report of Farm Bureau.

BY CARROLL BINDER.

Inability of the American farmer to compete with industry in the scramble for labor is forcing him to restrict his acreage to a degree which will enable him to handle the crop with the aid of his family or of neighbors whom he helps in turn.

Large scale farmers who have increased wages from 15 to 33 per cent in the hope of obtaining sufficient help find that industry still has the drop on them. They declare that with prices of agricultural products at their present level it would be suicidal to make further efforts to meet the wage scale of industry.

A million farmers in forty-six states with whom the American Farm Bureau is in touch set forth these facts in reply to a questionnaire sent out this month by the Farm Bureau, 58 East Washington street.

This situation does not necessarily call for gloom, in the opinion of some students of agriculture. J. R. Howard, former president of the bureau, declares "the farmer's prices are always good when labor is scarce. The most hopeful thing in the whole agricultural situation at the present time is that farm labor is hard to get."

Where the Shortage Is Worst.

Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, Ohio, California and Alabama are some of the states where the labor shortage is acute. Colorado, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington report a shortage, but add that the situation is not serious.

Certain parts of the southwest, notably Texas, New Mexico, most of Arizona and Kansas report that there is no distress from labor shortage. Kentucky declares that it is not bothered by the famine.

The Arizona cotton growers and Illinois and California farmers report that they are unable to adjust their farm operations so as to dispense with hired labor, but farmers in practically all the other states announce their intention of operating with the aid of their families and neighbors to the largest possible exclusion of outside labor. Some farmers hope to handle the same acreage with the aid of improved machinery—feeling that they cannot allow their capital to stand idle through decreasing their acreage.

Those farmers who require outside labor are organizing to make the most of the available labor supply. In Minnesota farm labor is obtained through the farm bureau offices in the different counties. The farm bureau has placed experienced farmers in the employment offices of the state industrial commission at Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, and these men co-operate with agents of the bureau throughout the state in meeting local needs.

Differ on Immigration Views.

The usual influx of farm labor from the lumber camps of the north woods is absent this year, J. S. Jones, secretary of the Minnesota farm bureau, reports. Mr. Jones expresses a desire for a revision of the immigration laws so as to increase the labor supply, but Former President Howard declares that the farmer would not benefit from freer immigration. Wages in Minnesota for day labor on the farms averaged $1.55 in April, 1922, but this year the average is $1.77. Monthly wages for general work have mounted from an average of $30.50 to $37 a month. At that there is a keen shortage of labor.

The South Dakota farm bureau has issued a warning to farmers not to run up farm wages. "There is a general shortage of labor and the situation will not be remedied by exorbitant wages," says the bureau. "Farmers have offered $60 a month and failed to get help." The average monthly wage for a single man on South Dakota farms this month is $40. A year ago it was $36. Married men (living at home) get $56 instead of $45 a month, the April, 1922, scale.

G. A. Fox, spokesman for Illinois farmers represented in the Illinois Agricultural association, says: "On most Illinois farms a man has no choice in the matter of competing with industry for labor. He must operate his farm, and to operate it he must have help."

Farmers in practically all other states say bidding against industry means bankruptcy.

Exchange Labor in Iowa.

Iowa farmers bank on coping with the situation by exchanging labor. "The return from farm products under prevailing prices makes it very doubtful whether a farmer can pay the present demands of labor, which are considerably increased, and have any assurance that farm labor can be profitably employed," E. H. Cunningham of the Iowa farm bureau declares.

Lack of moisture in the western third of Kansas and lateness of the spring in

North Dakota and other states combine with the labor shortage to reduce the acreage sowed this year. At that, grain growers in those sections are wondering how they will harvest their crops. The federal farm labor bureau has made arrangements to steer the migratory workers through the harvest fields, circulars announce, and farmers may expect to make the most of the available labor supply. The wheat harvest begins in Texas about June 1 and harvest hands will be kept busy in Texas and Oklahoma until the 25th of June. Kansas will call them about June 15 and need them until July 10. Nebraska wheat fields ripen about June 28 and the harvest will last until July 15. The South Dakota season opens July 20 and North Dakota about Aug. 1. The man who likes harvesting can move on into Canada and work until late in the autumn.

Negro Migration Alarms South.

Migration of negroes "at an alarming rate" to the northern industrial centers is causing much hardship on Alabama farmers, Roy C. Bishop of the Alabama farm bureau reports. "Our problem is much more difficult that that of the northern corn-belt farmer. There will be no reduction in acreage this year, but cotton planting will diminish if some remedy is not found.' Negroes now receive $20 a month and board themselves when working on Alabama farms. Arizona farmers are bringing Mexican laborers from across the border and drafting Indians from the reservations to do their work, W. M. Cook, manager of the Arizona farm bureau, announces.

The representative of the farmers of New Mexico says shortage of cash and credit with which to buy feed and equipment is more serious than shortage of labor for farmers in his section. Pittsburgh plus and the federal reserve system are blamed for the farmers' troubles.

In general, wages are going up about $5 or $10 a month. California farmers are now paying as much as $60 and $65 a month and Colorado has some married men working for $75. Day labor on Colorado farms gets $2.50 to $2.75. Single men in Iowa receive from $40 to $50 and married men $60 to $65. Rhode Island reports that laborers there ask $5 for an eight-hour day. "In 1913 they got $1.50 for a ten-hour day."

NORTHERN CITIES WARNED OF RACE PROBLEMS THERE

Chicago, May 7.—Large northern cities have a race problem no less great than the South as negro migration northward continues, according to speakers today at a race conference held under the auspices of the Chicago Church federation. The problem presents moral and religious questions as well as one of labor, they emphasized.

Dr. W. W. Alexander, of Atlanta, director of the commission on interracial co-operation, said "Racial difficulties grow largely out of race attitudes," and that "the problem is one of racial thinking."

"You in the northern cities need to be warned that secret organizations and secret methods of dealing with the question only tends to spread hysteria and stir up passion," said Dr. Alexander. "The question needs daylight."

SOUTH SEEKS ALIEN LABOR

Would Replace Migrating Negroes by Immigrants.

SHORTAGE BECOMES SERIOUS

t May Alter Views of Southern Congressmen on Immigration.

APRIL 30, 1923

WASHINGTON, April 30.—For ten years or longer Southern members of Congress have stood as one to curtail immigration; they have joined every movement and listened to restriction lobbyists. Their argument was that America was better off without the foreigners who flocked to the United States to become common laborers.

The census figures show that very few of the immigrants ever went South, but that made little difference to Southern Representatives. Within the last few months farmers and contractors in some of the more prosperous States have realized that their respective communities were being drained of negro workmen to be used as substitutes for the Slavonic people who would come as immigrants if they were permitted to do so.

It is predicted here now that Southern employers will revise their views on immigration.

J. S. Wanamaker, president of the American Cotton Association, alarmed over the scarcity of farm labor, is conducting an investigation into the northward movement.

Conducted Expensive Survey.

"At a heavy expense we have had personal representatives canvass the industrial plants of the North and East for the purpose of ascertaining the truth concerning the migration of labor," he said in a letter sent out to the Department of Agriculture. "As a result of this investigation we find that labor is being drawn from the agricultural to the industrial centers, and from no section to a greater extent than from the South.

"We found in many of the plants they have employed thousands of negro laborers and state that it is their purpose to employ them in largely increased numbers. We found that the wage paid to these laborers is ten to twenty times the amount it was possible for them to earn in the cotton fields of the South and their working hours are far shorter and living conditions far better."

Solid South May Be Broken.

Six months ago while Congress was in session captains of industry in the North urged Congress to let down the bars so they could get a labor supply adequate to the demands. At a hearing before the House Committee on Immigration scores of heads of enterprises warned of a shortage of workmen and asked for amendments to the immigration laws. All Southern members opposed any change that would increase the number of immigrants. As soon as it became apparent that Congress would not act, labor agents were sent to Southern sections to enlist negroes and the movement of the negro from the South to the North received a new impetus. As a result of the present situation, the "solid South" may be broken in the next vote on immigration legislation.

FIGURES SHOW EXTENT OF NEGRO MIGRATION

State Statistician Issues Statement on Eve of Meeting.

JACKSON, Miss., April 30.—On the eve of the big mass meeting of business and agricultural interests to take steps to check the tide of negro immigration from the state, Federal Statistician D. W. McCandliss of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, furnishes some highly interesting official information just obtained through a direct inquiry as to the extent and causes of the negro exodus.

Mr. McCandliss states that something more than 9,000 negro laborers have left Mississippi for other states since last fall, about 7,000 of whom went to northern states and some 2,100 moved into other southern states. About 4,900 have moved from one section to another inside the state. A majority of these negroes leaving the state, Mr. McCandliss finds, are young negroes without families, some unmarried and some young married couples. Those going to northern points have for the most part gone into industrial work, being drawn away from the farms by the lure of higher wages and other attractions. Many of those moving to other southern states have located on farms, some going to southern Missouri where the boll weevil has not yet penetrated.

Most of the exodus has been from the Delta section, though a considerable number have left central Mississippi counties. The movement inside the state has been from the hill counties to the Delta. How far this year's crop will be affected by the movement, Mr. McCandliss says, it is yet too early to say, depending largely on weather conditions. With a favorable season most farmers will have enough labor to take care of this year's crops, but if farm work is seriously hampered by bad weather the labor shortage may cause some fields to be neglected.

Mr. McCandliss' figures are based on reports up to the latter part of April. The exodus in this section still continues. The desire to better their condition seems to be the real incentive of the negroes. Those engaged in farming have worked year in and year out and as a rule barely ever get out of debt. The younger negroes coming on who have had school advantages seldom care to remain on the farms, finding work in the towns more profitable and conditions more attractive.

A hopeful feature of Mr. McCandliss' inquiry is that it developed the fact that white farmers are gradually coming in as the negroes move out. He is now conducting an especial inquiry to ascertain the extent of the movement of white farm labor into the state.

Race Suicide Via Industrialism.

Now that there is a revival of industries in the great manufacturing centers of the north and east, and now that there is a cutting down of the available labor supply through the limitation of the immigration laws, the industrial leaders have turned towards the negroes of the south as the means of supplying the deficiency. They did the same thing during the war, when several hundred thousand negroes were attracted to the northern states by the lure of high wages, many of whom were reduced to the direst distress when the bubble of inflation burst. **Now, another exodus of negroes has started northward and it is well for the members of that race to consider the misfortunes of their brothers of a few years ago. It will also be well for all the negroes of the south to heed the warning issued by the United States government against the dangers to the race from its members being congested in the crowded and cold towns of the northern climates.** Here it is:

In every one of the northern states negro deaths in the five years, 1915-1919, outnumbered births. In the southern states, in general, the conditions are reversed. Throughout the north and in the cities of the south negro deaths are more numerous than negro births. . . .

If the rate of increase between 1900 and 1920 be projected through the rest of the century without change, it would yield about 20,500,000 as the maximum limit of negro population. It also seems reasonable to anticipate that the negroes, who in 1790 were 19 per cent, or nearly one-fifth, of the population of the country, now are about one-tenth and are likely by the end of the century to be not more than one-twentieth.

The truth of the figures the government furnishes is so plain that none may mistake. The negro as a race is doomed if he insists upon leaving the free open spaces of the rural sections and being congested in the big urban centers of either the south or the north. But his doom will be the quicker if he tries to live in a cold climate contrary to the character of his physical being. This exodus to the cities and to northern climates is nothing else than slow but sure race suicide for the negro.

BIDDING FOR BLACK LABOR.

The following news dispatch from Raleigh, N. C., which appeared in several of the New York dailies last week, revealed another phase of the migration of labor from the South. It read:

Migration of more than 5,000 unskilled Negro laborers to Richmond and Baltimore from North Carolina during the past week has necessitated the shutting down of more than fifty highway construction projects, according to a statement today by State Highway Commission officials.

Promises of practically double the usual wage scale here for common labor by employment agents have induced the Negroes to migrate, it was said.

This shows that Negro labor is not only gaining a footing in the industrial centers of the North, but it is also coming into greater demand in such cities as Richmond and Baltimore. This is a case of competition arising within the South itself and bidding up the wage scale for unskilled labor.

Such instances as that given above should open the eyes of the editor of the Columbia *State* to the fact that unless the Negro laborers of South Carolina differ greatly from those of North Carolina, it is not going to require two generations "to lift them to a plane where they would be worth much better wages." When such Southern cities as Richmond and Baltimore promise double the usual wage scale paid in North Carolina, it goes far to prove the contention that the wages paid this class of labor was, to say the least, inadequate.

The thing for these laborers to do when they migrate to new fields of labor is to prove their capacity as steady and reliable workers. Give their full time and energy to the job on hand and establish their standing as first class workmen. Under such conditions even the editor of the Columbia *State* will see the futility of attempting to obtain white labor superior to them. No such thing will be in the market.

Labor – 1923
Migration Movement

The Negro Not An Emigrant

Some of the negro population of the South, hoping to find better economic and social conditions, may emigrate to the Northern and Western States, but the emigrants halt at the national boundary line. They are not leaving the country. Apparently, "the good old U. S. A. is good enough for Rastus," and even the most ambitious of his tribe.

This is the conclusion arrived at by a labor agency which recently undertook to recruit negro laborers to operate the mines in the Ruhr district for the French invaders. Having noted that the French were importing labor from Africa for this service, the enterprising agency conceived the plan of sending over some labor battalions of negroes from America. Houston Post-Houston Texas

The plan quickly proved almost a complete failure. Instead of the thousands, who it was expected would answer the offer of jobs in the Ruhr, a bare 100 from the whole country responded. In consequence, the whole scheme has been dropped. 3-15-23

The negro, though he is not of the dominant race in America, feels perfectly at home here, and he does not fall in readily with schemes to take him abroad. Previous efforts to transport negroes to colonies in Africa have been largely failures. Now and then someone suggests, as a solution of the race problem, that the negroes be colonized elsewhere. It will never be done with the American negro's consent. He is satisfied to work out his destiny in this land, where he prides himself on his citizenship.

And whatever deficiencies the negro may have as a citizen, disloyalty is not one of them. The negro response to the call for service during the war was practically 100 per cent. Draft boards will testify that negroes responded to the summons of the draft as promptly as did the whites. Moreover, the negro did not fall a prey to the red agitation during and just after the war, as did a considerable portion of our white population of foreign extraction. The overwhelming majority of American negroes, notwithstanding they are wage-earners, have not been tainted with the poison of bolshevism.

The negroes are in this country to stay, and the best interests of both races demand that the negro be permitted and encouraged to develop as a citizen and as an economic asset to the country.

One way to do this is to give the negro the preference over imported, alien labor in industry. Rather than bring in new hordes of low caste aliens, who are unsympathetic with American institutions, let the industrial kings first exhaust the supply of negro labor, which is not only superior in many respects, but is not a menace to the nation politically.

Recommendations of Conference on Negro Migration

New York Amsterdam News 3-7-23

The Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches called together on February 23, 1923, some of the church leaders from the principal northern centers for a day's conference to exchange experience and information on Negro migration. The purpose was to get some consensus of opinion on things which the churches and other agencies in these local centers may do to serve the newcomers better than heretofore.

There were present church leaders from eighteen cities, in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, District of Columbia, Michigan, and New Jersey, representing several denominations and including representatives from church federations in five cities, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Directors of Negro Work in the North from four of the large denominations.

Negro population of Southern birth in the North has increased each decade at the net rate of about 10,000 per year except during 1910-20 when the average annual increase was more than 34,000 per year. The present 3 per cent Immigration Law will continue at least until the Congress of next winter. The immigration figures of last year give the impression that instead of about 40 per cent expected influx of the immigration of prewar years only about 11 per cent of foreigners came in. Northern industry, therefore, will be short of labor. As is already evident this is leading many industries to admit Negro laborers in large numbers.

Reports from such industrial centers as Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Bridgeport, Hartford, indicate that Negroes are being employed in industrial plants in such numbers as to lead to the belief that the migration of Negroes to these northern centers has been proceeding above the usual number and that it will increase. Several of the bishops of the A. M. E. Z., C. M. E. Churches and leaders of other Churches have reported that large numbers of their constituents have left the rural districts the past fall and winter for the North.

It was recommended that as rapidly as possible local federations or councils of churches, woman's missionary federations, and local church leaders, cooperate with other community agencies—social, civic and commercial.—to form geneneral interracial committees in northern cities to deal with the questions of race relations.

That in every city some colored person or persons be definitely appointed as workers to aid Negro travelers and that this be done in co-operation with the National Travelers Aid Society.

That the churches encourage practical movements for improving conditions of housing among colored people, particularly the new migrants, by co-operating with authoritative agencies for housing betterment, and wherever necessary and practicable by promoting housing facilities.

That these interracial committees in cooperation with all interested agencies promote employment of Negro newcomers by:

1. Interviews with employers to open up new opportunities for Negro workers.

2. Keeping contacts with employers of Negro labor to advise on perplexing problems and to encourage further employment.

3. Talks to Negro workers themselves in churches and factory meetings about punctuality, [illegible] larity, attitude toward their work and other items of efficiency.

4. Discussions before white church congregations, commercial and civic organizations concerning the usefulness of Negroes as workers and on related subjects.

5. Presentation of the case of Negro workers in a favorable light through the newspapers.

That in community and Christian centers, in Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and in connection with well equipped churches, training classes for volunteer and part time leaders be formed.

That more attention be given to discovering and giving openings for experience to young people who manifest qualities of leadership in religious and Social Service, and that periodically pastors present to their young people the call for such service and the necessity of thorough preparation for it.

That increased provision be made by church agencies and boards for better college and university opportunities for such leaders.

That opportunity for special experience and training in executive work for interracial and Social Service be offered to suitable candidates by church federations and councils and in institutional church activities.

NEGRO LABOR LEAVING FARMS IN SOUTHLAND

Richmond Stone
Richmond, Va.
3-10-23

(Preston News Service)

New Orleans, La., March 8.—The labor situation in the building trades in the South is becoming acute and the shortage is not confined to skilled workers. There has been much delay in completing buildings now under construction, due to labor shortage. This has been especially acute in the case of plasterers.

A noticeable exodus of Negro labor to the northern and eastern industrial centers is in progress. Reports show that vast farming areas are vacant as a result of this departure of Negroes. This movement is expected to be a very material factor in planting, cultivating and harvesting 1923 crops.

N Y C SUN
MARCH 8, 1923

Another Negro Migration.

The movement of fifteen families of negroes from Oklahoma to Mexico may be the beginning of migration on a large scale, as the International Community Welfare League believes it to be, or it may be much less significant. According to the president of the league, a delegation of negroes recently visited President Obregon in Mexico city and secured settlement rights to vast tracts of land in Sonora, San Luis Potosi and on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Freedom and equality were promised all colonists. The Mexican Government was reported to be eager to see thousands of negro colonists follow this first group.

If other tenant farmers, dissatisfied with a bare living in the South, pack up their farming implements and their household goods and move across our southern border, the South may soon have to solve a population problem. The industrial North, between 1910 and 1920, made serious inroads on the labor supply of the South; in the war years, particularly, the number of Southern negroes who moved North was enormous. Most of them did not return. The labor demand of the North began to inconvenience the South in some ways even then.

If Mexico develops a genuine attractiveness for Southern negroes and the demands of the North for unskilled labor keep constant, the depletion of the South's labor army may become serious within a very few years. A new migration of negroes to the North, rivaling that of the war years, is reported to have been under way during the last six months.

This is a matter the South cannot afford to ignore. Negro migration in great numbers would cause a greater economic loss to that region than even the boll weevil can cause.

SOUTH MUST F[illegible] IMMIGRATION Q[illegible] ON

New York Herald

ATLANTA, GA., Mar[illegible]—"The growing industrial development of the South, the alarming exodus of Negroes to North and West is accompanied by immigration problems which the southern business men will have to face in a few years", declared Edwin Tomlison in an address before the Kiwanis Club here last Tuesday afternoon. He urged the business men of the South to study the immigration situation which is growing in importance in southern states to be able to cope with the facts when the changed conditions actually come.

N Y C JRNL OF COMMERCE
MARCH 7, 1923

NEGROES BROUGHT TO STEEL MILLS TO FILL GAPS

The shortage of labor continues to occupy the steel makers. Negroes are

st being imported fro[illegible]he South to fill up the gaps. For ins[illegible]ace, the Steel Corporation last week brought 100 negroes from North Carolina to work at its coke plant at Farrell. It is probable that more will be imported as needed. More talk is heard of a probable wage advance about April 1. Common labor in the steel mills now receives 36c per hour and predictions are made of raises to 40c to 45c per hour.

The latest price advance is in hot rolled strip steel which has been marked up $3 per ton to 3.05c per pound, Pittsburgh, by some of the makers in that district.

Steel manufacturers are turning to the rivers with increased interest as a facility for distribution of their products into the West and Southwest. The Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation is preparing to send a big movement of steel products in barges down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers about the middle of this month. Most of it will go to Louisville, Evansville, St. Louis and Memphis and be transferred to railroad cars and shipped to distant interior points. This will be the ninth movement of its kind for that company.

That the steel trade expects the Middle West to be the future steel center of the United States is indicated by the purchase of the Sheet & Tube Company of America, Chicago, by the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, the stockholders having recently ratified the purchase.

STEEL PRODUCTS PRICES.

Quotations are f. o. b. Pittsburgh. Freight rates from Pittsburgh in carload lots per 100 pounds to points named are as follows: New York, 34c; Philadelphia, 32½c; Boston, 36½c; Buffalo, 26½c; Cleveland, 21½c, Chicago, 34c.

SEMI-FINISHED.—Gross Ton.		
Billets, rerolling	$40 00	a42 50
Billets, forging	47 50	a50 00
Sheet bars	40 00	a42 50
Slabs	40 00	a42 50
Wire rods	50 00	a ....
Skelp (cents per pound)	2.25	a ....
SHEETS, ETC.—Cents per Pound.		
Blue annealed	2.75	a 2.90
Black	3.50	a 3.60
Galvanized	4.75	a ....
Auto body	5.00	a ....
Strips, hot rolled	2.90	a 3.05
Strips, cold rolled	4.75	a 5.00
Hoops	2.90	a ....
Bands	2.90	a ....
Tin plate (per base box)	$4 95	a 5 00
HOT ROLLED.—Cents per Pound.		
Bars	2.25	a ....
Plates	2.25	a 2.50
Shapes	2.25	a ....
Rails, standard (gross ton)	$43 00	a ....
Rails, light	2.15	a 2.25
WIRE PRODUCTS.—Cents per Pound.		
Plain wire	2.65	a 2.75
Barbed wire	3.45	a 3.70
Galvanized wire	3.25	a 3.35
Nails (per keg)	$2 80	a 3 00
Cement coated nails (keg)	$2 80	a 2 60
Woven fence (% off list)	.66½a	.64
COLD DRAWN.—Cents per Pound.		
Bars and shafting	2.80	a ....
Ground shafting	3.20	a ....
IRON PRODUCTS.—Cents per Pound.		
Bar iron	2.15	a 2.25
Refined iron	2.75	a ....
Cast iron pipe, 6-in., N. Y. (net ton)	$56 50	a ....
N. Y. JOBBERS.—Cents per Pound.		
Bars	3.34	a ....
Bands	4.14	a ....
Structurals	3.44	a ....
Plates, ¼-inch and heavier	3.44	a ....
Plates, 3-16-inch thick	3.675	a ....
Hoops	4.69	a 5.19
Structural rivets	4.00	a ....
Floor plates	5.65	a ....
Cold rolled rounds	4.20	a ....
Cold rolled flats, sqs. hex.	4.70	a ....
One pass cold rolled black sheets, No. 28 gauge	4.90	a ....
Galvanized sheets, No. 28 gauge	5.90	a ....
Blue-annealed sheets, No. 10		

NEGROES WILL REMAIN SOUTH.

Dallas Express. Dallas Texas

Florida Times-Union: Report having it that a conference of Negroes and their supposed friends will be held in Washington, D. C., some time soon to plan for the movement of Negroes generally from the Southern to the Northern states it is not out of order to suggest that the real friends of the Colored people will take no stock in the proposition. The Negro has become a part of the South and while it would be entirely possible for the South to get along and even to prosper, without the Negroes, it has time and again been proved that the Negro cannot thrive or generally do well in the North, East or West. 3/24/23

Of the millions of Colored people in the United States only a small per cent live away from the South. It is not that they are prevented from going, but a matter of selection in point of climate with the majority of them. Their forefathers belonged in the tropics and they have not in hundred years undergone such physical change as to make it desirable for them to live where the climate is cold for a considerable part of each year. Conferences as suggested have been held over and over again in various parts of the country and exoduses have been started here and there—with the same general result, which is failure.

The Tampa Times finds that the Boston Post has discovered about the conference and is advising the Negroes to stay in the South. The advice is a matter of surprise, coming from Massachusetts, yet it is not really remarkable that after many experiences the Northern sympathizers have to understand that there is such a thing as racial conditions and prejudices and possibilities which cannot be overcome or avoided—at least not in a century. The Post tells the Negroes to remain in the South and raise cotton. The Times says that this part of the story is unnecessary. Cotton will be raised in the South always, with or without Negro help, and the quantity raised will depend more seriously upon the price and the boll weevil than upon the color of the field hand.

Negroes have not learned everything in the half century of their emancipation—their ancestors, free and unfettered for centuries in Africa, had not learned everything before them; in fact they were primitive people, and had less ambition than was developed by those who were brought to America and allowed to look upon a civilized race. But they are learning that environment means a great deal; that climate and conditions in the South are more to them than higher wages and isolation and hardships in the North. They will stay in the South because it is their home and they are better treated and have more opportunities here than their leaders suggest await them elsewhere.

THERN WHITE PRESS TRIES O KEEP NEGROES FR[illegible] GOING NORTH.

Louisville Herald

N. A. A. C. P. Sends Out Sample of Propaganda from South Carolina Newspaper.

Louisville, Ky.,

New York, March 6.—A sample of the matter published in white newspapers of the South to keep Negro labor from going North, was sent out today by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, in the form of extracts from an article published in the Index-Journal of Greenwood, South Carolina, February 18.

The heading over the article is as follows: 3-10-23

FIND NOTHING GOOD IN NORTH, NEGROES RETURNING STATE.

BRING MOTHER'S CORPSE BACK TO GREENWOOD AND TELL OF HARDSHIPS.

There follows an interview with one of the Negroes alleged to have returned, with the following paragraph introducing it:

Undertakers here say that many of the dead are being brought back from the North, particularly from Philadelphia and other cities of the North. All of these are the corpses of Greenwood Negroes who have beenlured to their death in the North by stories of high wages and easy living conditions. Not a week passes that the trains from the North don't bring back the long sealed boxes, bearing the bodies of Greenwood Negroes who have succumbed to the hardships of the North.

The final paragraph of this newspaper article is as follows:

In spite of the hardships which they have to undergo in the North, Negroes from this section are still flocking Northward. A number went last night and a large number went on the Saturday before. Many of them go to Philadelphia, which is even colder than Washington, where Robert White's mother died of pneumonia, and some go West. Undertakers say that a certain per cent may be expected to come back for burial before the winter is over.

Break Even on Migration

Norfolk Journal & Guide

The *Manufacturers' Record* has responded to the inquiries of "many Southern people who write to say that the exodus of Negro laborers is becoming an acute problem," by furnishing statistics to show that what the South loses in Negro migration to the North it recovers by migration of whites South, and that the movement is not new at all but runs over a long period of years. It finds that of the total Negro population of 9,716,659, in 1920, only 725,000 Southern born Negroes were living in the North, while some 50,000 Negroes born in the North and other places were living in the Sopth. It finds that the movement of white persons from the North to the South is a trend in the same sense that it is of the investment trend. "All over the South there is evident a new vigor and a more enthusiastic view as to the outlook."

The *Manufacturers' Record* does not think that Negro migration is due to the causes usually alleged—such as better wages and living conditions, better schools, less discriminating laws and the prevalence of mob-law—but rather that the causes are purely economic, especially that the boll weevil is making the cultivation of cotton unprofitable, throwing many Negroes out of employment. It thinks that when the boll weevil has been conquered and the production of cotton has again become profitable the Negro will return to "the plow and the hoe," as "he does not like the kind of work he has to do in the North, nor the conditions under which he has to work, and the sun is warm in Dixie." 3/10/23

The *Manufacturers Record* brings out the fact that there is a steady increase in the white population by natural increase, while there is by the showing of the census reports a steady falling off in the Negro increase. It is not easy to explain this steady decline, but we have a notion that much of it has been due to the census takers. In some of the large cities of the South the white census takers would not go into the densely populated Negro districts and make the proper canvass of the people. We ought to make a determined effort to have Negro census takers assigned to segregated Negro districts when the next census is taken.

There is nothing alarming in the migration situation anyway, we believe. The more Negroes who move away and the more outside whites who come in, ought to make for better conditions for all concerned. But, however much the Negro becomes distributed throughout the Nation, and however the problems growing out of race relations may become National rather than sectional, this fact stands out clear against the horizon of National well being, that the Negro must have conceded to him more and better protection for his life and property, and a juster apportionment of the common tax funds for the education of his children and the improvement of his property.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement

Removal of Ministers on Migratory Wave, Is Regarded As Uprooting Of Community Life In Southern Hamlets

Colored Business and Professional Men Forced to Follow in Wake of Exodus

ATLANTA, Sept. 27.—(Special)—From the Yazoo Delta to Atlanta, the migration of Negro laborers to Northern industries has been accompanied by an exodus of colored business and professional men. Preachers have had to move to Chicago, Detroit or Cleveland to keep up with their congregations. One church in a nearby town had 300 members a year ago. Today it has only one, an ancient unable to stand the railroad trip. Last week the preacher packed his belongings and joined the procession. It is cited by leaders as a typical case.

The Baptist organization of Georgia reports that since New Year its rural churches have lost more than 50,000 members, while Bishop Williams, of the Colored Methodist Church, reports many circuits in his congregation have departed. The church is the center of the community life of the Negroes and the preacher stands first in influence as a leader.

Leaders Men of Sense

One hears from white men of standing that in general the Southern Negroes have leaders of good, common sense.

The leaders of the race in the South are the preachers, teachers, doctors and lawyers. The lawyers are put last by men of both races who have grown up with the problem. The educators stand high in influence, but the colored preacher is generally a real leader.

The disruption of churches and congregations is accounted by many thinkers as a serious matter. They say it may retard any movement of the colored migrants back to the Southland, something on which many are piously counting when industry slackens, although it appears that not more than 10 per cent of the migrants of the last few years have returned permanently.

See Benefit to Negro in South

The Negro leaders in the South, generally speaking, have been against migration on the ground that the South is the natural habitat of the colored citizens, but with economic conditions as they are it does not appear that they have been urging their followers to stay at home. Besides, they reason that once the surplusage of Negro labor is drawn off from the South, the natural effect will be better treatment and compensation for those who remain.

Many white obesrvers take the same ground; in fact, everywhere one finds them saying that when the dead weight of an abundant and inefficient, though cheap, labor is removed the South will start to make things hum. They would like to see the lower grade Negro make for the North and the better class remain at home, but, as it happens, the present wave of migration. unlike that of the war period, is mainly composed of the superior type of Negro laborer.

Race Issue in Politics Wanes

Heretofore the one greatest trouble with the color problem has been that the politicians have used it for a political football. The Vardaman and Tillman type used the Negro question as a stepladder to political office, and by exploiting it as a political issue retarded the South in a real handling of the problem. Now the migration is serving to take the race issue out of politics.

Mississippi has just concluded a Governorship campaign in which for the first time in a generation the race question was not an issue Georgia is slower. Various programs have been advanced by groups interested in the betterment of race relationships, but the legislators have sidestepped, and it is generally remarked that whatever Georgia does to counteract the migration it will have to be done independently of the politicians.

Suggest Remedy

Race leaders in July, in a statewide conference, issued an address to the Legislature and the white citizenry outlining the causes of migration and suggesting a remedy.

"Our greatest disturbance, however," said the conference of leaders, "is the open defiance of our laws in the form of mob violence.

"No influence has done more to drive colored people away from the State, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our State, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of colored labor here than the influence of the mob. In the midst of it, no colored person, however honest, industrious, humble and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe over night."

NEGROES TERRORIZED BY "CHI" AGITATORS

Long for Dixie, But Get Death Threats

POLITICIANS ARE BLAMED

Negro Leaders in Chicago Threaten Bullets and Bombs If Colored Voters Answer Call of the Southland.

(By Chicago Tribune-The Commercial Appeal Leased Wire.)

CHICAGO, Dec. 13.—Clarence Powers, manager of the All-Colored Employmen Bureau, who has been active in efforts to send 500 negro families back to the southern plantations, has divorced himself from the movement. And there is a very definite reason—threats of bullets, bombs, razors and other undesirable things if he persists in the back-to-the-south migration.

Acting for G. W. Harden, manager of the Delta Farms Company of Deeson, Miss., Powers had rounded up 250 families who were to start south last Sunday. The Illinois Central had provided a special train, but the migrants did not show up. About 30 families finally appeared and were sent south on regular trains.

Threaten Dire Things.

Investigation shows that agitators, hearing of the movement, went through the black belt, threatening dire things for any colored person who planned to go back to the south. Negro politicians and editors of radical negro papers are strongly opposed to any movement that will decrease the voting population of Chicago.

Two of the families recently returning to Georgia plantations have written friends in Chicago, lauding conditions there and advising negroes to get away from the cold north and back to the cotton fields. But the agitators here told them the southern planters can not make good their promises and that they can not control the Ku Klux Klan. These agitators have spread terror throughout the big negro colony here and presumably in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Baltimore, Washington and other cities where efforts were being made to induce negroes to return to their old home.

The Negro Exodus

Editor W. T. Anderson, of The Macon Telegraph, has written a letter to the editor of the LaGrange Reporter in which are contained some highly appropriate suggestions with reference to the negro exodus. Mr. Anderson's letter is as follows:

"Everybody knows how to run a newspaper, except the fellow who has to pay off. Some people think the way to stop negro migration from Georgia is for the newspapers to say nothing about it. But that won't work. Suppression of information seldom helps any cause. My idea is that information enables the people to know the actual status of affairs, and they can then intelligently proceed to solve the problem.

"Negro leaves Georgia primarily because the inflow of foreign labor at the north has been stopped, and northern factories have been forced to take on the southern negro as a laborer.

"The southern negro would not have been so easily persuaded if he had been prosperous in the south. How to make him prosperous is a subject that concerns all of us, because if 40 per cent of our population is enticed away, we shall shrivel and dwindle in greater ratio than is now the case.

"I believe you can help materially if you will give special attention to the work done under the direction of Phil Campbell, of the State College of Agriculture. He has a corps of negro farm demonstrators at work throughout the state, improving the production of negro farmers and thus enabling them to become more prosperous. To carry stories in your paper of negroes who have been conspicuously successful in their efforts will inspire other negroes with the confidence that they, too, can do well, and possibly get their names into the paper which, by the way, is a great incentive even to white people.

"Phil Campbell is sending out bulletins monthly which contain items of special interest to negroes, if not to the entire community. I am taking the liberty of urging you to give these bulletins attention and reprint items that you may think of special interest."

Herein lies much food for deep thought upon the part of every leader in Georgia affairs. There are many different opinions on the negro exodus question, but everybody must agree that it forms a vital problem, not only for the south, but more essentially for the negroes who are deceived into the "exodus." Along this line, The Dalton Citizen remarks:

"We do not know that any one has found the exact solution of the problem, but in our opinion it is purely economic. The negro has gone north because he has been offered better wages, not realizing his increase in wages would be off-set by his increased cost of living. The environments of the north are not suitable for the negro, and the exodus back south will soon be as great as the one north, which has been going on for the past year or two. There are already signs to this effect, and we suspect there are a number of negroes in the north who have left the south in the past two years who are singing very feelingly the old familiar lines of Dixie."

THE NEGRO EXODUS

Editor Anderson, of the Macon Telegraph, has sent the newspaper men of the State some very timely suggestions in regard to the negro exodus. This exodus has no doubt hurt the middle and Southern parts of the

State. Other Southern States have suffered equally as bad as has Middle and South Georgia.

Like Editor Shope, of Dalton, we do not know that any one has found the exact solution of the negro problem, but it is purely economoc. The negro has gone North because he has been offered better wages, not realizing his increase in wages would be off-set by his increase cost of living. The enviroments of the North are not suitable for the negro and the exodus back South will soon be as great as the one North, which has been going on for the past year or so. There are signs to this effect, and we have no doubt there are many negroes in the North who have left the South in the past two years who are longing for the South.

Mr. Anderson's letter to the News and Sun is as follows:

"Everybody knows how to run a newspaper, except the fellow who has to pay off. Some people think the way to stop negro migration from Georgia is for the newspapers to say nothing about it. But that won't work. Suppression of information seldom helps any cause. My idea is that information enables the people to know the actual status of affairs, and they can then intelligently proceed to solve the problem.

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thrown in jail and even murdered for such practices. The Illinois law permits slave driving Southern plantation owners to canvass its territory in search of prey without the slightest molestation, while in Mississippi a decent and respectable Northerner rounding up labor there would be slain on sight.

"BACK TO SOUTHLAND" TRAIN FAILS TO MOVE

"The Plantation Special," scheduled to leave Chicago over the Illinois Central railroad Sunday afternoon for a long journey to Rosedale, Miss., "collided" with the "Great Northern Special" in the 12th St. station and was completely wrecked. The plantation train, born in the brain of G. W. Harding, a white planter representing the backwoodsmen of Mississippi, conceived the idea that there were thousands of our people in Chicago praying to get back to the cotton fields of the South.

He planned a wholesale raid of the South side, and set his machinery in motion with the aid of Richard E. Parker, editor of a "now and then" newspaper, and Clarence Powers. Headquarters were established at Golden Star employment office, 3233 State St.

Harding had been duped to believe that 300 families would leave with him on the first train South. Instead his hopes were wrecked when he stood at the station and greeted only 12 subjects ranging in age from 46 to 72 years. He was disgusted. R. J. Carmichel, assistant passenger agent of the Illinois Central, stood close by.

"Not enough," he remarked to Harding. "We can't give you any reduction."

Just at this moment a giant locomotive steamed slowly by and stopped.

Three coaches crammed with dark people that came all the way from Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee hopped out burdened with luggage and filed by Harding. He deserted his ragged followers and escape to a Loop hotel. Parker, his handy man, gave the Harding bunch word to return at 5 o'clock and added that each should "bring a friend along." When the hour arrived a few ragged strangers appeared and Harding, rather than go empty-handed, took them along. What he will do with them is problematical.

Harding apparently came to Chicago under misguided influence. His money was long, but his judgment short. He scattered 18,000 hand bills on the South side and augmented this appeal by sending out a wagon heavily placarded with signs describing the glory of the cotton field and the Sunny South. He told his listeners (those who had nothing else to do) how the Southern white man had changed; that the hand that once held the lyncher's rope and the mob's torch had been replaced by angels' wings; how the "law" had reformed and would function without regard to color. But his host could not see it that way.

Citizens throughout the South side marveled at Harding's colossal nerve and wondered how the city would permit him to come here as a labor agent when in the South men are

NORTHERN EMPLOYERS AND MIGRATION.

Detroit is one of the large cities of the West where the results of Negro migration from the South are most plainly apparent. To this industrial center of the automobile industries the black workers have come by the hundreds and thousands, and they have been absorbed into the economic system of the busy metropolis by the Lake. A survey of the situation created by this addition to the population of Detroit was inaugurated for publication in the "Detroiter," the official publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

While the findings of this survey and its recommendations have not yet reached us, we find an illuminating article in the same publication, indicative of the spirit in which the hardheaded business element of Detroit is inclined to regard the Negroes of the South and their reasons for coming North. It cites the fact that white planters and manufacturers down there are becoming alarmed because of the exodus of laborers and are writing letters to the mayors of Northern cities and to the secretaries of Northern chambers of commerce, insisting that this demand for Southern labor be stopped. We quote:

> Claims are made that the poor Negroes are being lured northward by false promises of good positions, reasonable hours and big money.
>
> A study of the situation seems to prove that this is quite wrong. The Negro is not being lured. He is being shoved. Certainly the planters and manufacturers will look to the North when they lose their laborers. The Negro has no other place to go—and he has made up his mind to quit the South.
>
> What does the Negro want? He wants exactly what you or any other human being wants. He wants food, comfort, safety, tolerance, education—and as much money as his ability entitles him to.

That what he gets in the South too often is the reverse of these conditions is being understood by the white Northerner, as well as by the Negroes themselves, through the revelations brought about by the continued migration movement. It is well that these Detroit business men, as well as the employers of labor in other Northern cities, should thoroughly comprehend the causes that are bringing to their factory doors a supply of teachable and dependable labor. With a knowledge of the conditions that inspired this migration and the aspirations toward which it is striving, they should be able to deal with it in a manner at once sympathetic and understanding. Such a policy pursued with justice and firmness, should result advantageously to both parties.

It is also open to the Southern planters and manufacturers to adopt a similar policy of fair dealing and thus reduce the ravages of migration in their labor forces. That such a policy is possible and profitable has been shown in such Southern in-

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

THE TRAP SET TO RE-ENSLAVE YOU

STAY IN THE SOUTH

Chicago Defender

Note the picture above; study it with care. As you look at it let your mind come and go. The artist gave his readers a picture for the eye, but to you it is a drawing for memory. 7-14-23.

This illustration adorns a full-page advertisement in the Commercial Appeal, Memphis, great, powerful organ of the South, and leader in the campaign to hold the Race fast in the land of bondage.

"Back to the South" is slogan of the Commercial Appeal. "Stay in the South" is but a day's change in its cry.

Give heart as well as eyes to the picture. Note that the **WHITE** artist paints Booker T. Washington stopping a fast train pulling out of Dixie bound for the land of liberty.

Look at the expression of dread and fear on the face of the unfortunate being riding where he **MUST ALWAYS RIDE** in the South.

In life it is the Jim Crow car; in the picture it is the Jim Crow car! A Jim Crow country thinks, paints Jim Crow thoughts.

"Stay in the South," Booker T. Washington is made to shout to a people fleeing oppression, disfranchisement, concubinage and prostitution.

You know your Washington. His words, his life, his works give the lie to brazen rascals who are called on to reap what they have sown.

The advertisement reads:

"THE GREAT LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, NEGRO EDUCATOR AND FOUNDER OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING, WAS TO JUSTIFY THE NEGRO'S FITNESS FOR BETTER SERVICE THAN THE MERE COMMON, UNSKILLED LABOR."

Answer that allusion to the illustrious dead with the **FACT** that the **"GREAT LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT"** of Booker T. Washington may be in ashes before another **SUN**; and his kindred driven in night clothing from the place where he lies BURIED. The Ku Klux trod down his grave.

"Let down your buckets where you are," said Washington, but he asked none to drink from wells of **POISON.**

"HE MADE IT EASIER FOR WHITE MEN WHO WANTED TO HELP THE NEGRO," reads the advertisement.

He made it easier for **NORTHERN** white men to help his Race by gifts and sympathy. He made it harder for drunken Pharaohs of the New Egypt to rob, degrade and murder his kin and seduce, rape and prostitute the women of his blood.

"Oh, Mr. So and So, a white friend, staked me," Washington is made to report prosperous Southern Race men as saying when asked how they got their start.

MR. SO AND SO NEVER ADVANCED A NEGRO A DOLLAR OR A POUND OF BACON WITHOUT MAKING 100 PER CENT ON THE CONSPIRACY.

Yesterday the lynchers, Jim Crowers and libertines, from the platform of Cooper Union, Carnegie Hall, Orchestra Hall, through their hirelings, cried the Negro down. "He is lazy, trifling," they said, with lying, bitter tongues.

TODAY THE NEGRO IS THE HOPE OF DIXIE.

"Hold him," they say among themselves. "Send him back," they cry to the free, clean, fair white NORTH.

Lies, like murder, **WILL OUT.**

Another phrase from the advertisement printed under this picture:

"THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THESE NEGROES GOING NORTH TO ENJOY SEEMINGLY HIGHER WAGES ARE GOING TO HAVE SOME BITTER DISAPPOINTMENTS AND TRAGIC EXPERIENCES."

"Bitter disappointments!" Hell hasn't any disappointments as bitter as those the Race has met in damned Dixie since Lee got on his knees to Grant. The Negro decides that he would rather be a free dog in Illinois than a bondman in Alabama. **THE NEGRO IS UP AND DOING!!**

"Tragic experiences!" What experiences could be more tragic than to see your wife prostituted by libertines, your daughters stolen and seduced by charlatans, your family herded like **"DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE"** in coaches not good enough for **HOGS** to ride in from the farm to the butcher!

"LET MY PEOPLE GO!" were the words that shook the gluttonous throne of wild-eyed Pharaohs, filled with lust and disease.

Again that cry: **"LET MY PEOPLE GO!"**

By the sight God gave you look at **THE CLOCK** in the picture. Find it in the center of the engine.

THE HANDS POINT TO THE HOUR OF YOUR DELIVERANCE.

PACK UP! Come out, if **YOU MUST STEAL THROUGH THE LINES OF THE NEW SLAVERY.** God speaks you to flee. How long will you **TARRY** where **HOPE** is dead in blood?

That is not the picture of **BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.** No; by the God of Heaven: **NO!** That is the Kleagle **MADE UP** to look like Booker T.

"Back to the South" means **BACK TO HELL!**

WHEN THE SOUTH TAKES OFF THE JIM CROW CAR, OPENS THE BALLOT BOX AND SPEAKS WOMANHOOD TO ALL WOMEN AND VIRTUE TO ALL MAIDENS THAT WILL BE TIME ENOUGH TO LET THE SUN GO DOWN ON YOU.

Pack up; catch the first time to the **OHIO.** If money is **SCARCE** or the spies watch too **CLOSELY,** foot it; cut across the country!

"BETTER CLASS OF NEGROES" you hear about. There are no **BETTER CLASS** in the South. If so, how can you tell them?

ALL ARE JIM CROWED; DISFRANCHISED; PROSTITUTED!

Better to live in a rented hole in a **NORTHERN** alley than spend **SLEEPLESS NIGHTS** in a mansion in the God-cursed land of slavery.

COME OUT OF THE SOUTH DEPARTMENT OF THE CHICAGO DEFENDER.

KANSAS CITY MO. STAR
MAY 27, 1923

NEGROES ARE FLOCKING NORTH.

It is held by certain observers that the principal cause of the recently renewed negro migration from the South to northern industrial centers is mistreatment of the black man in the South and failure to provide him with proper educational facilities there. Certainly that is a factor in the situation, along with the more outstanding incentive of a high wage lure and the active work of labor agents in rounding up the negroes for northern industries.

The entire situation is full of thorny questions for all parties involved to consider. If there is followed the easy course of letting the condition alone or simply allowing the movement to take care of itself, the outcome is sure to be bad in many directions. It is possible to turn the situation to good account all the way around.

If the let-alone policy is followed something like this is bound to happen: The South will be deprived of useful and necessary labor; outside centers will get labor needed now but probably unnecessary in periods of slack employment, and in addition may have the race problem brought home to them in unexpected ways; the negroes themselves may be disappointed in many respects at the treatment they receive after leaving the South and may find living and health conditions unsatisfactory.

But such developments of the situation are not necessary. Southern communities are being aroused to the peril of a diminished supply of moderately priced labor and are seeking, as they did in the war period, to restrain the labor agents recruiting the negroes for work elsewhere. That, however, is a temporary expedient of doubtful value. A more promising development is the plan to hold meetings this month of leading white and negro citizens at every county seat in Mississippi and to discuss the negro emigration problem as it affects both races. In this kind of move is the promise of the mutual understanding that must precede solution of all problems. Out of that form of action may come eventually the kind of treatment that will hold in the South the negroes who best can make their way in that section. And that, as Booker T. Washington said years ago, may include the mass of the race.

A condition and not an eventuality, however, now is faced. Large numbers of negroes live outside the South, and it may be expected that in some degree the migration will continue. There is nothing to be regretted on this account. If a negro can better his fortune moving, can find improved living and working conditions and a demand for what he can produce, he ought to be both allowed and encouraged to move. But an indiscriminate and hasty effort to bring large numbers of negroes into new territory to satisfy a temporary demand for common labor is not going to help either the negroes or the territory in the end, any more than such an effort with regard to aliens would be beneficial to America.

The communities to which negroes come therefore have duties equal to those of southern districts. They may discourage any effort to exploit negro labor and ask that negroes who desire to come to them be left to determine, without the interference of agents, the desirability of the move. Above all, these communities that are either realizing and soon will have to realize that they have a race problem of their own must seek to deal with the condition not simply as an economic, but as a humanitarian, question.

With the proper attention to the movement, a moderate shift of negro population from the South may be beneficial to all parties concerned.

VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
JUN

) TO CHECK NEGRO EXODOUS)

We read of opposition in the South to the migration of negroes into the North and of methods—some of a questionable character—to check such migration. If the South wants the negroes and the negroes prefer the South, there are just two means of keeping the bulk of them there. First, higher pay for their labor than they are now receiving, for it is mainly the lure of high wages that carries them northward second, better treatment than—in general—they now receive The Columbus, (Ga.), Enquirer-Sun even gives the second requisite first place, for, though recognizing that economics are concerned. It says:

"The negro does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him houses think that any sort of shack is good enough for the negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the negro fails to receive the proper attention.'

Speaking along similar lines, the Albany, Ga., Herald blames the Ku Klux Klan and those masquerading as Klansmen for the negroes' unrest and desire to go North, pointedly observing that no people like to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror which drives people to flee from it. Questionable methods may serve the purpose in some instances, but even in those only temporarily. There is no escape from the common-sense conclusion that the only way to hold the bulk of the blacks in the South is to make them contented and that the only way to make them contented is to pay them more and treat them better.

SALISBURY N. C. POST
MAY 21, 1923

NEGROES FLOWING THRU SALISBURY TO NORTHERN POINTS

Northbound Trains Carrying Extra Cars to Accommodate Exodus of Blacks From South.

There are visible signs and evidences of the exodus of negroes from the South to the North at the Southern railway passenger station here almost nightly, and more especially on Saturday and Sunday nights. Last Saturday night No. 32, arriving here shortly after 9 o'clock, carried two extra day coaches filled with negroes from points south, all being on their way to the north, and other trains have been carrying extra coaches to accommodate negroes from Southern points, all bound north, most of them to Pennsylvania, while a number are on their way to Ohio and West Virginia, and some few to other places in the North.

For some time there has been a movement of negro laborers—farm hands and others—from the South to the North, these people being allured there by promise of big wages and other considerations for work in steel mills, coal fields and construction work.

Railroad officials and others here have been noticing this increasing exodus of Southern negroes through Salisbury for some weeks and now at times, especially on Saturday and Sunday nights, it has taken on the nature of a general movement northward of these people. Some of the men are carrying their families with them but the great majority are traveling alone. It is the opinion of some that many of these are of shiftless class of negroes but there are known to be quite a number of steady workers, some of whom have come from the farms and others that have left construction work in the South to seek the high wages promised them in coal and steel centers of the North.

The number of negroes passing through Salisbury has not been estimated by men on duty at the passenger station, but the number is said to have now run up considerably. However, as yet there has been no noticeable departure of local negroes as a result of the campaign on to have them migrate to Northern centers.

Not only is this movement being made over the Southern but the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line roads are said to be getting a large business in this line. The campaign for negro laborers to go North is being waged for the most part by labor agents who are invading the South and the thing has reached the point where it is furnishing a serious problem to farmers and contractors engaged in large construction work throughout the South.

Not only are there many unskilled laborers in the number passing through Salisbury but it is said there are many skilled carpenters, bricklayers and concrete workers, as well as competent workers in other lines who are joining the movement northward.

There are various reason assigned for the campaign to have negro workers migrate to the North, one of these being that the ban on the landing of immigrants, after a certain percentage of any one nationality has been admitted to this country, is causing a labor shortage in the industrial centers of the North and the managements of these big plants are seeking to fill in the gap thus caused by inducing Southern negroes to go to these centers under promise of high wages and other tempting offers.

HIGH PEAK REACHED IN COLORED INFLUX

Immigration from South Shows Fourfold Increase with Most Coming Here

PROBLEM IS CRITICAL

Steps are being taken to cope with the increasing tide of colored immigration to the north from the south.

The usual spring migration has increased four fold this year, and a committee of social agencies of this city is at work upon the problem. A report will be made on Tuesday.

Serving upon this commission are representatives of the Travelers' Aid Society, the Philadelphia Housing Commission, the Armstrong Association and other welfare bodies. A committee of leading colored men and women is also busily endeavoring to make the absorption of their newly arrived brethren from the south more easy.

Since January more than 8,000 colored persons of both sexes and all ages have come to Philadelphia from Baltimore. That city is a distributing center for colored people from all over the southland.

The movement of the colored folk is the result of higher wages paid in the north, combined with a general tendency to get away from the cotton fields in which their ancestors labored. The situation is presenting a problem for southern mill owners and agriculturists, who look to the colored population for the bulk of their help.

The restrictions upon foreign immigration is making it surer than it would otherwise be for newcomers to find jobs. However, the health authorities are alert, as few of the colored people arriving here from the south have been vaccinated against small-pox, and stringent measures are being taken to prevent a spread of this disease.

More colored people are said to be migrating to Pennsylvania than to any other State, due to many opportunities here for employment in manufacturing and mining. They evidence a disinclination to labor in the fields. Farmers therefore are not benefiting to any extent.

Labor — 1923
Migration Move-ment.

32,000 Have Left Georgia, 26,000 South Carolina in a Year to Get Higher Wages; Other States Hit

NEW YORK HERALD
APRIL 29, 1923

THE newspapers of Thursday carried this item from Raleigh N. C.:

"Migration of more than 5,000 unskilled negro laborers to Richmond and Baltimore during the last week has necessitated the shutting down of more than fifty highway construction projects. Promises by employment agents of practically double the usual wage scale here for common labor have induced the negroes to migrate."

This means that five more regiments have joined the great army of negro laborers—an army of some 100,000—that has left the farms and factories of the South within the last year for the industrial centers of the North where the pay scale is from $5 to $12 a day. From Georgia alone have come 32,000 negro workers in the year.

This exodus has given the South a real problem. There it is admitted that the situation is critical—far worse than is realized. In Georgia one-sixth of the negro farm population is leaving, and a large majority will never return. It follows necessarily that the abandonment of acreage will be large.

"High industrial wages is given as the chief reason for the migration," says a Department of Agriculture bulletin. "Boll weevil conditions last year, which made cotton growing unprofitable for a number of negro farmers; unrest among returning negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from the farms during and after the war, and the breakdown of the contract labor system are given as contributory causes."

Began During the War, Great Increase of Late

This general movement of negro workers started early after the Allies and Germany began to wage war in 1914. The first call for Southern negroes was made by the Erie Railroad. Section hands and truckmen were needed to take the places of the foreign reservists who were summoned to the colors. An official of the road, who had spent much time in Florida, conceived the idea that he could utilize hundreds of loafing negroes he had seen about Jacksonville. A train load of colored men was carried to New York, where they were provided with bunk houses. These negroes were transported on "Erie slips," or little cards prepared for the occasion.

There followed a movement from Jacksonville and other communities that became so great that the city authorities tried to block it with an ordinance.

Other railroads followed suit. Soon trainloads were moving out of Georgia and other nearby States. As the boll weevil spread and became more destructive the negro migration increased. In 1870 the negro comprised 48.8 per cent. of the total population of Florida, but the last census showed he had dropped to 34, and the drop was rather sudden, going from 41 per cent. in 1910. In 1900 the per cent. of negro population in Jacksonville was 57.1, but by 1920 that had been reduced to 45.3. Other cities of the State showed a similar falling off. Restrictive laws, such as license permits for labor agents, stopped the flow of negroes from Florida for a time, but the agents were active in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Georgia, where efforts were made to stem the northward movement.

Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of the Howard University, who served during the war as special assistant to the Secretary of War advising in matters affecting colored troops and civilians, gave much thought to this negro migration.

"A most striking feature of the Northern migration was its individualism," he said in a report to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "This factor, after all, was economic. The economic motive stands among the foremost reasons for the decision of the group to leave the South. Except in a few localities of the South there was no actual misery or starvation. Discontent became more manifest as comparisons were made between the existing state of things at home and a much better state of things elsewhere.

Census Reports Show Shift of the Population

"Among the immediate economic causes of the migration were the labor depression in the South in 1914 and 1915 and the large decrease in foreign immigration resulting from the world war. Then came the cotton boll weevil in the summers of 1915 and 1916, greatly damaging the cotton crop over considerable area, largely in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and Florida, thus lessening greatly to unsettle farming conditions in the year 1917. There followed then the cotton price demoralization and the low price of this product during subsequent years. The negroes were generally dissatisfied because of the continued low wages which obtained in the South in spite of the increasing cost of living. Finally, there was a decided decrease in foreign immigration. The result was a great demand in the North for the labor of the negro at wages such as he had never received.

"Some planters in Alabama and Mississippi advised their tenants to leave, and even assisted them."

The census reports for 1920 show these changes in the percentage of negro population in southern States:

Alabama—45.2 per cent. of the total population in 1900 and 38.4 in 1920.

Arkansas—28.0 in 1900 and 27.0 in 1920.

Georgia—46.7 in 1900 and 41.7 in 1920.

Kentucky—13.3 in 1900 and 9.8 in 1920.

Louisiana—47.1 in 1900 and 38.9 in 1920.

Missouri—5.2 in 1900 and 5.2 in 1920.

North Carolina—33.0 in 1900 and 29.8 in 1920.

Oklahoma—7.0 in 1900 and 7.4 in 1920.

South Carolina—58.4 in 1900 and 51.4 in 1920.

Tennessee—23.8 in 1900 and 19.8 in 1920.

Mississippi—58.5 in 1900 and 52.2 in 1920.

Virginia—35.6 in 1900 and 29.9 in 1920.

Delaware—16.6 in 1900 and 13.6 in 1920.

West Virvinia—4.5 in 1900 and 5.9 in 1920.

The largest increases were noted in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California and Michigan.

The figures are:

New York—The negro population increased from 4.4 per cent. of the total in 1900 to 1.9 in 1920. The increase has been larger since.

Pennsylvania—Jumped from 2.5 per cent. in 1900 to 3.3 in 1920.

Ohio—From 2.3 to 3.2.

Illinois—1.8 to 2.8.

California—0.7 to 1.1.

Michigan—0.7 to 1.6.

The movement of the negro from the South to the North slowed down for a period after the world war but commenced to pick up again when business conditions improved. The demand for hands in the steel mills, coal mines and on railroads is very great. The northward drift is stimulated by negro papers and educators who believe it will be better for the country, the negro and the white people to have a more equal distribution of the colored population. In a letter to Judge Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, Emmett J. Scott has explained the viewpoint of prominent thinkers of his race. Writing April 17, Prof. Scott said:

"I have read with interest your statement reported in Associated Press dispatches this morning deploring alleged shortages of labor 'due principally to present immigration laws.' You are reported to have said that there is a great abundance of labor on the other side of the world that would be glad to come here and develop our American resources.'

"May I venture to say that there are in this country to-day twelve million colored people. Eight million of these twelve million are in the South. They are citizens of the Republic. They are tied to a one crop system and oppressed by economic conditions that hinder and prevent their fullest development and the enjoyment of the fullest American citizenship. They possess strong bodies and have a real patriotic attachment to American institutions. They are in position to supply the labor shortage to which you refer if plans are undertaken on a large and important scale to transfer them to centers where their services are needed. It seems unnecessary to look to foreign shores to supply any labor shortage that may exist in American industries when there is this large and sympathetic group within reach.

"These colored Americans are not aliens, they have never sought to disrupt the Government nor do they harbor Bolshevistic or anarchistic ideals. They are ready and willing to help develop the resources of their country.

"Will it not be possible for one circumstanced as you are to lend the weight of your great influence in opening larger economic opportunities for this group who are struggling under adverse conditions in the rural districts of the far South where lynching and peonage are practiced upon them with impunity? Your support of such a movement will be gratefully appreciated."

Reports of the Exodus From Different States

Realizing that very decided impetus had been given the exodus of farm labor from the South the Department of Agriculture made its survey. Questionnaires were sent out. The answers show that:

Three and five-tenths per cent. of the "whole body of negro farm workers" of Alabama has departed since the close of the last crop season. The causes for the change from Alabama were not stated.

Three and five-tenths per cent. (15,000) have quit Arkansas. Causes of exodus, principally economic, better wages and better housing conditions in the North. The report reads: "Boll weevil also a large factor, as in districts remote from town negroes have made a poor living for the last three years and have gone where weevil was less threatening or to cities and towns. Less than 1 per cent. of those gone to North are returning."

Two per cent. of "negroes living in or near farming communities in 1919" in Florida have moved to the North. This step was taken "as a result of soliciting or advertising. They have gone mostly from the northern part of the State along the Georgia line. Plenty of negro labor still in State for saw mills and mines. Can be lured back to farms only by farmers paying higher wages."

Kentucky, very little movement North; Louisiana, 1 per cent. of the total number of farm hands; Missouri and Oklahoma, no movement North reported.

Two and three-tenths per cent. of the "total negro population" has left Tennessee since April 7, 1922, the number being about 4,500.

Since last fall 22,750 negroes, 2.6 per cent. of the total negro population of South Carolina, has moved away. That gives the State more white than colored people for the first time in decades.

The survey of the Georgia situation is illuminating; the last twelve months were considered. The percentage moving North was 12.8 of the "total number of negro farm hands or laborers," amounting to 32,000. The information was gathered by questionnaires sent to correspondents, county school superintendents and county tax receivers.

Causes for exodus are:

First, boll weevil, and, second, high price of labor in industrial centers.

Contributing causes:

(1) Unrest caused by the war, felt particularly by returning negro troops, who have seen something of the world, higher wages and more attractive living conditions away from farms.

(2) Breaking down of the contract labor system, as under that system they could not leave employer after advances had been made, as had they done so they would have been arrested and brought back.

(3) Scandals in Jasper, Newton and other counties where negroes had been mistreated by white planters.

In 1921 the great central region of the State was cleaned out by the weevil, and about the same thing happened last year. Also yields of cotton last year in most of Georgia were too small to enable farmers to contract for labor, which had to hunt a living somewhere else.

A building report of recent date shows that in some cases the planters and Southern authorities are going to extremes to stem the movement. Telling of the efforts of Northern brick manufacturers to get negro labor since the immigration laws have cut off the Slavonic supply, it says:

"Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude Southern man power have been detained when about to entrain with their gangs of laborers for the North by ostensible process of police power, and while a hearing is in progress the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another, and finally the would-be employer returned without help. . . . By way of the 'underground,' somewhat similar to the famous slavery day routes, the North is being supplied, but not with the caliber of labor that the employer himself would pick out."

The Negro and the North.

The Chronicle has received from one of its patrons a note which is important as bearing on the migration of the negroe from the south, in that it shows that negroes who have gone away from this section are eager to get back to Georgia again.

Writing to the paper, under date of April 7th, Mr. Edward L. Summerau says:

"Enclosed you will find two letters from former farm hands of mine. They were persuaded by one of these vultures from the Northern States to go to the North, on the idea that there everything would be so different; life so easy, The more ignorant negroes are "falling" for this. Without a minute's notice these people left me for Philadelphia. They found that things there was not as had been pictured to them they would be. Now they beg to come back. There places are filled and I cannot give them back their jobs.

AUGUSTA GA CHRONICLE
APRIL 9, 1923

"You may publish this as a warning to the many colored men who are employed on the farms."

Both of the letters are from Philadelphia. The first is from Prudie Overton. She writes: "I have seen Joe and have talked to him. He says that he is sorry that he left you. I want to go back home to stay. I did not want to leave you, in the first place, but I could not stay by myself. Joe is now willing to stay with you till death. We are well, but I do not like it up here and I want to know if you will take us back. I hope to hear from you."

The other letter is from Joe Overton. He says, among other things; "I am doing all right, but I would rather come back home. If ever you need me, write me word and I will come back. Of course I know I did very wrong, but I thought that if I told you that you would be willing that I go away from you. Keep old Dain fat till I come back."

The aluring representations of the immigration agents deceive these colored people. Quickly enough after they reach their new homes, they realize the mistake they have made. Hundreds of them die in the frozen north. In many instances their corpses are brought back to the south for burial, but, for the most part, they find graves in a strange land, the cold and ices and freezes of which they cannot stand.

The negro belongs to the South. The Southern people are his best friends. He quickly realizes this immediately that he tries to settle down in the north. The South understands him. The north does not. He makes a wretched mistake when he listens to the secret immigration agent who fools him to go north—being paid so much per head for each negro he can induce to entrain for the North.

1,000 WORKERS LEAVE NORTH CAROLINA DAILY

More Than 2,000 Moved Out of Goldsboro Section Alone Is Report

The Afro-American
5-4-23

Migration of 5,000 unskilled colored laborers from the State during the past five days have paralyzed construction work in many localities, seriously threatened the ability of many farmers to cultivate a crop this year.

Two hundred colored men left Raleigh on four special cars Monday morning bound for Richmond and Baltimore. Reports from Hamlet declare that 350 Negroes recruited from construction and agricultural work in that section of the state left there on Sunday night. More than 2,000 have been assembled from the Goldsboro section and moved out over the Atlantic Coast Line, and several hundred have been shipped away from Wilmington.

An agent whose identity has not been established worked in Raleigh without license Saturday and Sunday, and left the city for parts unknown on yesterday. He was stopping at the Bland Hotel, and worked around the passenger station, and in other places where colored men are accustomed to congregate. Other agents have reported from various sections of the State.

Road Work Paralyzed

More than fifty State Highway Commission projects are shut down for the past several days and others are badly crippled.

The movement seems to widespread sprad and the result of concerted plan to recruit for construction work in northern cities.

Under the new State law any agent, firm or corporation is required to take out license in each county where he operates paying a fee of $200 in ach county.

Agents Ignore Law.

Apparently the law has been ignored by the agents, and police authorities have been equally oblivious to it. In Raleigh the agents, understood to represent the Baldwin Locomotive Works, worked openly in the streets. Two hundred tickets were sold to Negroes on Sunday, with the destination of each given as Richmond. Surplus workers are understood to be be directed to a large brick works near Richmond.

NEW YORK HERALD
MAY 2 1923

Shifting Negro Population.

Southern negroes are again on the move toward Northern jobs. Thirty-two thousand negro field hands, 13 per cent. of the original supply, are said to have left Georgia since last summer. At that rate the whole South has lost some 200,000 laborers. In North Carolina alone the departure of 5,000 unskilled negro laborers has resulted in shutting down fifty highway projects.

In spite of heavy northward migration during the war years the South still contained three-quarters of the negro population of the United States in 1920. That census was taken at the peak of the post-war boom. Scarcely was the count concluded when many thousands of blacks, out of work, hurried back home, where the sun shines on both sides of the fence in winter. The northward migration was again begun last summer during the shopmen's strike, and has been gradually gathering speed under the influence of rising industrial wages.

There are approximately 1,600,000 negro males between 18 and 44 years of age living in the South. Because of the negro's willingness to roam, this bloc constitutes a labor pool upon which industry draws in busy times by means of high wages. But that is a heavy blow at cotton production, for these Southern negroes are mostly country dwellers and plantation workers.

Cotton acreage must be reduced and cotton prices rise in proportion as negro labor leaves the fields There is no chance to substitute other labor, because the climate in the best cotton growing areas prohibits white men from protracted field work. Therefore cotton growing in Egypt and other competing areas will be stimulated, to the satisfaction of European spinners, who have long resented the virtual monopoly of the American South in cotton.

This shift in population has several other disturbing features. The coming of more negroes intensifies the housing problem in Northern cities. There are never quite enough houses for negroes. As a result they crowd over into white neighborhoods, a habit that frequently makes bad blood and leads directly to racial upheavals.

Another difficulty, from the standpoint of sociology, is that while the negro men come North the women tend to stay South. In 1920 there were 332,271 more negro women of marriageable age in the South than there were males. Unsatisfactory domestic relationships are certain to flow from this disproportion.

High wages are the magnet drawing negroes North. An unnatural labor shortage, caused by a stupid immigration law, creates a situation disturbing to the real advantage of the North. Short of admitting more ablebodied white men from Europe, there is no shutting off the current that robs the South of native labor without permanently benefiting the North. Given a chance, the North can find more assimilable neighbors and more efficient laborers in Europe than in North Carolina or Georgia.

The agricultural South should join the industrial North in working for the repeal of the 3 per cent. quota ac The interests of the two sections this matter are identical.

300 NEGRO MIGRANTS REACH NEW YORK CIT

Many to Help on N. Y.—N J. Vehicular Tunnel—Others to N. Y. Farms.

The World
5-24-23

About three hundred Negro migran from the South arrived in New Yo City coming over the Pennsylvan Railorad, Tuesday, April 1?.

Many of these laborers are to be e loyed in excavation work on the Ne York-New Jersey vehicular tunnel, starting in this city from Canal street.

Farms in upper New York State was the objective point of quite a number, while others went to various industrial points in New Jersey.

Some 3,000 migrants are expected to land in Pittsburgh, Pa., during this month, to seek work in the mills and mines in that city and the adjacent country.

In addition to these reports are to the effect that thousands from the South are making their way to far western points in search of an opportunity to labor and educate their children.

VALDOSTA, GA. Times.
MAY 9 1923

"RAIDING" NEGRO LABOR

According to Dow Service Daily Building Reports," "underground" methods similar to those of the days before the Civil War are being restored to by Northern manufacturers to entice and transport negro labor from the South, but the raiders are meetinng with difficulties, at some points Southern employers successfully interfering through a combination of legal subterfuges with persusasion or intimidation.

"Whole consignments of (negro) laborers are arranged for shipment North" says the authority named above, "but somehow they do not arrive. It is the rule rather than the exception, according to the experience of building material manufacturers, who at this time are striving particularly hard to keep a steady flow of brick and similar basic material coming to this market. Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude Southern man power have been detained when about to entrain their gangs of laborers for the North by ostensible process of police power, and, while a hearing is in process of being arranged, the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another, and finally the would be employer returned without help.

Whatever the legal view of this "raiding" or the forcible opposition to it, the latter may be accepted as inevitable. "Under ground" methods of securing and shipping negro labor are bound to be met by methods similarly questionable. An outstanding fact of interest in this connection is that after a century the negro is still an object of active contention between white men.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

N Y C POST
JUNE 14, 1923

Negroes Say Why They Leave the South

Feel That They Are Discriminated Against in Many Ways and Even Their Lives Are Not Safe

The following statement, taken from the *National Republican*, has been issued by a committee of representative negroes of Jackson, Miss.:

Having been informed that the object of your meeting is to take steps to try to stay the present exodus of negroes from the State of Mississippi and being ourselves property holders, citizens of the State and most deeply interested in the future welfare of the commonwealth, realizing that anything that is detrimental to the common good of the State is equally detrimental to us, and being negro citizens ourselves, we beg to submit the following as a few of the many reasons which cause the negro to be so easily induced to leave his native State:

(1) The negro feels that his life is not safe in Mississippi, and that it may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation, by a white man.

(2) The record filibuster, vote and defeat by the Southern representation in the last Congress of the Dyer anti-lynching bill has caused the negro to believe that the South is irrevocably determined to perpetuate therein lynch-law and mob violence.

(3) The negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section. He has lost faith, and a few of the following facts all tend to force him to this conclusion:

(a) While he realizes that the law on its face is fair, yet he feels that when it comes to an application of the law to him, only too often it is but a dead letter.

(b) He realizes the fact that though he is equally taxed with the white man that he gets only too often but few of its benefits, and that while all school money, under the law, should be divided equally, that he gets only about one-twentieth of his share, or, in other words, for every dollar spent for the education of the negro child in the State of Mississippi there are about $20 spent for the education of the white child.

(c) That there are more than one thousand high schools in the State for whites, while there is but one such public school in the State maintained for negroes.

(d) That though there are about eight hundred consolidated rural schools in the State for whites, there is not one for negroes.

(e) That though more than $100,000 is spent monthly for the transportation of white children to and from school, not one dollar is spent for negro children in this way.

(f) That the wage paid negro teachers is wholly insufficient to induce competent teachers, as a rule, to teach negro schools.

(g) That though all schools for whites are built out of the common fund, raised by the taxation of both white and black, the negro is called upon by the State, through its representative, to solicit charity, to build his own little meagre schoolhouse out of his own personal funds, supplemented by philanthropy wherever he may perchance find it.

(h) Though there are fifty-odd agricultural high schools supported by the State for whites, there is not one such school in the State for negroes.

(i) That though the State has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth at a cost of more than $1,000,000 and spends $30 per month per capita upon each white derelict youth to bring him back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent in this way for the reformation of the negro derelict, but he is thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals, only to be made worse in an effort to make the negro derelict a revenue producer for the State.

(j) That though the State has spent several millions in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the State, yet there is not one place whatever in the State where the negro may go and receive treatment for this great malady, notwithstanding the fact that the negro is said to be more subject to this disease than the white.

(k) That though the State has spent several million dollars for white feeble-minded children and though the negroes are in the majority in the State, not one dollar has been spent to aid the feeble-minded negro youth.

(l) The capacity and support of Alcorn College are not one-tenth what they should be, the State itself contributing less than 5 cents per capita negro population for the higher education of negroes. Though there are several colleges and a State Normal College maintained by the State alone for whites, no such institutions are maintained for negroes as such, Alcorn being a Morill land grant school, a Federal Government school, intended to be the equal of Starkville A. and M. College, but has not had one-tenth of the support heretofore given that great institution.

(m) The State maintains and supports an institution for the white blind and has for the past forty-odd years, but none for negroes.

(n) It appears that almost innumerable negro tenant farmers charge their landlords with either no settlement or an unfair settlement, and many of these negroes after appealing to both State and Federal authorities in vain have given up in despair and sought other climes, some of them charging that a state of peonage exists in certain sections of the State and that the rule largely obtains that a tenant cannot leave a landlord's plantation until he can get some one to buy him out by the payment of any debt claimed by the landlord—under an old State statute—the landlord being sole judge of how much is necessary to release his tenant, and it is said that this "debt" is only transferred oftentimes to other landlords from time to time, thereby causing this "debt system" to serve as a kind of a perpetual ball and chain around the necks of many tenant farmers of those sections.

(o) The negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of several dozen negroes of probity. That public improvements, as a rule, are not made in those sections o[f] towns and cities occupied by negroes.

(p) No landlord should be permitted to sell his tenant's crop, but should be forced by law to deliver to him in kind.

(q) The State of Mississippi sent more negro soldiers to the World War than white, but the negro boys on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the State and Government which they fought to defend than the German enemy whom they helped to stay from American soil.

(r) The negro generally finds himself wholly excluded from all jury service whatsoever and from all participations whatsoever in the State and national Government under which he lives. . . .

(s) In our humble judgment there is no hope whatever of bringing back the negroes who have already left the State, but the only hope now lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of those who are here.

The negroes feel that most of the foregoing facts are in a measure true throughout the South.

BANKERS REPORT 228,938 NEGROES IN LABOR EXODUS

President Peters Gives Detailed Figures and the Causes for Migration to North and East.

55,524 PLOWS IDLE, LABOR SUPPLY SHRINKS

48 Per Cent of Counties of State Report That Exodus Is Still on Increase in Their Sections.

Within the past three and a half years, 228,938 negroes have migrated from Georgia to the north, according to figures just compiled by the Georgia Bankers Association and given out for publication Saturday.

This total is arrived at from a compilation of reports by counties recently secured by the association, and, as James S. Peters, president, points out, is probably conservative, due to the fact that it was gathered by bankers who are rated as a class for that characteristic.

During the first six months of 1923, 77,500 negroes have left the state and, for the same period, 29,513 white people have deserted the farms of Georgia, the figures show. As a result of this exodus from the rural communities, the report continues, 46,674 farm dwellings in Georgia have been left vacant, and estimating thirty acres to the plow, there are 55,524 idle plows. Labor shortage on the farms, as estimated by the same questionnaire, was 70,843 on June 15.

Conditions Vary.

Forty-one per cent of the counties reporting stated that conditions locally are improving, 11 per cent reported them unchanged, while in 48 per cent, the exodus continues at a steadily accelerated rate.

President Peters, of Manchester, who conducted the enquiry, commented upon its results as follows:

"This is a condition and not a theory. Our figures substantiate in a very large measure the inquiry made under supervision of Dr. Andrew M. Soule, of the state college of agriculture, conducted under similar condition. He found that approximately 86,000 negroes had left Georgia, while our inquiry discloses 77,500. The difference might be explained by the tendency on the part of bankers to be more conservative in their estimate.

"In addition to the number who have left since the first of January, should be added those who left during the years of 1920-21-22, making in all 228,938, a number larger than the population of the city of Atlanta. The fact that more than one-third of those have left within the past three months indicates that the exodus is on the increase. Should the present rate continue during the remainder of the year, the number of negroes leaving Georgia this year will equal the population of one of our congressional districts, or ten of our average middle Georgia counties.

Rail Ticket Statistics.

"Our reports indicate that railroads in one of the cities of the state have sold more than 5,000 tickets to negroes going to the industrial north and east since January 1 of this year. This number, of course, was included in the totals mentioned above. When we take into consideration that the negro population in Georgia increased only 80,000 from 1910 to 1920, it brings to our attention the fact that the negro population of Georgia now is possibly less than it has been since 1890. It seems apparent that this will continue so long as conditions here remain as they are at present and the industrial north and east offer higher wages and better living conditions.

"It is useless to talk about labor agents or undertake to legislate against their activities. It did not require labor agents to take from Ireland almost one-half of her population and transplant them on the shores of North America. Superior living conditions and better wages did this. It was often said that if Ireland could stop letter-writing between the Irish

high wages, good living quarters, schools and other superior living conditions, and I find in many instances that those who have gone ahead are sending money back to their families and friends to cover their transportation 'up north.'

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South Needs Negro.

"I believe that the negro had rather remain in the south, and the south needs him. We are his best friends and he is our best source of labor supply. He knows how to farm under southern conditions. He will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any people save the Oriental coolie. How can we keep them? That is largely a local question. However, some of the things we must do which apply to the state at large have been suggested from time to time by leaders of both the black and white race, and I repeat them here for emphasis.

"First. Wages must necessarily increase to par with those of the north and east with proper allowance for the difference in the cost of living. It may be said that we cannot pay the wages offered by the industrial centers, and if this is true then the emigration will continue until the over-supply either brings down the wage level in the north and east or the supply here justifies an increase.

"Second. Living conditions in the negro section of our towns and cities must be improved by the authorities and in this connection it might be well to add that little effort, if any, has been put forth heretofore in taking care of the sanitary conditions of negro communities. As a result, few of the streets are in good condition and too often we find them covered with cans and other rubbish. Very few of them have water, lights, gas and telephone and other community conveiences. Already has come to my attention an instance where the mayor of a middle Georgia town has cleaned up the negro section and worked out the streets, this being the first time that such has occurred in the history of the town.

Education Facilities.

"Third. Our educational facilities must be increased. Although we may have a few who cling to the idea that we should not educate the negro, at the same time, no good can come out of his illiteracy, and the sooner we establish suitable normal and industrial schools for the training of negro boys and girls the better it will be for Georgia. The negro's illiteracy today explains the fact that Georgia, with the exception of South Carolina, ranks higher in illiteracy than any state in the union.

"I believe that the forthcoming session of the Georgia legislature should establish a commission with suitable power and funds to establish at a convenient point in the state a real industrial school where negro boys and girls can be trained along industrial lines at a minimum expense. This, and other measures should be put into effect to retard emigration and assist leaders of the colored people to keep their people in the south.

"That most of the negroes have left the farming section of our state is evidenced by the fact that in traveling through the middle part of Georgia, either on the railroad or public highway, you will see thousands and thousands of acres of land and farm dwellings lying vacant. The land is growing up in weeds and the farm dwellings deterioriating. Those lands should have brought in 1919 from $40 to $75 per acre, and today there is no demand for them at all. In fact, you cannot lease them for taxes. A large percentage of them are covered with mortgages and the owners are not able to pay the interest.

Question of Justice.

"Fourth, I quote from an address delivered on June 19 by Alex R. Lawton to the University of Georgia alumni at Athens:

"'It is not race pride or race interest, but race prejudice augmented by want of character, that brings the negro injustice as between man and man. If I yielded to a natural reluctance to admit distasteful truths. I could not conceal from you the tendency far too frequent with far too many individuals to deal unfairly in business transactions with the negro because he is helpless. It is manifested in some shopkeepers (particularly those who give credit) and with some farmers in their dealings with negro tenants. It is an appreciable degree more difficult for a negro than a white man to obtain justice in some of our courts, whether on the civil or criminal side, I do not believe that judges are subject to this criticism.'

"This statement is rather mild and one of the conditions which we must overcome is that the negro is not now conceded a fair and square deal in all transactions.

Trail of Destruction.

"The exodus of the negro has left in its trail a destruction—silent, but as great as that wrought by the march of Sherman's army from Atlanta to the sea. However, in addition to this, it must not be forgotten that our report indicates that 29,513 white people have left the farm since January 1 of this year and we regret that we were not able to secure satisfactory information as to the number of white farmers who left the farm during the preceding three years. As a result of the exodus of the negroes to the north and of the white people to the cities, we now have vacant 46,676 farm dwellings in Georgia and 55,524 idle plows.

"Based upon a production of $500 to the plow, which is very low, you will observe that Georgia's loss of wealth from her farms this year will amount to the sum of more than $27,000,000, and in a decade to more than $250,000,000. This will be a tremendous loss in wealth to the merchants, jobbers railroads and other business interests of the state."

INDIANAPOLIS IND NEWS
JUNE 4, 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION

Southern comments on the great negro migration have been mostly expressions of regret or alarm at the exodus, though there has been some effort to discover the causes of it with a view to removing them. Of these comments one of the most notable is a letter to the Philadelphia Public Leger written by Wilson Jefferson, a southerner now living in Philadelphia. It is as follows:

A white physician, Dr. W. W. Terreld, living in McDuffie county, Georgia, recently wrote a very frank letter to a Georgia newspaper on the menace to the south of the present widespread migration of the negro to the north.

This letter is perhaps the boldest statement that has come from a native southerner since this latest movement began. The writer puts the whole question up to the south and makes a few unexpected indictments and admissions.

"One thing is sure," he writes, "our own people are not going to do the work that the negro has been doing for them until they are forced by hunger to do it.

"Right here in this (McDuffie) county possibly half of the farms that were cultivated by negro labor two years ago are now uncultivated. Many farmers here who had their crop all 'pitched,' guano bought and lands prepared, are without labor, the negroes having left them within the last two weeks and they continue to go.

"However, the worst of it is our people seem to be indifferent. Where their labor has left them they sell out their stock and prepare to sit down and do nothing.

"All in all, I see nothing but hard times for these people until many of them who are idle now, who will not go out to their farms and work, see a new light—or others come in here and put some new life into the old land."

These are the facts as a competent observer, genuinely interested in his own people, sees them. A few explanatory facts as to actual conditions back of these charges may be of interest to some people who happen not to live in the lower south.

Before I came to Philadelphia I lived in a southern town of about 45,000 population. This town, like most other southern cities, was the center of a fertile countryside that devoted its activities solely to cotton.

Out from the town, in all directions, were endless cotton plantations, with endless one and two-room shanties for the tenants, and apparently an endless supply of negroes to fill these shanties. A few white farm owners lived on these plantations—just a few. A great many lived at some railway junction or station village, perhaps ten or fifteen miles distant. The more prosperous ones lived farther away still, in some such larger town as I have described.

Now the whole prosperity of this community—and I believe it is typical of the entire lower south—rested solely on this one crop—cotton—and the success of the cotton crop rested almost entirely upon the hardihood and enterprise of the negro tenants. And what was more, the landowners' enthusiasm for this one crop seemingly pushed out of their heads all consideration for even their most elementary needs along other crop lines. In a bad cotton year things were bad all around because nothing else had been planted.

Corn and oats were imported from other sections to feed the stock; salt pork or bacon was brought in by the car load to feed the hands on the farm; even the molasses that went with the "corn pones" came all the way from Louisiana—some 700 miles distant. The butter that graced the table of the farm owner came from Indiana or Tennessee; the milk that flavored his coffee came out of a can that was packed in Indianapolis!

Now these are the conditions—with occasional slight local variations—which are really responsible for the present unprecedented migration of negroes.

The south has put too great a burden on one class—and virtually its only class—of workers, and it has put too much dependence upon a single crop—cotton. It has not learned how to be even partially self-supporting and independent.

Is it to be marveled at then, that the black man is now glad to get away from these inhospitable conditions and get for himself a job that will pay him a decent fixed wage? The only reason why he has not left the south before this is that he has not had as enticing an opportunity.

It follows naturally that no class of "alien" white laborers would be willing to move to the south and work under such unfavorable living conditions. If some of the comparatively poor, idle and semi-idle whites who now infest the south will get down to the actualities of the situation and go to work, the whole section will be immeasurably better off.

NEW HAVEN CONN UNION
MAY 27, 1923

TO CHECK NEGRO MIGRATION TO NORTH.

The editor of the Standard Advertiser (colored) of Durham, N. C., in commenting on this very live subject, has had the following to say, which will be of interest to all my readers:

This question has become very serious. You cannot take up a newspaper without seeing something bearing on it. From present indication, it will be much more serious. It is serious because of the season of the year. This is the time when labor is greatly in demand, not only in the cities but on the farm and all other public works. I love the south, and I have lived in the north; hence I know of both sections. The south is the better place for the Negro His material progress is a great deal better, and his opportunity for education is becoming better each day. The men who are controlling the south are not the old ex-slave holders, and in many states, not even their children, . . . The white man has the money—he is the law maker—he controls the courts, and it is hard to make him see that he is dealing with a new south and a new Negro. The young white man and the young Negro cannot remain together, unless there are radical changes. These changes must take place with both characters. The Negro must know just what he can do, and what he can say. He is not leaving the south on account of its economic conditions as he is laborer by nature, and for two reasons is leaving the south and going north. First: He has lost confidence in many of the southern white men. Second: The gross violation of their simple civil rights. . . .

The Negro is asking for better treatment before the courts. When this new Negro is accused of crime and brought before the courts, he does not want you to look at his complexion, but the Crime and the Law He wishes to be tried in keeping with the law.

Now, the way to check this migration to the north, is for the new south and the new Negro to have a better understanding. To bring about this, there must be conferences held by the leaders of the two races. Not large numbers but a few level headed white men, who know the Negro and his worth to the south as a laborer—and a few conservative colored men, who know the white man. Let them talk face to face on this subject. Find out what they are expecting from a Negro, and what the Negro is expecting from from them. . . . The Negro also feels that this element among the "whites" who claim to be his friend ought to have sufficient moral courage to speak in his behalf. When this is done, there will be radical changes in the south, and not only will the Negro who is going north every day, turn his face towards the south, but many of those who have been there for years, will be glad to come home.

LABOR COMING BACK.

Situation Much Brighter Than the Tate County Farmers Anticipated.

Commercial

SENATOBIA, Miss., Dec. 29.—The labor situation, which at one time had a gloomy outlook for Tate County, has improved within the past few weeks. A good many of the tenants who removed to other states have returned, and many who contemplated moving have contracted with the farmers for next year. Those who went away and came back are much better satisfied, and say they are here to stay. As one put it, "Tate County is good enough to live and die in." One family that moved to a northern state had just enough money to get to the railroad station, and from that point they walked out to their old place, carrying all they had as "pack peddlers" used to do. Many of the farmers report that they are turning off laborers who want to contract with them for next year. The financial situation in the county is much better than the business men and farmers thought at one time this fall. The county gathered 5,000 bales of cotton, and a good part of the crop was marketed at the high prices. More corn was gathered than was counted. Then the dairy business in the county seems to have been the principal factor in carrying the farmers through. Just as an example, a farmer stated today that he made only one bale of cotton with two horses and it took all of this to pay his account; but that he was milking six cows, feeding them on hay that he cut, corn meal ground from corn that he raised, and pasturing them in the cotton fields and free range, and that he was selling $10 worth of cream a week from the herd at no expense whatever. On this amount he and his family could live well throughout the winter months. Poultry is also helping many of the farmers over the hard places. Eggs have been selling for 30 cents a dozen for some time. There has been only one or two deeds of trust closed out and the merchants are handling the situation successfully.

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

CAUSES UNDERLYING EXODUS OF NEGROES.

We have figured upon causes underlying the exodus of Negroes from the South with some care. We have met them enroute and talked to them in order to get first hand information. It has been possible even to us living in the very midst of these people, to find out that deep down beneath industrial conditions and aside from them and aside from poor tenement provisions, poor sanitary arrangements, poor educational facilities and discriminations as to wages, there are other causes.

Among these causes is the cultivated disposition of our white friends in their relaton to the Negro, that issues forth at every approach of the colored brother to a white citizen. The absolute absence of the congenial smile; the look of hatred or derission or the repelling word. There are exceptions to the rule both in individuals and in localities but it is generally the rule. On the street cars, on passenger cars, on the streets and even in business places conducted by either white men or colored men, one will note the appearance of this revolting characteristic. The more intelligent the Negro grows, the more the fact dawns upon him that he is persona non grata, if judged by facial expressions, to his white brother at the South. In the stores,, though bent upon making purchases, this spirit bobs up and whether our intents be wicked or charitable, like "Banquo's Ghost," this peculiar, cultivated characteristic "will not down." There seems to be an innate—not hatred—but a hidden something that congests the faces of our white people, or some of them, as soon as a Negro appears before them or in their presence.

The Negro is tired of this kind of treatment because it forces upon him the belief that his white brother is always ready to pounce upon him if he does something or if he does nothing. There are other things that are baneful and unnecessary. White collectors, insurance agents and the like, minor city or county officials, exercise no respect at all for colored people in many instances. Their manner of address is not in keeping with the progress of the age and it is not changed whether such persons come to collect on installment furniture or to solicit patrons for industrial insurance companies, or to importune votes for bond elections, it is the same old method of address that obtained in ante-bellum days. On street cars, most of the time, Negroes are treated as if they are poison. Many of the conductors make it a practice to deal with them roughly whether they act with decorum or whether they act rudely. In fact, often, the rougher a Negro appears to be, the better he gets along with some conductors of cars.

There is a changed tendency among the children that indicates a growing disposition to be hostile to the Negro. And this is the worst part of the situation. On the streets where groups of white children are assembled it is the exception rather than the rule that the little fellows fail to meddle with pedestrains or in case of Negro men driving automobiles, that they do not purposely, run across the streets. Sometimes, fatal accidents result from these causes and distorted evidence, lands them in jail or forces from them heavy fines. These are some of the underlying causes of many of the more intelligent Negroes leaving the South—these are some of the causes underlying the leaving of many of the less intelligent yet thoughtful. These causes can be removed withtout expense. These causes should be removed here and now.

On railway trains in the South there is separate accomodations but equal fares. It would not matter about the separate apartments if the accommodation was equal for the Negro is as bitterly opposed to social intermingling as the white man is. He is more so because the laws of eustom make him feel apprehensive of trouble even when such fear is not warranted. The Negro, however, would have better accommoation for his money as a matter of simple justice and as an equitable business transaction. He gets this accommodation at the North if he has the money. He can get sleeping car accommoation if he has the money. He can get dining car accommodation if he has the money. And he gets a smile if his service merits it and this is the cheapest class of remuneration and everybody's check will clear on the "bank of smiles."

Down at Albany a fortnight ago, the white people and the colored people held a mass meeting for the purpose to check, if possible, the imigration of Negroes from the great cotton fields of Dougherty County and South-west Georgia. The bigger problems which confront us were discussed. The social, industrial and economic conditions were discussed and all of the attendants were of the same mind with reference to them. We agreed with them. All men agree with them. That we need better schools, better wages, political privileges and all of the rights which should come to good citizens. We agree that the Negro of a right should not be discriminated against in the avenues of trades and the like and we have from time to time, stressed these facts. But there is a much cheaper something that lightens labor—that gives vitality to the body and elasticity to the muscles. That something gives joy to the heart; makes more palatable the meal. It is the recognition of the manhood rights of the Negro—the memory of the fact that he is human; that though he is a black man, he is a man; that he has a heart and a conscience—has feelings, breathes and thinks and remembers and apprciates. He loves his home, his children. He loves his native land and "while the kid turns on the spit," he will still love his native land, its people, many of the customs and traditions. He loves the smiles of a people though he seldom gets them though he has paid for them dearly—paid for them with unparalleled faithfulness—with consistent and persistent service. Yes—he loves the South. He loves it for the further fact that herein are the "ashes of his fathers and the temple of his God." Then, why not let break the smile that knocks asunder sorrow and invites joy and peace and permanency?

Negroes Going North

The first general migration of negroes from the South to the North came after the outbreak of the World war. That movement slowed down, and even a considerable number returned, but now a second and even more significant tide is running steadily toward the Northern industrial centers. The department of agriculture became interested and made a study of the effect on agriculture of the South. According to its report 32,000 farm hands have left Georgia, 22,700 South Carolina, 15,000 Arkansas, 10,000 Alabama, and other Southern states in proportion. There has not been a direct movement from the cotton fields to Northern factories. The more usual course is for factory-trained negroes to go North from Southern industrial centers, such as Birmingham, and for farm hands to flow in to take their places. The cause of the exodus is a shortage of labor in the Northern industrial centers produced by restricted immigration, and the better wages held out there as an inducement.

When Chairman Gary of the Steel Corporation spoke of the need of more immigrants to meet labor demands Prof. Scott of Howard university (colored), Washington, sent him a telegram saying that he could draw on 8,000,000 colored laborers of the South. J. M. Gibbs, secretary of the North Carolina Pine Association, challenged Prof. Scott to point out the labor supply referred to. His association, he said, employed 60,000 negroes in six Southern states, "and at no time within the past six months have we had a surplus of labor." Declaring the situation worse than it was even three months ago he added that owing to a shortage of labor "none of the mills is running to full capacity," and that "what is true of the lumber industry is also true in other industries in the states named." The U. S. employment bureau at Columbia, S. C., stated that the labor situation in that state "is the most serious in many years if not in the history of the state." It was added that labor is short for all kinds of work, and that labor agents from Northern sections have been working throughout the state inducing negroes to leave, and getting from $5 to $7.50 a head for each laborer sent out. The commissioner of labor of North Carolina reported that a labor shortage on the farms of that state was felt, due to exodus of negroes to the North, but not so much as in other sections of the South.

Southern farmers, business men and others have become alarmed at the steady loss of their cheap labor supply, and conferences have been held to consider means to check it. At Birmingham negro editors and preachers joined forces with the large employers of labor to solve the problem. The scale of pay in the mills and mines there has been constantly boosted during the last six months until it is only slightly under what it was during the boom period of

the war.

Negroes have already greatly profited in both South and North from the growing demand for their labor, and they have not failed to demand better conditions as well as higher wages. President Moton of Tuskeegee Institute said: "Attention is more and more being focused upon general social conditions for the negro in the South, on the facts of lynching, mob violence, inadequate educational facilities, the lack of civic improvements, such as light, water, sewerage and police protection." The increased numbers of negroes in the North, he pointed out, will enable them to operate whole sections of industries "in defiance of the objections of labor unions which have as yet not shown a very cordial attitude toward negro labor, in spite of the official pronouncement of the American Federation of Labor to the contrary." He declared that, on the whole, the negro would prefer to remain in the South "where the climate is agreeable and the ties of sentiment are strongest, and where negro life has attained a development not equaled among negroes in any other section of the country." He added however, that the negroes had not suffered from the northern climate.

Opening Southern Eyes.

One of the effects of the continuing migration of Negroes from various parts of the South, especially from the country districts, to northern and western cities, has been to open the eyes of discerning white Southerners to the onerous conditions which have promoted this movement and still keep it alive. Frequently the admission of the causes which have led to the present hegira, is unintentional and dropped by the way, in the course of an argument. This was illustrated in a letter written by a white resident of Tupelo, Miss., and printed in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, discussing the question of immigration and labor.

The writer of this letter, W. F. Campbell, evidently differed with the capitalistic notions favored by the head of the steel trust and the owner of the New York *Herald* as to the advisability of letting down the bars to foreign immigration. He started out by asking such pointed questions as "Have we not had quite enough immigration from the slums and crime beds of Europe?" "Have we not ignorance and crime enough as it is?" "We have more traitors, Reds, Communists and bolsheviks now than we can control. Why invite more?" He suggested that if "our Negroes" continue their Northern migration, there being no law to prevent it, "why not replace them with our own decent, self-respecting, law-abiding Americans." But even this white writer from Tupelo realized that "decent, self-respecting, law-abiding Americans" would be rather shy of seeking homes in Mississippi, where the black tenant farmers are robbed of their shares of the crops as well as their suffrage. So he added this injunction: "Make the conditions right and watch them flock to it, but they will not accept what even Negroes can no longer stand."

This candid admission is an involuntary tribute to the long suffering endurance of the black people of the South who are now striving toward the light. If the conditions were made right for them, they would not be abandoning the farms and plantations of the South to seek work in the industries of the North. Southern eyes are slowly opening to the verities of the situation.

A further contribution to this process of opening the eyes of the white South to the real causes of unrest among the Negroes was made in the *Commercial Appeal* by the publication of an article by the Rev. T. O. Fuller, head of the Howe Institute of Memphis. In a calm and dispassionate manner Dr. Fuller, who does not favor abandoning the South as a place to live, detailed his efforts to get at the real facts and conditions. Among other things he said:

> One Negro farmer suggested that the causes are external and internal. As to the external he mentioned higher wages in northern industrial centers, better housing and living conditions, better schools, the influence of relatives already gone, recognition of citizenship and the ever present labor agent who spreads propaganda to create unrest that he may fill his contracts for laborers. He said that it would hardly be possible to stop those who had already made up their minds, but it was possible to institute such reforms and create such conditions that would prevent others from making up their minds.
>
> The internal conditions, he said could be remedied by a definite programme speedily adopted and vigorously carried out. Among other things he said: 1. Let the rural south lengthen the school terms, build better school houses, and employ better teachers. Besides, encourage education among Negroes, rather than discourage it. 2. Land owners are nonresidents he said, having moved to Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans, leaving the tenants and laborers at the mercy of cruel farm bosses, who abuse and exploit the Negroes without mercy or justice. The farm bosses show a preference for the shiftless and improvident classes and make it hard for the thrifty, who wish to get up in the world. He said they were maltreated on the slightest provocation and made to get along with the same discomforts as the shiftless class. These conditions could easily be remedied, he said, and a long step toward quieting the unrest would be taken. It is the thrifty Negro on the farm, in the towns, and in the cities who dislikes to change his residence because he realizes what a loss is entailed in breaking up and moving.

Dr. Fuller's article was commended by the *Commercial Appeal* editorially as coming from one speaking "without prejudice and without passion and what he suggests to the white people on matters of current importance should be heeded." The *Commercial Appeal*, while claiming that "locally the lot of Negro has been satisfactory," said:

> There is one thing yet to be desired, while the Memphis Negroes are no longer exploited by the vicious white people and by the vicious dives and from gambling, it is still a fact that many of them are dragged through magistrates' courts and are exploited by loan sharks and other such gentry.
>
> A law-abiding Negro should have the protection of the law, his property should be his own and his home should be his castle. It is just as bad to break into a Negro's house without a warrant as into the home of any other citizen.

The process of opening the eyes of the white South can be materially advanced by such candid discussion of the question as that promoted by the *Commercial Appeal*.

Prominent Negro Leader Points to Danger Signals In Exodus Movement

Editor Constitution: I wish I was close enough to A. P. Teel, of Morris, to shake his hand, for I thoroughly endorse his article in Sunday's Constitution. He has the situation well examined.

I have prayerfully studied the situation and I find no middle ground. I am against this migration movement on fundamental grounds. It is well nigh impossible for large numbers of people to break up, move and resettle without incurring serious dangers. My people are not wise, as I see it, and the lust for money may undermine all those virtues and accomplishments which money can not buy.

From such survey as I have been able to make, they are profiting financially and educationally but otherwise they are losing most heavily.

First, the congested living conditions in the north will eventually give us a race of consumptives. There is no way to escape it.

Second, added to these congested living conditions must be recorded the atmosphere of moral levity and unrestrained laxity which will give us a race of moral weaklings, and such spells finish to any race or people.

Third, the northern religious conceptions for the negro on the whole are anything but Biblical. The Holy Sabbath is not respected and the "old-time religion" is mighty scarce.

Money does not save people and build them up permanently, but the Christian religion does. Moral training, religious teaching and family devotion are greatly lacking in the north.

Then too, those who are leaving are leaving sad spectacles here at home. Our churches are wrecked and our schools are suffering and a spirit of restlessness is engendered which taxes the wisdom and patriotism of the greatest among us. In this connection let me remind those who are leaving to leave things straight behind them so they can come back if they have to.

Pay up your debts and leave friends among white and black.

Here are some things white people can do:

If our people leave you, let it not be on your account. Treat them right. I have faith in my white neighbors. Things seem to be changing for the better. There always will be tough ones in both races whom we will be called upon to apologize for and we wish so much we could weed them out, but about all we can do is to curb them and keep them under restraint. I wish to commend our state for efforts she has put forth to curb lynching and lawlessness. Their fruits are already ripening. Our courts are becoming fairer, our judges firmer, juries more honest and life safer. God be praised and let the good work go on.

There is one loose screw that our white people should tighten and that is they should respect the better class of negroes more than they do and secure them from humiliation, inconvenience and unnecessary hardships. There is a difference between the two classes of negroes, just as there is between the whites. Let us strive to keep the best negroes here. The other class will come back when they run out. I fear for them if the bars of immigration are ever lowered again.

D. D. CRAWFORD.

Executive Secretary of the General Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia.

Atlanta, Ga., May 21, 1923.

ABANDON MANY FARMS IN STATE

College of Agriculture Estimates Place Number Who Have Left Farms at 100,000.

Athens, Ga., May 21.—(Special.)—An estimated total of 100,000 persons or the equivalent of the population of a city the size of Macon, is the number of white and black Georgians who have left farms in this state since last January 1. Of this number the greater part is composed of black citizens, although the number of whites who have abandoned the farms is placed at above 18,000. These astonishing figures and others were compiled by county agents throughout Georgia, grouped at the Georgia State College of Agriculture and given to the public through newspaper correspondents for the first time late Monday afternoon, by Dr. Andrew M. Soule, president of the institution.

In addition to the large number of individuals who have left Georgia farms—and the most of these have even left the state, it is found that 11,840 farms have been abandoned in Georgia since the first of last January. Placing the very low average productive value on each of these farms of $175, the average for the whole United States last year, it is seen that the loss in farm production in Georgia in less than five months is $5,972,000.

The actual number of negroes who have left Georgia within the five months is estimated to be 68,960, and attributing to each of these negroes the ability to make one dollar a day, the productive value of the population that has left this state in five months would in the course of a year amount to more than $25,000,000.

Labor Leaving Bullock Says Midway Citizen

M. W. Britt, prominent planter of Midway in Bullock county reports negro labor leaving that county. He says he still has plenty of labor on his farms. He only reports Saturday morning sixteen negroes bought tickets at Midway for Northern points. Most o them, he says, went to New York.

"I believe the labor situation in this section is going to be serious in the near future," said Mr. Britt. "While personally I am not experiencing trouble for labor yet, negroes are leaving my section rapidly. They are going to the northern centers where the day wages are high. It is just a question of time before the South is going to feel the effects of the negro hegira, unless it stops.

Mr. Britt says his section is getting entirely too much rain for the good of the crops. He says, however, he expects the weather to clear in time to make a crop. He does not look for a crop failure on account of the rains.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

N. Y. C. SUN
JULY 11, 1923

Southern Negroes Here to Stay.

Governor E. LEE TRINKLE of Virginia is alarmed at the continued migration of negro laborers from the South to the North, but he consoles himself with the reflection that some day they will all come home again. "The Southern negro will not stay long in the North," he says. "He does not, never has, and never will fit into the scheme of things in the North. . . . In the majority of cases, sooner or later, he returns to the South."

Census figures do not bear out Governor TRINKLE in this statement. In the years from 1900 to 1920 there has been a steady decline in the proportion of negroes to whites in the South and a correspondingly rapid increase in the North. In Alabama the percentage of negroes fell during these two decades from 45.2 to 38.4, in Kentucky from 13.3 to 9.8, in Tennessee from 23.8 to 19.8, in Virginia from 35.6 to 29.9, in South Carolina from 58.4 to 51.4, in Mississippi from 58.5 to 52.2; while in New York it grew from 1.4 to 1.9, in Pennsylvania from 2.5 to 3.3, in Ohio from 2.3 to 3.2, in California from 0.7 to 1.1, in Michigan from 0.7 to 1.6.

The census in 1920 shows that of 9,600,943 negroes born in the South no less than 780,794, or 8.1 per cent., were residing in the North. In fact, there were more Southern born than Northern born negroes living north of Mason and Dixon's line.

Since these statistics were compiled during a year of economic depression, when the scarcity of jobs in the North offered a real incentive for the colored worker to return to the tobacco or cotton fields, they would seem to furnish conclusive evidence that the negro migration is not so ephemeral as Governor TRINKLE imagines.

The colored man is coming North, not only because he is tempted by higher wages but because he enjoys here better educational facilities, better living conditions and equality under the law. So long as this remains the case thousands will continue to come, and thousands will remain.

PHILADELPHIA PA N. AMER
JULY 9, 1923

SOUTHERN NEGROES THIRD OF MIGRANTS TO PHILA. LAST YEAR

10,500 Came Here, Survey Shows; Housing Problem for City

MANY OF HIGH TYPE

Approximately one-third of the persons who migrated to Philadelphia during the year ending June 30 were negroes from the southern states, according to a statement issued by a committee representing the Armstrong Association, the Travelers' Aid Society, Mercy Hospital and the Philadelphia Housing Association.

The statement on the migration of southern negroes to Philadelphia is based upon facts collected by the bodies making the survey during the last three months.

John Emlen and A. L. Manly represented the Armstrong Association in the study; Dr. Henry M. Minton, Mercy Hospital; Bernard J. Newman and Mrs. Marie Nelson Rowe, the Philadelphia Housing Association, and George H. Frazier, the Travelers' Aid Society. Clarence R. White, principal of the Durham public school, also was associated in the inquiry.

"Based on the study of 931 properties and a supplementary study of 1282 individuals recently arrived, the committee estimates that the number of migrants coming to Philadelphia between July 1, 1922, and June 30, 1923, approximates 10,500," the statement declares. "This is about one-third of Philadelphia's normal population yearly increment for all races, and, compared with the normal increment of negro inhabitants based on records of the previous decade, is an increase in negro population of 200 per cent for the last year.

"Apparently proximity to the north is a factor in this migration. Out of 1282 migrants interviewed, the largest numbers have come from Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in the order named. Immigrants in lesser numbers are coming from Florida, Alabama, Texas, Tennessee and the West Indies.

"These newcomers from the south now arriving in Philadelphia are apparently of a higher grade than those of previous migrations in 1917, 1918 and 1919. Of the adults 90 per cent are church members. Local ministers of colored churches are reporting large increases in membership, which in some cases approach 50 per cent; the Baptists and the African Methodist Episcopal denominations being 93 per cent of the total church affiliation.

"All seem to have steady work, and many have ready funds with them, while about 36 per cent belong to fraternities having welfare and benefit features. This, besides indicating the type of the migrating individuals, also offers some assurance against pauperism and distress.

"The present influx differs in several respects from the previous negro migrations. The negroes are not coming in droves, but are rather drifting in. They are being met by friends and relatives; the workers are coming first and their families follow later. It is uncertain whether labor scouts for manufacturers are bringing these workers into Philadelphia in any considerable number, but the very few who are making application for work thru employment agencies would indicate that a large percentage of them are assured of employment before leaving the south.

"The majority of both sexes are continuing in the same occupations previously followed. The skilled mechanics are receiving only slight increases in their wages, but the unskilled workers are receiving wages much in excess of their former earnings. A few of the men are professional and some are experienced in the building trades. The migrants are not presenting an industrial problem to Philadelphia, for their labor is an asset.

"The big outstanding problems created by the influx arise from the inadequate housing facilities and the health menace thru overcrowding. Families are going into premises already occupied either as householders in one or two rooms or as lodgers. A spot map giving locations of these families shows an overwhelming majority between Girard and Washington avenues from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, with others in negro centers in West Philadelphia, Germantown and South Philadelphia.

"In the middle city area, where multipled occupancy is more prevalent than elsewhere in Philadelphia, many of these newcomers have been taken into houses already overcrowded. One four-room house was found occupied by four new families, one family consisting of a man, his wife and six children. Another six-room house was found with five families, and within two weeks the house next door, which had been occupied by one family, had increased to three-family occupancy.

"In many of the houses thus converted to multiple occupancy the sanitary equipment is sub-standard and does not comply with the city housing law," the statement says.

The statement concludes with an appeal that the city, for its own protection, take steps to provide adequate housing for families of small means.

JAMESTOWN N. Y. JOURNAL
JUNE 18, 1923

SOUTH LOSING NEGRO LABOR.

One of the most interesting developments of the present labor scarcity in the North, largely due to the restriction of immigration, is the exodus northward of negro laborers from Southern states. They are said to be leaving for the North by trainloads in the hope of receiving higher wages and securing better living conditions. That this latter reason has some bearing on the situation appears from a statement given out by James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and published in the Philadelphia Tribune, one of the leading organs of the colored people.

Mr. Johnson calls attention to the fact that the white people of the South are awakening to the fact that they are losing their labor. Not only would this be an economic calamity to that section, but a personal inconvenience as well, since all who have visited the South know that the last thing a white man wants is to do real work like the negroes. Accordingly there is a growing disposition among the Southern white people to give the negroes better schools and a squarer deal in the courts. Some of the Southern states already appropriate large sums for colored schools, but the dark-skinned pupils are too often housed in shacks and given inferior teachers. The contrast between the white and negro schools in the same village is often very marked in the appearance of the buildings. In Alabama and Mississippi, two of the most backward states, with a very large negro population, the white people are now talking of dividing the educational funds.

In Florida, the recent legislative investigation of the convict lease system is likely to result in its abolition and also in doing away with the fee system for the arrest of negroes which was relied upon to secure a supply of convict labor. The Jacksonville Journal reports that the lumbermen of Georgia, Florida and Southern Alabama have decided that their colored employes must have churches, schools, and better living conditions, if they are to retain them as laborers. The steamship companies entering Jacksonville are threatening to curtail their service to that city unless more labor is made available. Even the Richmond News-Leader declares editorially that "the South must improve the living conditions of its negro workers, who are now in a veritable migration and are going wherever they have the promise, however illusory, of better things."

The colored people are using an economic argument that is sound to appeal to their Southern employers. It is quite possible that in order to check this migration of negro laborers to the North, that there may gradually come about a marked change in sentiment in the South toward lynching and violence directed against the negroes. They have suffered much and now that they have learned to put a real value on their labor are in a fair way to remedy their own bad conditions.

JUL 6 1923

NEGRO MIGRATION AND LYNCHING

It is highly probable that not one decent, respectable negro has left any southern state to find work in the North in recent months because of any fear on his part that he would be lynched if he stayed in the South. A great deal is being

written and printed in northern papers these days on this subject. These writers think, or profess to think, that the fear of lynching is causing much of the present migration of negroes from the South to northern cities. Southern people know this is not true. Hundreds of negroes have left Petersburg, for instance, within recent months, to find work in the North. Not one of these negroes feared being lynched if he stayed in this city. We should say that a negro's chances of being lynched in Petersburg are just about the same as the chances of a white man's being lynched in Petersburg. Petersburg negroes have gone to Philadelphia, to New York, to Pittsburg within recent months have gone because they could get bigger wages in those cities than they could get in Petersburg. More negroes are lynched in Texas than in any other state, except Georgia, yet, fewer negroes have left Texas for the North during the past year than have left any other state. The reasons back of the present negro migration are economic and not sociological.—Petersburg (Va.) Progress

SAN FRAN CALL JR OF COMM
JUNE 17, 1923

The Colored Hegira

The press has expressed some concern over the exodus of colored people from the South. This is by no means the only time and the future may expect to see just such sudden movements.

In 1893 a much larger exodus took place into Oklahoma. The colored man of the South is imitative, childlike in his trust, and has a large element of spirituality that is caught by music or emotion. Their cry then was "Ok-la-homa, Ok-la-homa Is Home, Sweet Home," and as it rang musically through the South and as a marching song it gathered great numbers. But the way was long; there were many footsore and deceived people who returned, as they could, to the South.

This time it seems to be a sort of movement created by labor agents. A winter or two in the North, the exactness with which an employment must be followed and persisted in to make a living, the harder climatic conditions are so different from the sunny South, with its listlessness, that the colored people find their way back again, wiser but sorer people.

There is no fear that the North is to have a surplus of labor, and if it did it would be of the hardest manual character and must be so closely superintended as to be expensive and burdensome. With colored labor the cotton grower of the South expects to lose at least 25 per cent of his crop and often 50 per cent of it. No machinery yet devised takes the place of hand picking of cotton and other farm work.

It is worthy to note that a generation has passed since the hegira of 1893, and those who follow it are not those who have the unpleasant reminder of that futile journey to hold them back.

JUL 14 1923

Economics and the Negro Migration.

A negro minister writing in The Chronicle, expresses the conviction that the wages question, almost solely, is the controlling factor in the negro migration. He speaks for Augusta and the country around Augusta. The white man and the colored man have gotten along well in this locality.

The Savannah News, commenting on a statement recently made in The Chronicle, suggests that the great publicity which has been given the negro migration will result in the compensation of Eastern and Western farmers coming to Georgia. Recently the Montgomery Advitiser had this paragraph:

> "There is an exodus of white Northerners to the temperate zone of the South, but they are not coming fast enough. We could use 20,000,- of them right away—if they are rich."

On this The Chronicle made this comment:

> We had not heard that there has been a movement of people from the North to the South of the proportions of an exodus.
>
> We are of firm belief that there are many thousands and tens of thousands—and hundreds of thousands—of farmers in the North who, if they knew of the soil and climate of the South as we know of these things, would gladly come to the South.
>
> California adopted the plan of advertising in order to secure immigrants from other states. The effort has proven successfull. This year that state is putting many thousands of dollars into advertising. Certainly there is nothing in California which puts that state at advantage over Georgia along the lines of agriculture.

Reprinting this, and giving the opinion that "it will be a good thing for the South and for the new settlers coming this way if the number of them is increased by reason of the more generally circulated report of the removal of many negroes from the South," the Savannah paper says: "The race question is emphasized in clashes which primarily are occasioned by economic conditions and economics will do much to correct the losses to both white employer and colored employe in the exodus of negroes from a section to which they are best adapted in several ways. There can be other good from the exodus—to the white people of the South: They may become, especially the farmers, more nearly independent. The white farmer of the South has never, except in rather rare instances, measured up to his individual potentiality for all-year-round work. The labor scarcity will steady many a farmer's family down to more regular work—and that will add tremendously to the productive power of the section and who in many cases will be an inspiration and a stimulus to the native farmer and native labor."

THE NEGRO CONFERENCE.

The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
7-6-23

When the leading colored citizens of Georgia gathered here on July 4, to discuss cause and effect of the migration of their race to the industrial centers of the north and east, their deliberations attracted the thoughtful attention of all white citizens who have the best interests of the state at heart.

It is interesting to hear what the most thoughtful among the African race in our midst have to say in regard to Georgia's attitude toward their people.

In the letter, addressed to "all white citizens of Georgia," but primarily intended for the members of the general assembly, now in session, there is food for serious thought for us all. And there is, it must be admitted, cause, in that letter, for very serious searching of heart and admission of failure for the white race. Honesty cannot deny that the negroes make out a good case on many of the grounds on which they base their claim for better treatment.

Perhaps greatest stress is laid, by the negroes themselves, on the lack of fair opportunities for education provided by the state. It is stated that out of $750,000 appropriated last year for higher education, only $15,000 of this was for negro institutions. It is also declared that there is a total lack of agricultural colleges for the negroes, though there is one in each congressional district for the whites, in addition to the Agricultural college at Athens. And the negroes with justice ask, "How can the colored farmer adopt profitable, diversified farming, in place of the boll weevil-ruined cotton raising, if you don't teach him how?"

The complaint against the average housing conditions for negroes, both in the cities and the rural communities, is also well founded. It is useless to point out a few high-class negro homes and pretend that they are typical. They are not and we only fool ourselves when we shut our eyes to the wretched hovels in which the large majority of the negroes live.

It would, in truth, be the best investment we could make, to raze these insanitary, ugly, disease and crime-breeding shacks, and provide, in their stead, simple and comfortable homes. The reduction in crime and disease alone would pay the expense in a very few years, even forgetting altruistic reasons entirely.

While the negro frankly says he does not want to leave the south, reasonable men cannot criticize him for leaving when staying means no education for his children, no comforts for himself and unfair wages for his labor.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

NEGRO EXODUS FROM THE SOUTH.

Current History Magazine

Grave concern is expressed in the South because of the constantly increasing number of negroes who are leaving that section and going North. It has been said that this migration is causing greater loss in terms of dollars than did Sherman's historic march to the sea. The loss to Georgia alone, it is said, will for this year approximate if not exceed $27,000,000, and in the wake of the departing negroes 46,674 vacant farmhouses and 55,524 idle plows are left. So rapid has been the exodus that Georgia now has a labor shortage of 70,843 persons.

According to a survey of the situation by Mr. James S. Peters of Manchester, Ga., President of the Georgia Bankers' Association, and published in the current monthly journal of that body, the negro exodus in three months of this year amounted to a third of the total emigration during the years 1920-21-22. In those three years, the survey indicated that 151,500 negroes left Georgia. This figure added to the total of emigration for the first half of 1923 brings the total to approximately 230,000, a number larger than the population of Atlanta.

Suggestions made by Mr. Peters for a solution of the problem can be summarized in the proposition of bringing the Southern wage scale more on a par with the scale in the North and East and in improving living conditions for the negro.

IDLE BLACKS IN NORTH ARE CONFINED TO JAIL

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn. Placed 8-26-23

Southern Negroes Must Leave Town on Release.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Aug. 25.—Twenty-seven negroes Tuesday were sentenced to the house of correction for 90 days each and warned by Judge Michael Blenski in district court that they must get out of Milwaukee as soon as they have served their terms.

The judge told the negroes to write to their friends in the south and say that Milwaukee is no place for negroes who have no means of support.

None of the prisoners were represented by an attorney. The judge called four of the men charged with vagrancy before him one at a time and questioned them. They could not give an account of themselves and admitted that they had no money and no jobs.

Others of the group were lined up before the judge and asked if they had any defense. There were no answers.

"We do not want men of your kind in Milwaukee," the judge said. "I am not taking exception to your race but to your actions. You are vagrants who come north expecting to find a soft living.

"I am going to give you a chance to work for the county for 90 days and at the end of this time you will have 90 minutes to get out of town. Write all your friends in the south and tell them about it."

The sentences followed a general cleanup Monday night in the west side negro district staged by three squads of detectives at the orders of Harry McCrory, captain of detectives. Thirty-nine men were arrested but 12 were released.

Police say more than 100 negroes a week have been coming from the south to Milwaukee.

George H. DeReef of the Milwaukee Urban League, a negro advancement organization and president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Tuesday that the negro organization did not object to the arrest of negro vagrants or miscreants, but hoped that Milwaukee would not class all negroes with the vagrants.

NEGRO RETURNS SOUTH

Atlanta Constitution Sept 2-23

Northern Experiences Are Recounted by Prodigal.

Tomasville, Ga., August 26.—(Special.)—Tom Jenkins is a well known Thomasville negro who six months ago decided that he would join the number going north and try his fortune on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line, but he has come back and says he has come to stay.

Tom spent some time in Detroit and then went to Toledo, Cincinnati and other cities. He says there is no doubt about the good wages, but there is also no doubt about the high prices he had to pay for living to be fairly comfortable and there is no place for him like home.

Tom is a good workman and had no trouble in finding plenty to do but he is satisfied now that the south is the best place to live in. He thinks there will be very many more following his example within a short time as many are dissatisfied, and when cold weather comes, they will be even more anxious to get back south and the conditions with which they are familiar and which spell home for them.

NEGRO EXODUS HALTING.

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

Drastic Health Measures of North Keep Negroes in South.

WEST POINT, Miss., Sept. 7.—There seems to be a cessation at this time of the general exodus of negroes from this section of the north, especially to St. Louis, due to the activities of the health authorities of that city.

Under a recent ruling of the board of health of St. Louis, everyone desiring to become a citizen must be vaccinated and undergo a thorough physical examination before they will be allowed to leave the Union Station. 9-8-23

It is thought that this policy is being pursued to prevent the city from having to take care of so many helpless negroes during the winter as well as prevention of contagious diseases.

The negroes in this section are beginning to learn about these drastic measures and had rather remain at home than take this physical examination.

Current History Magazine Sept 1923

NEGROES LURED NORTH FLOCKING HOME AGAIN

Employment Officials Having Applications From Many Who Went Away and Have Returned at Prospect of Cold Weather in the North.

Charlotte News.

Many of the negroes who went flocking North at the beginning of the summer to find employment at high wages are flocking home again at the prospect of cold weather, according to officials of the United State Employment Bureau here. They are arriving back in Charlotte by scores and are asking that the employment bureau here help them find jobs.

The local bureau could have placed 200 negroes last week, according to P. M. Pearson, assistant manager of the local office and in charge of it during the absence on vacation of Manager W. H. Vause. There are still many applicants from this class of labor with the board now. They are being placed rapidly but most of the placements are outside of Charlotte.

Such a boom in building has been on in Charlotte this summer that most contractors and other persons employing large number of unskilled laborers are well supplied with labor, according to the labor bureau officials. Of the 90 persons placed last week in positions of employment by Mr. Pearson every one was outside of Charlotte.

The local employment office can place at least 25 carpenters in employment by next Monday morning but all the jobs would be outside of Charlotte. The office can also place at once about twenty bricklayers, a number of women stenographers and clerks and number of cooks and waitresses.

In spite of the lateness of the summer season, there are still calls on the local board to furnish cooks and waitresses in the North Carolina mountain resorts, which are having the most successful year in their history, it is said.

The local employment officials believe there will be in a few weeks a wholesale migration of negroes back South who have been lured to the North during the summer by fabulous tales of high wages and promises of many other boons that have not been realized when the migrants from the South arrived at their northern destination. Charlotte will get its due share of this returning migration and the prospect is there will be no shortage of labor for this vicinity during the fall and winter months.

Post SEP 1 1923

THE GROWING NEGRO MIGRATION.

Negro migration from the Southern states into St. Louis has increased from about 1000 a month at the beginning of the year to 4500 or possibly 5000 in August. It is roughly estimated that about a third of the arrivals, after stopping in the city, push farther north. At this rate the negro population of the city is increasing rapidly and has already been swelled to an estimated 100,000, or 30,000 over the last census.

The influx is causing the City Health Department and social welfare agencies a great deal of anxiety. The already congested negro residence districts are full to overflowing. The police report that many are sleeping out in the open. While the health officers are endeavoring to vaccinate all who have not been inoculated, many are known to be entering the city without passing through the Union Station terminal.

Unless foresight is exercised by the city authorities they may find a serious problem on their hands. What of housing, what of employment, what of sanitary conditions, what of law and order? A great many of the new arrivals have found work, but how many more can be taken care of if anything like the present influx continues? There is concern for other than the Health Department in the answering of these questions.

When the city reaches its limit in providing work and homes for these people they will eventually stop coming in such tides as at present. But a great deal of suffering may occur before the word gets back to the source of migration unassisted. Are these people being lured from their homes in the South by the false representation of labor agents and irresponsible persons? If so it should be known, and if so it is time that St. Louis authorities were cooperating with the authorities of the states which are the source of the movement. It should be made clear to the migrants just what prospects in the North are likely to be. The work of labor agents or other interested parties, of myths, rainbow-chasing and emotional stampede should be counteracted by making known the facts.

SEP 3 1923

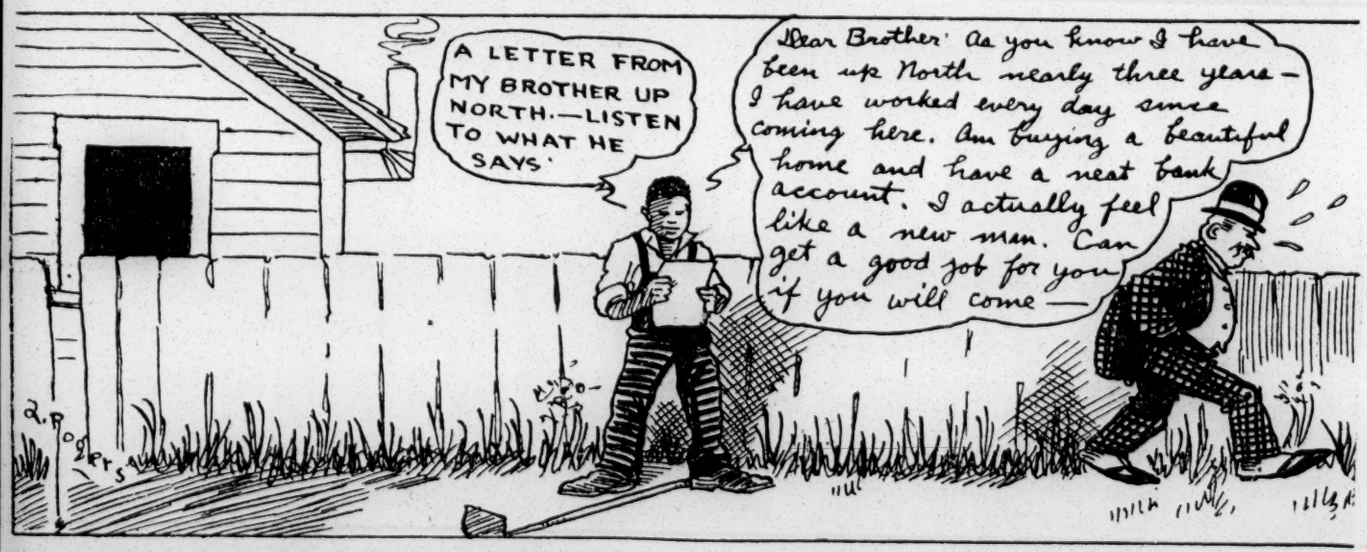
There has been a prevalence of nostalgia among negroes who have left the South and gone North. The darkey is very susceptible to homesickness. The breaking of home ties means much to him. This is a form of disease noted even in the military training camps among the whites and it is a terrible malady among some of the negroes who have gone to the big cities. They do not take kindly to the old refrain, "Anywhere I Hang My Hat Is Home Sweet Home to Me." The doctors call it nostalgia and they admit the seriousness of the complaint, but they have found no specific cure. The disease must run its course.—Savannah Press.

The South, the home of these negroes, the place where they were born and grew up among the cotton and the corn and the sugar cane, will effect a cure of this disease more quickly than all the nostrums and one thing and another that the doctors can prescribe. When a man gets homesick there is nothing that will cure him except home.

It Must Be Discouraging

Just when a "stay-in-the-South" propaganda expert is putting up his smoothest line of chatter—

And he is positive he has his argument cinched—



Along comes the postman with a letter from the North which knocks his argument to pieces.

Negro Emigration To Be Discussed At Bethel Rally

Atlanta Constitution

A meeting with a view of discouraging the emigration of the negro to northern and eastern sections of the country will be held at 3 o'clock this afternoon at Big Bethel A. M. E. church. 7-9-23

Features of the meeting will be that it will be attended by both white persons and negroes, and that many prominent Atlantans interested in the problem of negro emigration will address the meeting. The program will deal with all phases of the southern emigration problem.

It is felt by leaders of inter-racial activities that the meeting is coming as an opportune time, since the farm season is nearing its close, and Georgia may experience an increased emigration at this time.

Judge George Hillyer, ex-commissioner of the Georgia railroad commission, will preside. The program follows:

Song, Big Bethel choir.

Invocation, Rev. Dr. R. H. Ward, pastor Allen temple. Scripture, Job 28, Bishop J. S. Flipper, head A. M. E. church of Georgia.

"Five Common Sense Reasons for Colored Masses Leaving Farming Sections," Prof. J. L. Wheeler.

"The South Impresses Me as Being a Favorable Home for Colored Masses," Clark Howell, Jr., manager Constitution.

"Our Colored Citizens and Their Families Who Would be Truly Happy, Need Not Rush from Our Sections of Country," A. Montgomery, Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling works.

Solo, "Every Time I Feel the Spirit," M. Blossomgame.

"There is a Home, a Farm for the Honest, Hard-Working Family of Negro Race in Georgia," Charles J. Haden.

"Practical Education for Masses," Richard D. Stinson, principal Atlanta Normal and Industrial institute.

"The Negro as a Laborer," N. C. Daniels, manager Atlanta Milling company.

Song, Bethel Glee club.

"The Colored People of Georgia May Not Be Getting All That Is Due Them, Neither Are All the White People, I Have Only This to Say. 'In Patience Possess Your Soul,'" W. Woods White.

"The Accredited Leaders of the Two Races Shoupld Encourage Good Relations," Dr. R. H. Singleton, pastor Big Bethel A. M. E. church.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
JUL 18 1923

EGRO AND THE NORTH.

Negroes who have migrated to the north and northwest are not finding conditions as "salubrious," as one of them writes back, as they expected when they left their southern homes to go among strangers who were promising them more of everything than they were getting in the section of their birth. They are finding that "segregation" is even more imperatively demanded in their "new homes" than ever it has been in the south, for nowhere in this region is there objection to having decent and well-behaved negroes for neighbors.

They are finding, too, that "mansions" are not provided for their comfort and luxurious living. There is significance in the reports sent out by the housing commissions of the larger cities of the north and the west, indicated by the particular recital of conditions in Philadelphia—a city toward which many of the southern negro immigrants head. It is stated that in Philadelphia "not a single unoccupied house for rent was found among the 10,656 houses covered by the survey * * * and not a vacancy of any description, either for rent or for sale, among the houses in the district where negroes mostly congregate."

This report from Philadelphia is much the same as those from other cities, and coming from impartial and official sources and not from concerns reckless in their hunt for day labor, it is reliable and, therefore, a warning to the hapless people who may be disposed to listen to the glowing and alluring tales of labor agents and "negro misleaders."

The real friends of the negro in these northern and big western centers are seeing to it that there is a better understanding of the conditions awaiting the improvident members of the race who may have an idea that they are headed directly for "God's country" when they leave the "old plantation" for a home north of Mason and Dixon's line. These informative reports, intended to warn the negro, indicate that as a result of the recent hegiras both the negro and his supposedly northern friend are learning a good deal more about one another than they ever knew before. The northerner doesn't really "love" the negro as much as he thought he did when the object of his affection was separated from him by several hundreds of miles of territory, and the negro is learning that there is a great deal of difference between academic interest in his welfare and the practical manifestation of it in his daily contact with those he has before this believed were his "elected" benefactors. The negroes—the sensible ones—are, therefore, choosing to stay in the "sunny south."

Labor— 1923
Migration Movement

NEGRO MIGRATION ALARMING SOUTH

Affects Present and Future of Cotton Industry—Agriculture Also Hit — Labor Agents Lining Colored Workers Northward.

PAWTUCKET R I TIMES
MARCH 22, 1923

A phase of the textile industry in the South not touched in the recent discussion of possible removal of northern mills is suggested in the bi-weekly review of W. J. Dolman & Co., New York, who say of negro labor and migration:

There has been much discussion recently concerning the so-called migration of negro labor from the South. Some of the reports have been of an alarmist character, suggesting the likelihood of depletion of agricultural labor in some portions of the cotton belt. Judging from some of the comment, there is good reason for believing that the movement owes much of its impetus to our immigration laws that prevent the influx of foreign labor in sufficient quantities to relieve the shortage in industrial centres. Consequently, labor agents have gone through parts of the South endeavoring to attract unskilled workmen to northern industrial centres, such as Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Buffalo and New England manufacturing districts.

One unusual feature is represented by the fact that much of the information is supplied by the colored churches of the South. A Georgia compilation states that the colored Baptist Church of Georgia has lost 61,000 communicants in the last year, and that whole communities have been practically depopulated by the exodus of negroes.

Compilations made by the Atlanta Constitution and figures obtained from other reliable sources indicate, however, that there has been considerable exaggeration. There are localities that have lost a good deal of negro labor. Others nave actually gained. It would seem, therefore, that about all that has happened is that the South is losing a portion of its surplus colored population, and that the natural increase in the number of negroes is merely cut down by the shifting to Northern industrial centers.

This is a movement that has been going on for several years. The last census report shows that whereas the 13 southern states in 1920 had gained only 113,000 in the number of negroes compared with 1910, the northern states showed an increase of 521,949. Only five states in the South showed actual losses. Kentucky, 26,000; Tennessee, 21,000; Alabama, 7000; Mississippi, 74,000, and Louisiana 13,000. On the other hand, North Carolina gained 65,000; South Carolina, 28,000; Georgia, 29,000; Florida, 20,000; Oklahoma, 11,000, and Texas, 51,000. The largest gain recorded for any northern state was Pennsylvania, with 90,000, and Ohio next with 74,000. Part of these gains, of course, were due to natural increase in population and not due solely to migration from the South.

So far as cotton cultivation is concerned, therefore, it does not look as if there would be any acute shortage of labor. The colored population of the South, it will be noted, is somewhat larger than it was in 1910, and it was along about this time that the South was producing its largest crops of cotton. In fact, the cotton crop for the season of 1911-12 was the largest on record up to that time, and was exceeded only by the great crop of 1914-15.

Several causes have contributed to the movement of negro farm labor to northern industrial centres. Undoubtedly the difficulty of raising cotton under boll weevil conditions, combined with the unsatisfactory price has been a prominent factor. With cotton around 30 cents, however, the temptation to migrate to northern industrial centers is decidedly lessened. Investigation reveals other influences, one of which is the attempt on the part of northern employers through agents to induce negroes to come to the industrial centers of the North and West. Some prominent southern authorities take the view that until our immigration laws are modified there will be a growing tendency on the part of northern manufacturers to try to replenish their forces of unskilled labor from the southern farms. Only in a few cases, it is interesting to note, is there an inclination to attribute the migration of negroes to the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. About the only mention of this character comes from localities in Oklahoma.

A characteristic letter on the labor situation in Mississippi is received from a well informed banker in the central part of the state, a portion of which is reproduced as follows:

"During, and immediately after the war, the negroes were attracted by the very high wages offered by northern industries, and left this section by train loads. At one time, it seemed that almost the entire negro population of the state was leaving. However, after a while, when the northern plants could not use them longer, large numbers of them drifted back. During the past year and a half, another exodus seems to be in progress, but on a considerably smaller scale. It is our opinion that the negro labor in this state as a whole is insufficient, and experiments in native white labor have been a failure. The seriousness of it may not be realized by those most interested, but we believe that this tendency on the part of negroes, especially the young ones, to drift to the industrial centers, together with the ravages of the boll weevil, will in a measure put an arbitrary limitation on the amount of cotton that may be produced."

Apparently the anxiety felt over the so-called exodus of negro labor from the South is another of our economic ills, the dire effects of which are greatly exaggerated.

TEACH THE NEGRO AND HOLD HIM

BY FREDERICK W. JONES.

In these days of economic perplexity for the south it seems to me that The Commercial Appeal is doing some of our clearest thinking on the negro problem, a problem in which so much of our prosperity and happiness is involved. And it is high time we were enlisting that thinking to heart and putting it into action.

There are at least two disturbing factors in the problem that we must try to find some way of cancelling. One of these results from the severe restriction of immigration now in force. The country has quite definitely determined upon this course, probably for many years to come.

Are we mindful of what all this means to the negro? The manufacturer of the east and the middle west is bidding against the cotton farmer for his services. Of course there is no doubt who can offer the more money, the man who sells cotton for $10 a pound or the man who sells it for 25 cents a pound.

The second disturbing factor results from the rapidly increasing power of cotton production in various parts of the British empire. The south in years to come may have to engage in keen competition in cotton marketing, one problem it has never been forced to grapple with. And it is wise now to prepare, bearing in mind that satisfactory labor conditions make the very best preparation.

Opportunity in South.

The second difficulty, however, is not pressing. Besides, it will probably disappear with the solution of the first.

We have seen that it is impossible for the agricultural south to compete with the manufatcuring north for the service of the negro on a money wage. Upon what, if any other basis, then, can it compete?

Nine-tenths of the race in America live in the south. Home in itself offers much to all of us. If need be, we will sacrifice much to stay in it. Over 950.00 negroes own farms in the south. That means a considerable body of independent men who with their families, are helping by their example of success and contentment to hold many more to their tasks, in the hope of a similar degree of success. How much the race has at stake here and how great its possibilities is clearly indicated by the rapid increase in recent years in the value of the property they own. In Georiga alone this increase was from $5,800,000 in 1880 to $14,000,000 in 1912. In the former year they possessed less than one-fortieth of all the taxable property of the state; in the latter year considerably more than one-thirtieth. In other words, they are relatively gaining in wealth more rapidly than their white neighbors.

The south, then, offers the negro an unusual opportunity to accumulate property, one of the most conservative and stabilizing influences we know. Money wage alone does not by any means, determine the value of the job. The banks rightly tell us it is not what we earn but what we save that counts. The conservative leaders of the negro race are well aware of this truth, and they are continually teaching and preaching it. Would it not be well for us white folk to learn more about such conservative leaders and give them all the moral and material support within our power?

Negro's Place on Farm.

Such a leader is Wallace A. Battle, president of the Okolona Industrial School. Bishop Green calls him "one of the sanest and soundes negro leaders in America today. The other day he made a speech to this effect before his pupils:

"A friend of mine, a teacher in one of our public schools in a leading city in this state, is interested in influencing his people to stay in the south. One day he asked all those pupils to raise their hands who intended to spend their lives in Mississippi. Only three raised their hands. The others, he found out, planned to go north.

"The other day I was in a good-sized Tennessee city. In the railroad station I met a group of 40 negroes preparing to take a train for Pittsburg. Just before the time to start a sheriff appeared, put his hand on the shoulder of the white man who was leading them, spoke a word or two to him and then slipped handcuffs on his wrists. That northern white man was violating the law of Tennessee and the negroes were abetting him. "Pupils, if there was anything in the north for my race, I'd be there myself, and I would urge all other negroes to go, too. But there isn't anything up there for us. And don't be deceived by offers of high wages. Why I know men who make $8.00 a day and yet every Saturday an hour after they are paid off they are 'broke.'

"Your best chance is here in the country saving your money to buy a southern farm."

Education and Health.

An exhibit has just ben given at Okolona of what negro boys and girls who seek success in life through efficient service to the south are being taught. Let me describe a part of it. A girl from the cooking class was examined by the president. She was questioned as to her knowledge of the value of these vegetables as food—lettuce, celery, onions, olives and garlic.

Q. What valuable elements do these vegetables contain?

A. Vitamines.

Q. What are they? What do they do?

A. They are life-builders. They put sparkle in the eyes and spring in the walk.

Q. Do our people eat them?

A. Not much.

Q. Why not?

A. We don't like the taste or the odor, either.

Comment by the president:

"Our people don't like them because we are ignorant. Educated people like them. If we ate them regularly for a while we'd become fond of them. In the garden we can grow most of them in abundance. With almost no expense we could, then, greatly improve our health and make ourselves stronger and more active workers."

Consider the economic value of even such a simple lesson as this. According to the bureau of education of the department of the interior in its survey of Negro education, the death rate of the race is 24 per 1,000 as against 15 per 1,000 for the whites, nearly twice as great. The yearly loss to farming and domestic service, due to this excessive death rate, runs into the millions. If the resisting power of the race that is now the prey to every passing disease were strengthened by wholesome diet the saving from death and disabling illness would be enormous.

Another part of the exhibit was a class in house-painting. Young men with paint brushes in their hands told how to paint the walls of a room with cold water paint, with oil paint, how to stain, varnish and shellac, how many coats to use and how to finish the job without injuring the floor.

A class in blacksmithing showed tongs, wrenches, etc., that they had made, and explained the process. They also described the best method of putting a tire on a farm wagon. A girl exhibited a broom and a stool she had made. A breakfast was served to a boy and girl and the school criticized every part of the meal, serving and all. A girl dressed for the part illustrated the best way of sweeping and dusting a room.

The school is building little bungalows for married teachers, and it is encouraging marriage among its teachers, trying in that way to give the pupils examples in successful home life that will tend to improve the morals of the race.

Two of the most important parts of the school equipment are bathrooms and a dental office. Attendance is compulsory. A toothbrush must always occupy a conspicuous place in every pupil's room. Personal pride, self-respect and general health are promoted by these measures.

A chaplain, J. K. Satterwhite, conducts religious services and encourages teachers and pupils to go to him for spiritual help.

Such schools as this neighboring white people always encourage in every possible way.

One of Okolona's principal buildings, the one containing the power plant to light the buildings and run the shops, burned not long ago. The night of the fire the mayor and aldermen of the town, a mile and a half away, met secretly. "Unless we do something for them," they said, "those people out there will become discouraged." The town engineer was then called in to tell them how much it would cost to carry the town power out to the school.

Friendship With Whites.

"Four thousand dollars," was his answer, and the board whistled in surprise and alarm. But finally it was decided to put the power out there and tell the town afterwards what it cost. The citizens have never objected to the cost. They see the value of the work done at the school and are glad to stretch a point or two to help. The only reason the south as a whole doesn't do more to assist such schools as Okolona and such teachers of the race as Wallace A. Battle is it doesn't know much about them.

The friendship of white neighbors is another of the powerful advantages the south can offer to offset the larger cash wage of the manufacturer, a wage which, of course, is entirely consumed in higher costs, particularly rents, food and fuel. Friendship of the white people always makes the negro feel that his interests and theirs are much the same and encourages him to put more of his heart into serving them.

By helping to teach the negro in industrial schools equipped and manned to meet southern conditions we are then helping to hold among us the most efficient men and women of the race. In these days of labor shortage and moral and spiritual awakening here in Mississippi, is there a finer cause for southerners to pray for and give to?

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
APRIL 15 1923

NEGRO LABOR IN NORTH

Workers From South Filling Void in Industry Due to Restricted Immigration

MANY years of travail were required to demonstrate it, but it has been finally discovered that the alchemy of the proverbial melting pot is faulty, not so much in the processes of smelting as in the quality of the ingredients used as raw material. Leakage of the deterrent dross and impurities of Old World civilization threatened in various ways the perpetuity of American institutions. The situation called for heroic treatment and the melting pot was unceremoniously shut down.

This came about just as the country was

recovering from an industrial and business depression occasioned by the war. Immigration was curtailed in the face of perhaps the most potential revival of production the country has ever witnessed. There is work everywhere, but not enough hands to do it.

In this extremity the country reverted to the great multi-colored, loyal labor reserve as it did in 1917-19. The North is full of doubters as to the value of this labor, as compared with the Sicilian and other Southern European immigrants. I have on my desk a letter from a prominent manufacturer who says he employs 150 colored men, but has hired 1260 since last November, which means a turnover so excessive that it must drag on the industry. During the war, when the so-called hegira of Southern colored labor to essential industries of the North prevailed, this class of workers drifted from one industrial center to another, with Chicago as a sort of clearing-house, around which the massive movement encircled.

The movement was so precipitate on account of the urgent demands for labor that the best results were difficult if not impossible. No opportunity for culling the quality of this labor was presented. It was a simple question of a demand for man-power as represented by numerical strength. Consequently, Negro labor suffered by comparison with other labor, particularly in "stick-to-it-iveness."

Since then philanthropic co-racial organizations such as the National Urban League have taken hold of the situation. Facilities are available to separate the sheep from the goats. The principal aim is to take the "move" out of the movement.

The movement of 1917-19 was in a manner a blind-alley affair, conducted by labor agents, who received so much per head upon delivery. The aim of the agent was primarily to increase his own cash receipts; everybody got stuck but the agent.

What is happening now is being accomplished in an entirely different manner. Of the 450,000 Negroes who came North during the wartime industrial boom, probably 200,000 remained. Employing concerns had an opportunity to pick the best. After the depression was over they took back to work those whose labor had held to the standard. These men, at the direction of their foreman, write to their relatives and friends in the South and tell them of the openings. In a way, they become sponsors and references for the migrant workers and perform the friendly tasks of instructing them about the work, the rules of the job and establish contacts for them with agencies for religious worship, recreation and housing.

Under the direction of Secretary Davis, a singularly human official, my department is making no effort either to help or hinder the Northern trend of colored labor. He had decided that our functions are mediatory and not plenary. He is ambitious to have the colored laborer, both North and South, a thrifty, industrious citizen. He is color-blind in the matter of opportunities of wage earners.

Government figures indicate that upward of 150,000 colored laborers have moved North since November 30. This is a serious blow to the cotton industry, which is placed at a great disadvantage. Cotton is the fundamental of the textile industry. It is, therefore, quite as important to the prosperity of the country as steel or rubber. The South is sorely embarrassed by the defection of its native labor. With a plethora of Negro labor the South has entered every industrial equation with an "ace in the hole." Where there is a surfeit of labor, like anything else, the temptation to become wasteful is irresistible. For this reason it is being freely asserted that the South has not been economical in using its labor. She has placed too much reliance upon the proverbial "Negro and the mule."

Negligible school facilities for Negroes, scant wages and general dereliction for their welfare have probably had the effect to make them restless.

The present shift of Negro labor is simply experimental. It should be said advisedly that this labor appears to be on probation, and its inclusion or exclusion seems to rest with its efficiency and reliability.

The best opinion, based upon a pool of present prospects, suggests that the industrial revival will have a long and uninterrupted sojourn. Consequently, the demand for labor all over the country will continue for some time to come.

An old proverb has it that "Wherever there are mountains there are sure to be valleys." This is the sixth sense of caution. Colored laborers should be instructed in domestic economy and thrift that they may be able to confound and reverse the inevitable tragedy of "the rainy day."

Summing up the consequences, Negro labor is about to have its real day in Court, an opportunity to vindicate itself and its industrial value to the country. But this labor must never lose sight of the fact that it is on trial and its defense and liberty are left in its own hands.

PHIL H. BROWN.
Commissioner of Conciliation, United States Department of Labor.

A BLESSING IN DISGUISE

A most significant contribution to the discussion of the subject of Negro migration from the South appeared in a recent number of the Columbia *State*, one of the oldest and strongest daily papers published in South Carolina. The editor of the *State* takes exception to certain premises laid down in an editorial published in THE AGE, in which the Negro was referred to as the most valuable asset of the South, as a source of skilled and unskilled labor. The *State* bluntly affirms that it does not believe that the Negroes form such an asset and it "is not concerned about their retention as a source of skilled and unskilled labor."

On the contrary, the *State* frankly holds that the dispersion of the Negroes over this continent would be a most excellent event for the South. It added that the migration is even now improving race relations in the South. Temporary inconvenience and losses are admittedly caused by this movement, but in the long run it is regarded by the *State* as "an immeasurable blessing." This admission does not appear to be made in a spirit of hostility, as the *State* is careful to insist that it does not believe that Negroes should be driven away and maintains that they are entitled to "fair treatment." But in order, that this may not be regarded as too great a concession, it added that "what constitutes fair treatment will in the main be, as it is, defined by the Southern white people."

Considered calmly and coldly as a labor class, the *State* is not disposed to rate the Negroes as highly as their past record in building up that section would lead one to expect. It says that two generations would be required to lift them to a plane where they would be worth much better wages, and that the South can and will obtain white labor superior to them in that time. This may be as it will, but so far all the attempts made to replace black labor by whites in the industries of the South have failed of substantial results. White labor has proved reluctant to enter a section where the wages and conditions of living are so unattractive as in most of these States. The South will have to turn over a new leaf before it can attract white labor of the right kind to run the risk of competition with peonage and the rule of mob law and lynching.

The *State* has much more to say on the subject of migration and does it with an air of candor and sincerity which is refreshing as a contrast to the sophisticated claptrap of most Southern editors on this subject. With many of its statements most fairminded readers will agree, if they are to be accepted in all sincerity. Especially is this true of the concluding paragraph, which embodies a plea to give the Negroes justice, although the South Carolina editor's conception of justice is liable to be sadly restricted by the supposed necessity of maintaining white domination.

We may agree to the conclusion that the restrictions on foreign immigration are excellent for the white South in that they open the road to Negro employment in the North, especially as it is coupled with the further conclusion that "they are no less as excellent for the Negroes." The gist of the whole matter, so far as the race is concerned, is covered in the prediction that this Northward movement "will be an important factor in desperate efforts by the white North to relax or remove the restrictions."

The task set before those Negroes from the South, who have entered into the industries of the North, is to prove their fitness as a dependable and efficient labor element. They must show their capacity for steady employment and maximum production. There must be no trifling with their jobs. A week's steady labor must be given for a full week's pay. There must be no demand for "days off" for picnics or baseball games. The fact that the *State* admits that the inconvenience that the South now suffers is due chiefly to "the departure of the Negroes of the better class," should make it easier to produce this proof of fitness. With such a source of efficient American labor on tap, it will be difficult to make a case for the removal of the present restrictions on foreign immigration.

The Columbia *State* has discussed the question from a novel Southern viewpoint and with an admirable spirit of calmness and candor. Its suggestions are of value as indicating the weak points to be guarded. Migration may indeed be a blessing in disguise for all concerned.

Negro Migration Raises Death Rate

Increasing Mortality Among Colored People Flocking to Cities

Census Bureau Says Movement Northward Will Have Marked Effect on South's Labor

N Y C POST
APRIL 27, 1923

WASHINGTON, April 27.—The general movement of Southern negro farmers to Northern industrial centres, shown by a recent survey of the Department of Agriculture, will, if continued, have a very marked effect both upon the labor supply in the South and upon the negro race itself, in the opinion of officials of the Census Bureau.

An analysis by the bureau of the negro population statistics of the 1920 census shows marked tendencies toward interstate migration and concentration in cities, the movement receiving its first impetus in the demand for unskilled labor during the World War. During the decade nearly 235,000 negroes removed to cities in the South Atlantic States, and nearly the same number to cities in the East North Central States.

The increase in these cities, averaging nearly 50 per cent, affords a vivid statistical picture, in the opinion of census officials, of a systematic effort in industry and commerce to supply with the negro worker the unskilled labor needs largely met by immigration before that was checked at the beginning of the war.

"Were foreign immigration to be resumed in the future on a scale commensurate with immigration from 1890 to 1900, or during the period immediately preceding the war," the Census Bureau analysis says, "it is reasonable to suppose that the negro, less in demand because of the greater labor supply, would tend to drift back to his former environment. But immigration, for the first time in Federal history, has been restricted. . . .

"In every one of the Northern States negro deaths in the five years, 1915-1919 outnumbered births; in the Southern States in general, the conditions are reversed. Throughout the North and in the cities of the South negro deaths are more numerous than negro births; in fact, Southern cities are even more unfavorable than those of the North to natural increase. In 1920, for the first time, the proportion of white children to white women exceeded that of negro children to negro women, the difference being 42 per 1,000. At the present time the proportion of children to women among Southern negroes is only about five-sixths of what it is among Southern whites.

"These changes will doubtless prove to be closely connected with the rapid urbanization of negroes between 1910 and 1920. The rural negro population decreased in that decade by nearly one-fourth of a million, or 3.4 per cent; while the urban negro population increased by seven-eighths of a million, or 32.7 per cent. Under these conditions the swarming of negroes into cities north and south and the sharp fall in the increase of all American negroes are related almost as cause and effect.

"If the rate of increase between 1900 and 1920 be projected through the rest of the century without change, it would yield at its close about 20,500,000 as the maximum limit of negro population. It also seems reasonable to anticipate that the negroes, who in 1790 were over 19 per cent, or nearly one-fifth of the population of the country and now are about one-tenth, are likely by the end of the century to be not more than one-twentieth."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

MIGRATION HITS AUTOMOBILE CITY: CHICAGO AWAITS SPRING DRIVE

Afro-American—Baltimore, Md.
1-27-23

Detroit Urban Leag'e Head Says Northward Movement Has Never Before Been So Large During the Winter Months

Detroit, Mich., Feb. 1.—A steady influx of Southern Negroes to this big automobile manufacturing city has been going on all during the winter, according to John C. Dancy, director of the Detroit Urban League.

George R. Arthur, former Baltimore boy, and executive secretary of the Chicago Y. M. C. A., reports that the migration of colored workers to Chicago has been small during the winter, but that large numbers are expected during the spring.

Mr. Dancy's statement to the AFRO-AMERICAN is as follows:

"We have found a steady influx of Negroes all during the winter. This is unusual; heretofore, they have not come in such large numbers during the winter months.

"I am inclined to believe that when spring comes, the migration here will be tremendous. Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi are the States that are mostly represented by this influx."

CHICAGO AWAITS SPRING DRIVE

George R. Arthur, executive secretary of the Chicago Y. M. C. A., made the following statement to the AFRO-AMERICAN:

"I believe there has been moving about of Negroes from one Northern city to another, than any noticeably large number coming from the South, as far as Chicago is concerned.

"My understanding is that there is to be a migration of considerable size this spring as there are forces at work in the South looking toward that end. Large industries in the North will need more common labor during this spring and summer months than will be available in the Northern States.

"I do not know where this common labor is to come from except through migration. The seasonable occupation such as these in Detroit and Flint, Michigan, and other points, will provide a certain number, but not nearly the number that will be needed. (Signed) George R. Arthur."

NEGROES CONTINUE MOVING NORTHWARD.

Wall St Exam
1-18-23

Memphis, Tenn., Jan. 18.—Negroes continue going northward. In the past 90 days more than 12,000 have left the cotton fields of the Mississippi and Arkansas deltas for work in industrial plants of Chicago, St. Louis and Detroit. Most of them have gone to Detroit, according to information obtained from railroad officials, who say only a scattering of the thousands have been engaged to do railroad track work.

Arkansas has not suffered in this loss as much as the Mississippi Delta. From points in the latter territory the Negroes have gone out in droves. On Saturday evening, Dec. 16, northbound Illinois Central train No. 4 had four car loads of them. Practically every man, woman and child was from Mississippi. During the past two months the Rock Island, Frisco and Missouri Pacific have brought in numbers from the lower Arkansas Delta. Some claim the K. K. K. has been after them in certain parts of the delta. They come to Memphis and continue their journey.

Five Negro families were at Grand Central Station waiting for the evening train to go north. They were from the Mississippi Delta. None would tell what part of the delta they came from. In fact, very little information can be obtained from heads of the moving families.

A spokesman for the five families said they were leaving Mississippi because they believed they had not prospered. They claimed to have been kept in debt year in and out by land owners. One man, who refused to give his name, said he had worked 10 years on one plantation, and this year in settling up he had only $50 coming to him. He claimed this would not pay for clothing for his family, let alone buying provisions. What livestock they had in the year 1921 was sold to help them through the crisis when cotton was at its lowest price.

This Negro had a letter from a relative who went to Detroit in the summer of 1917. He later sent back to Mississisppi for his wife and children. He was now being paid $5 a day at an industrial plant, had saved his money and was living in a steamheated house. His two children were going to good schools and becoming educated. This Negro claimed another man he knew was making $7 a day in Chicago and his living expenses were less than on the plantation he had left.

These Negroes are not only moving their families, but most of them have shipped their household goods. Reports from the railroads show many have gone north with provisions enough to last them several months. These were Negroes who are more successful on plantations than some of their neighbors. In fact, it was said they had saved for more than a year for this trip.

Hill Negroes Go to Delta.

While the delta Negroes are leaving the plantations, those from the Mississippi hill county are moving in. The added new families, it is said, are falling under the number leaving, and planters are unable to figure on any definite plans for a crop in 1923.

Two hundred Negroes on an average are at Memphis to leave on every evening Illinois Central north bound train. They have through tickets, sometimes purchased from a small station on the line extending near the plantation they are leaving, some buy a local ticket to Memphis and rebuy here for destination.

No labor agents have now or in the past two months worked in either of the deltas. In cases where the Negro does not have enough money to buy tickets for his entire family, he gets one for himself. He promises to send for his wife and children. Very often, say railroad officials ,the Negroes have the money sent them for tickets by other relatives who have been north several months.

More than two years ago, when Negroes began leaving the plantations the railroads of the south issued orders not to honor prepaid tickets sent them by relatives or heads of manufacturing concerns. That order is still in force.

NEGROES IN TERROR FLEEING THE SOUTH; WHITES ALARMED

DAILY
UARY 14, 1923

50,000 in Exodus in Last Three Months—Farms Are Deserted—Seek "Free Air."

SOUTHERNERS RECOGNIZE BIG ECONOMIC DANGER.

Lynching, Exploitation, Denial of Common Justice Causes—Whites Seek to Stem Flight.

By Lester A. Walton.

Any [illegible] day

south that they [illegible] North with less than a dollar in their pockets after having bought a through ticket. Learning of their financial straits, frequently sandwiches and soda pop are supplied them by generous fellow-passengers.

The majority of those being drawn North on the crest of the present wave have very little use for trunks. A family, consisting of from three to eight, convey their belongings in bulging suit cases of various sizes, colors and texture. There are instances, of course, of families selling out their business and shipping household effects ahead. Their financial status, however, is above that of the average deserting the South.

Tell Their Stories.

The volubility of the migrant, particularly to one of his own race, has its pathetic appeal. In less than ten minutes you learn a life's story, perhaps somewhat crudely related but full of human interest and narrated with childish simplicity. Inability to earn a decent livelihood, coupled with the reaction after years of pent-up resentment and dissatisfaction over unfair treatment are the potent reasons for shaking the dust of the Southland.

These artless travellers possess an imagination elastic as that of a child of six indulging in fanciful reveries anent the visit of Santa Claus. Crossing the Mason and Dixon Line to them is akin to entering another world. With sparkling eyes and faces wreathed in smiles they tell you with a display of animation what is nearest to their minds and hearts —of a longing to live in a land where lynching is not a favorite pastime and where race discrimination in its various forms is not so pronounced.

One of the strange features of the present exodus is that Negroes began leaving the South at the advent of cold weather. Heretofore assertions have been made time and again that while the Negro went North during the spring and summer months he, nevertheless, found it advisable to return before winter set in. But the North winds, sleet and snow seem to be more compatible than lynching, Jim Crow cars and other oppressive measures adopted "to keep the Negro in his place."

50,000 Have Gone.

It is conservatively estimated that over 50,000 Negroes have left the Southern States for the North, West and Middle West within the past ninety days, and they are leaving on every train. From the Mississippi and Arkansas deltas fully 15,000 have gone. Georgia comes next with 12,000. South Carolina, Texas and Alabama each furnish an imposing quota in order named.

Whether the exodus will gain impetus or soon give evidence of having spent its force no one can foretell. The situation is puzzling, giving farmers, business and professional men grave concern. Farm owners in many sections face disastrous financial losses in the immediate future, for acres have been left untilled and crops are yet to be planted. Fears are entertained that there may be a repetition of conditions during the war when 500,000 Negroes migrated northward.

"Stop the exodus" is the plea being made by Southern white men of influence and sound judgment, who have become alarmed over the proportions the migratory movement has assumed.

Among the first to issue a statement on the subject was Dr. David C. Barrow, Chancellor of the University of Georgia, who, in censuring white ruffians of Oconee County, Ga., for accelerating the exodus in that section by warning Negroes to leave by Jan. 1, 1923, said:

"While the notice may have been posted by a boy (I have known boys

to do such things), it is too serious in its consequences to be disregarded. It has been true all across the Southern States that the boll weevil has caused an exodus of Negroes. Trained too exclusively in the raising of cotton by simpler methods, the weevil has left them temporarily without an occupation.

Agencies Draw Them Away.

"Agencies from other portions of the country seeking labor an easy time, all that is necessary is to promise wages and furnish transportation. It is not wise to encourage an excess of going. We will find it hard to supply the places of those who go. It is beyond reason to make the exodus greater than it normally is. The number of vacant houses in the territory around Athens is discouraging. Who can or will fill them?

"The serious minded men in any community where such notices appear should act promptly and seek to restore confidence. In my opinion it is economically unwise and morally wrong to drive the Negro citizens from their homes."

Avowing that the Negro needs the South and that the South needs the Negro, Gov. Patterson of Tennessee, writing on "The Migration From the South," attributes high wages as the lure. Admitting, however, that the South has not done its full duty toward the Negro, Gov. Patterson says:

"He ought to be treated with greater justice than he often receives. The white man who robs him or takes advantage of his ignorance to impose upon him is a disgrace to his race. To do so is to injure the Negro, but it injures the white man more.

"I am a Southern man, with an ancestry wholly Southern, but I know that some of us have the wrong philosophy in regard to the Negro. He is a man and entitled to the rights of a man. To squeeze him in trade, to get out of him all he can give and return nothing is worse than robbing the land and giving nothing in return, about which we bear so much. The Negro should be better clothed and better housed."

Other Causes of Exodus.

The Negro press is devoting considerable space to the exodus and is unanimous in assigning reasons for the movement. A Southern weekly recently published fourteen vital reasons for the Negro's departure in large numbers, which follow:

Unjust treatment.

Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.

Taxation without representation.

Denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary.

No racial representation in the legislative halls of the State and Nation.

Inadequate school facilities in the rural districts.

Inequality of pay of Negro eachers doing the same work as white teachers.

Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.

Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.

Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext with no immediate relief in sight.

Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize Negro communities.

A longing for free air.

Relatives who have gone before writing South and telling about real freedom in the North.

The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the North.

Victimizing Tenants.

A revolt against unfair practices resorted to by white owners who let out their farms on the sharing plan is one of the chief contributory causes to the migration. It is not always the case of the owner taking advantage of a Negro. Usually the tenant is fully aware that he has been victimized. He also knows that if he values his life and property he had better keep his mouth shut and refrain from registering protest. What weight would his word have in or out of court against the white man who has systematically defrauded him?

A Negro farmer is responsible for the story that he worked ten years on one plantation in Mississippi. When a settlement was recently made he had but $50 coming to him. Such tales are common. There is no denying that the Negro tenant farmer has been defrauded out of millions of dollars by the avaricious, unprincipled white owner during the past fifty years. Good crops or bad crops, the result has been the same.

In Georgia the boll weevil has played havoc with the cotton crop the past year. It was the insect's first visit to the State. Discouraged over the failure of cotton and unable to make more than 60 cents a day as a farm hand, Negroes are migrating to centres to increase their earning capacities.

Misery in Hard Times.

A Negro farmer who was making his exit with a family of five stated his case to me in this fashion:

"You can make yourself contented down here and stand a lot off the white folks if crops are good and you're making money; but if you just have to go through a spell of hard times, you might as well do it up North, where your life and property are safer and there are some prospects of raising your family to think something of themselves."

Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis are the principal industrial centres chosen as the migrants' objective. Some in Texas and South Carolina go to Los Angeles and other points in California.

Negro ministers of the Gospel profess to see a disturbing psychological effect that is undermining the spiritual foundation of the Negro's religion as the result of this onrush from oppression. They point out that such soul-stirring Negro spirituals as "Deep River" are losing their religious import; that the words:

"Deep river, my home is over Jordan;
"Deep River, Lord, I want to cross over into camp ground."

have assumed an earthly significance and that the singers' interpretation of the song is becoming less allegorical and more literal.

STARTLING FIGURES ON THE NEGRO EXODUS FROM SOUTH TO NORTH

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: I am convinced that our present restricted national immigration laws are mainly responsible for the negro exodus from the south. I have made a tabulation of the county reports from page Seven A of your February 4 issue which more than convinces me that the exodus of our negroes is alarming and I am sure that your readers will be interested in learning the true facts about the matter. 2-10-23

Counties reporting exodus and number of negroes leaving in 1922: Burke, 5,000; Mitchell, 300; Worth, 600; Clay, 100; Macon, 600; Schley, 55; Crisp, 150; Dooly, 600; Coweta, 600; Monroe, 200; Henry, 200; Walton, 200; Greene, 1,000; Oglethorpe, 200; Franklin, 200; Hart, 200; Newton, 500; Gwinnett, 300; Jackson, 500; Jefferson, 200; Wilkinson, 30; Lincoln, 100; Taliaferro, 200; Hancock, 600; Cook, 100. Total 13,035.

Add to this the counties reporting by families, figured at 4 per family.

Candler, 11 families, 44; Grady, 7 families, 28; Meriwether, 500 families, 2,000; Lanier, 10 families, 40.

Then add as follows:

Banks (some), 10; Thomas (some), 10; Fulton (several thousand), 3,000; Madison (many), 100; Clarke (many), 100; Baldwin (many), 100; Laurens (many), 100; Wheeler (few), 10. Total 18,577.

Adding to this the counties reporting by percentage of population.

Spalding, 20 per cent; Lamar, 50 per cent; Putnam, 60 per cent; Morgan, 25 per cent; Columbia, 70 per cent.

Which I estimate as at least 2,000 will run the total to more than 20,000.

Furthermore, the chance is, that the reports from the counties are underestimated, the parties making reports being disinclined or moved to withhold full figures for various reasons.

Our Georgia people should have the full facts and enormity of the exodus situation.

The situation is not only alarming but serious, especially to our farmers, the backbone of the state and foundation of our wealth, for it means shortage of labor and advanced cost of production. A shortage of but 100 laborers in any of the agricultural counties means trouble to the farmers.

This exodus must be stopped, and without delay. More than 50 per cent of this emigration has no doubt gone out of the state and as I have it, and I am sure that I am correct, has gone north and northwest to fill the shortage of foreign help, which they are not getting now as during the pre-war period or times of normalcy. As increased production continues the factories north and west will increase their needs from the south and have no other source.

The negroes are of and among us; we understand them and they know us; we don't want them to be taken away from us and they are not going to leave voluntarily.

Modify our immigration laws so that the north and west may have what they want and need; it can be done easily and without letting in the bolshevik, reds or undesirables.

There's no use to dodge the issue; we must go to it or up goes the cost of everything, including the product which I represent, millwork, which is home building material, including lumber.

C. B. HARMAN,
Secretary Southern Sash, Door and Millwork Manufacturers' Association.
Atlanta, Ga., February 9, 1923.

NEGROES RETURN TO 'SUNNY SOUTH'

Atlanta Constitution
2-6-23

Many Who Listened to "Labor Agents" Are Begging Money to Return to Old Homes.

Cordale, Ga., February 5.—(Special).—Negroes who were lured to the north are returning, at least all who can get enough money to pay railroad fare back to their old homes. In some instances negroes write to their former employers to send the railroad fare to them, that they "is just about starved to death and frozed to death," and that if they ever get back home that they intend to stay in the sunny south where they were raised and among their friends.

They were told all kinds of high wage tales to get them to go north but after they got there they found that could not make as much there as here.

The labor agent tells them that they can go north and get 85 cents per hour to begin with at most any kind of work, but when they report for duty they are told that they are inexperienced laborers and that they can only get from 15 to 20 cents per hour with a promise after they have stayed with the firm a while that they will be raised to 25 and 30 cents per hour.

MEN OF THIS TYPE ARE DRIVING NEGRO LABOR FROM SOUTH

Savannah Press

Texas has plenty of room for Negroes that want to work. We have plenty of them in this county but they have the higher culture and are ruined for labor and are not fit for citizens The war and education have ruined them. I wish Washington had them all. They are ten times worse than they were after the Civil War. They do not want to work. If one was to ask me for work it would make me suspicious. I would think something was wrong with him. 1-15-23.

They are the most ungrateful people in the world, and I think the rottened white men and politicians are largely to blame for it.

When you find a class of people that are destitute of gratitude, honor or virture to make anything out of them it will take a great man like our President. Savannah Ga

I am about 69 years old, have been among them all my life and as far as I can see they are getting worse every day. I would not undertake to make a crop depending on their labor as I would certainly go broke.

The greatest ambition of their lives is to live in perfect idleness—absolute starvation is the only thing that will make them work. They want social equality, which they never will have in the South. They hate the white man on that account. They will have to go to their Northern friends to get that. We can't stand the order. It is almost impossible to get one of either sex to labor; they prefer living in shacks and live on bread and water W. H. Shindler, of Texas in Manufacturers Record.

Crop Failure Cause of Negro Migration North

Atlanta Ga

Farmers Discouraged and Are Ready to Follow Any Offer of Real Money.

Atlanta Constitution 1-28-23

Juliette, Ga., January 27.—(Special.)—Monroe county is suffering from the mad migration of negro farmers and laborers to the big industrial cities of the north and west. Scores of negroes have left this section during the past several months and numbers of others are preparing to leave.

According to business men in touch with the situation, it is the better class of negroes who are leaving, persons who pay their debts, and in some cases the landowners, who have failed to make an adequate crop in the last two years and have lost what they had.

They are discouraged and are ready to follow any labor recruiter who offers a job with real money. A great many families, both black and white, are hitting the trail to the Florida truck farms, lured by the tales of big profits and easy crops.

Labor - 1923
Migration Movement

Another Negro Exodus to the North

South Worried Over Labor Shortage

DENVER COL POST
FEBRUARY 27, 1923

THE SUN is warm in Dixie these days, and a meal of hog and hominy is as popular as ever in the south, yet the Negro population is said to be migrating northward in such large numbers as to threaten to handicap the effort to raise a large cotton crop, says the Literary Digest. This is the first indication of such a movement since the similar one during the war, when high wages in factories attracted southern labor to industrial centers, reports the New York Journal of Commerce, altho the present exodus from the south is not as widespread as the former one.

A Memphis correspondent of the New York Evening Post, however, says the Memphis cotton exchange has asked congress to amend the immigration laws so that more laborers may be brought from Europe to cotton growing sections of the south.

"The most significant phase of the present Negro movement," in the opinion of Secretary of Labor Davis, who tells us of the migration, is that it is going on even in the coldest months of the year. For it is well known that the Negro prefers the sunny Southland in winter.

Good wages in the reviving industrial plants of the north is one of the reasons for the migration, just as in 1917 and 1918, reports the Washington correspondent of the New York News Record, a textile daily.

LABOR AGENCIES PROMISE GOOD PAY.

Labor agencies from certain sections promise good wages and furnish transportation. But Lester A. Walton, a well known negro editor now on the staff of the New York World, writes after a tour of the south that "a revolt against unfair practices by white farm owners, who let out their property on shares, is one of the chief contributing causes to the present migration." There are fourteen causes in all, we are told, as follows:

"Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.

"Unjust treatment.

"Taxation without representation.

"Denial of the right to vote thru the subterfuge of the white primary.

"No racial representation in the legislative halls of the state and nation.

"Inadequate school facilities in the rural districts.

LYNCHINGS CITED AS A GRIEVANCE.

"Inequality of pay of Negro teachers doing the same work as white teachers.

"Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.

"Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.

"Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext, with no immediate relief in sight.

"Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize Negro communities.

"A longing for free air.

"Relatives who have gone before writing south and telling about real freedom in the north.

"The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the north.

"So fired are many negroes with an overwhelming desire to leave the south that they get on a train for the north with less than a dollar in their pockets after having bought a thru ticket.

"It is conservatively estimated that over 50,000 Negroes have left the southern states for the north, west and middle west within the past ninety days, and they are leaving on every train. From the Mississippi and Arkansas deltas fully 15,000 have gone. Georgia comes next with 12,000. South Carolina, Texas and Alabama each furnish an imposing quota in order named.

"In Georgia the boll weevil played havoc with the cotton crop last year. It was the insect's first visit to the state. Discouraged over the failure of cotton and unable to make more than 60 cents a day as farm hands, Negroes are migrating to centers to increase their earning capacities.

"Whether the exodus will gain impetus or soon give evidence of having spent its force no one can foretell. The situation is puzzling, giving farmers, business and professional men grave concern. Farm owners in many sections face disastrous financial losses in the immediate future, for acres have been left untilled and crops are yet to be planted.

"Inability to earn a decent livelihood, coupled with the reaction after years of pent-up resentment and dissatisfaction over unfair treatment are the potent reasons for shaking the dust of the Southland."

NORTH REGARDS IT AS INDUSTRIAL BOOM.

While most northern editors hail the northward migration of the Negro as a sign of an industrial boom, the Chicago Journal fears they will bring them the "Negro problem." Says this paper:

"Negroes who come north leave the field for the factory, the farm for industrial centers. Wherever they go the race problem has followed them, until already it is found in every industrial community. Three cities of Illinois already have had race riots within the last few years, and the horrible vice conditions uncovered in Chicago are a direct incitement to another such outbreak. To this already tense and difficult situation add a mass of colored laborers from the south, ignorant of northern customs or city life, and inclined to be expansive on getting away from old time restraints, and what is the probable result?

"Chicago must clean house. While such vice conditions as the grand jury has uncovered are tolerated, the city faces one of the gravest dangers of its history. Any spark may start a conflagration, even now, and every fresh addition to the colored colony adds to the peril. If not for decency's sake or law's sake, then for safety's sake start the cleanup."

SAYS NEGROES ARE FLOCKING TO NORTH

NEW YORK HERALD
MARCH 10, 1923

Church Report Finds Industry Turning to Them in Immigration Shortage.

Northern industrial centers now are attracting more negroes from the South than for three years, according to the report of a commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America made public here yesterday. The commission recently held a conference to dispuss church and race relations with special reference to negro migration within the United States.

"While there is no way of ascertaining figures that show the extent of the movement of negroes to the North during the past twelve months," the report states, "there are definite indications which justify the conclusion that there will be a large movement during the spring and summer of 1923, larger than during the last two or three years."

The commission found that the existing immigration policy has induced many industries in Northern centers to admit negroes in large numbers. Reports from Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Bridgeport and Hartford showed "above the usual number" of negroes migrating to these cities in a movement that it is predicted will continue.

A principal recommendation in the report is that the churches encourage practical movements for improving housing conditions among colored people, particularly the newcomers in a community, by cooperating with authoritative agencies for housing betterment, and, however necessary and practicable, by promoting housing facilities.

There are also recommendations to ministers and church workers to exercise vigilance to see that negroes may have access to public facilities for recreation, and where possible, in the neighborhood in which they live; that existing church equipment and property be used to a greater extent for service seven day in the week; and that efforts be made to see that enforcement of municipal regulations for commercialized amusement centers frequented by negro patrons is similar to that for places frequented by white patrons.

"The churches of the two races," said the report, "have a challenge to free negro residential neighborhoods from amusement agencies that link up with vice and to see that moral expectation and police protection shall be applied to negro neighborhoods as to others."

A New Negro Labor Exodus North

N Y C CALL
MARCH 16, 1923

Negro workers are coming North, even during winter. It is the first new definite exodus since the war. The cause, of course, is the increasing demand for labor in the basic industries, such as steel, coal, building, etc.; high wages relative to those Negroes received in the South, and more freedom and more educational opportunities for their children in the Northern centers. Phil H. Brown, commissioner of conciliation in the Labor Department, in a release of February 1, says:

Payrolls of a number of districts in Northern and Central Western industrial points are being slightly swelled by the employment of these workers who come directly from Southern states, with Georgia yielding the greatest number of migrants.

Philadelphia, Pa.; Portsmouth, Akron and Youngstown, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wis.; Argo, Ill.; Indiana Harbor, Ind., and Trenton and Newark, N. J., are specific points into which an appreciable influx of Negro labor has come from absorption into industrial life.

Note that the largest exodus is from Georgia, where the largest number of lynchings occur, the estate of John Williams' "death farm" notoriety. Let the migration keep up. Negro labor is the basis of Southern agricultural, industrial and commercial wealth. Such is the economic chain; no Negro, no labor; no labor, no wealth! Thus, by the Negroes' leaving they are hitting Southern industry a mortal blow. It will make conditions better for those that remain in the South; for the "white South" will begin making concessions to the Negroes in the form of more and better schools, higher wages—yes, even the eventual abolition of peonage, lynching, disfranchisement and the jim-crow car in order to retain Negro laborers. Profits are dearer to Southern plutocrats than mobocrats. Besides, if industry is paralyzed by the lack of Negro labor there will be no huge profits with which to finance the campaigns of such political Negro-phobists as Pat Harrison, Cole Blease and Vardaman. Banks will fail because Southern businesses of all kinds, manufacturers and farmers, will have no money to deposit with them. Money is the issue in the South as well as the North. Look at Harrison, Ark., where a white citizens' vigilantes committee lynched a white worker because he struck for more wages! This, by the way, is the same Arkansas—Elaine is the place—where Negro share-crop-tenant farmers were murdered because they dared to hire a lawyer to protect their interest in the cotton which they produced. The white farm owners sent out the alarm that the Negro farm-tenants were planning an insurrection to murder all the white people. So did the railroad bosses in Harrison claim that the railroad strikers (white) were burning down bridges, destroying property and endangering the lives of the citizens. Capitalists frame white as well as black workers, and they lynch both. But the exodus is one of the Negroes' most effective remedies.—The Messenger.

LOS ANGELS, CAL. TIMES
FEBRUARY 21, 1923

NEGROES GOING NORTH

The States south of the Mason and Dixon line are deeply wrought up over the emigration of their negroes to the North. Not since the war has there been such an exodus, and the full significance of the negroes' sudden departure from their homeland is shown by the fact that they are taking their departure just when the weather is coldest in Yankee land. They are essentially children of the sun, and the urge is great and deep that will make them move to the lands of blizzards and cold during the winter season.

The departure has wrought havoc in the cotton fields, with the result that the Memphis Cotton Exchange has asked Congress to amend the immigration laws so that laborers may be brought from Europe to the cotton belt. The day of poorly paid skilled labor seems to have ended in the South, although some States are endeavoring to force their black workmen to remain at home.

The causes of the dissatisfaction are many, but chief among them are the lynchings and activities of the Ku Klux Klan. The Southern States have failed to make provision for the education and improvement of their negro population, with the result that white farmers and plantation owners are today faced with the prospect of financial ruin and many large agricultural districts have their lands lying untilled and idle. The southerners have always insisted that the solution of the negro problem was a southern matter, but up to date have done nothing about it. Now that they are hard hit in the pocketbook, the most sensitive spot with nearly all peoples, they will probably get their heads together and see what they can do to make life and work in the South more attractive to their colored laborers.

MINISTERS TELL AUTHORITIES WHY NEGROES ARE LEAVIG MEMPHIS

Preston News Service.

Memphis, Tenn.—A committee of Negroes ministers representing the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance here filed a lengthy memorandum with the chairman of the Welfare department of the Chamber of Commerce of Memphis last Tuesday morning.

Among the most important things cited as to why Negroes are leaving the South and Memphis in particular for other sections is police oppression. This is given as the principal cause of Negro migration, which is seriously affecting labor supply.

The officials of the Chamber of Commerce immediately took up the matter with the police department and city authorities. The ministers ited two recent killing of Negroes on Scott Street as unwarranted. It is claimed that officers unlawfully search Negro homes. Pointed out that on one occasion a Negro told the officers that they had no right to enter his home without a warrant. He is said to have told them that he would protect his home against invasion. The police paid no attention to his statement and forced their way into his house. One officer was killed and another wounded. A riot call was sent in and this Negro was killed. Following this several homes were entered by the officers, evidently for the purpose of stricking terror into the hearts and minds of Negroes. Two other killings occured that same night. These unfortunate outrages were followed by an exodus of several hundred Negro families.

The ministers told the officers of the Chamber of Commerce that they were having a hard time in the face of such affairs to convince Negroes that they should remain in Memphis.

FLORIDA NEGROES GO TO NORTHERN STATES

Higher Wages, Attract Farmers of South, Survey of District Shows

WASHINGTON, April 22.—A general movement of southern negro farmers to northern industrial centers where high wages are obtainable is indicated in a special survey of farming districts in the South made by the department of agriculture. Unprofitable cotton growing due to the boll weevil conditions, unrest among returned negro troops who experienced more attractive living conditions in other locations than the farm during the war, are cited in a report issued today as contributory causes to the migration.

Approximately 13 per cent or 32,000 of the total number of negro farm hands in Georgia is estimated to have moved north during the last twelve months and the movement continues although crops for the present season are already started.

Large Acreage Abandoned

A large abandonment of acreage is reported, and the labor shortage is expected to be a major factor in limiting acreage this season. The situation in Georgia is declared to be worse than that which prevails generally.

From South Carolina about 22,750, or about 3 per cent of the total negro farm population, have departed.

The movement from Florida is estimated at about two per cent of negroes living in or near farming communities.

Alabama Loses Farm Help

Alabama reports that approximately 3 1-2 per cent of its negro farm population has moved north since the last crop season.

Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 negro farmers, or about 3 1-2 per cent of the negro farm population.

Movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no migration is reported.

Louisiana reports an exodus of about one per cent; Tennessee about 4,500 negro farmers since April 7, 1922, while in Texas the farm labor situation is apparently not so serious as in the eastern cotton growing states.

NEGRO MIGRATION AND THE REMEDY

The spring migration of colored labor from the farms and cities of the South to the large industrial centers of the north is in full swing. Large companies of Negroes, often entire Negro families, are leaving Richmond through the Broad street terminal almost daily, lured to a non-existent land of high wages and of easy living described by Northern labor agents.

Some of these Negroes will return it is true; return with the first snows and the closing down of northern work, to live unhappily themselves and to spread unhappiness among their race. Many never return until they come in the baggage-car with attendant mourners in the coaches behind.

The large majority of the Negroes now going North are from the farming sections of the Carolinas and Virginia many of them are from Richmond They present a problem that must be solved. Unless it is, there is no small danger that the South may lose an element that has played a very important part in her present prosperity.

The solution lies not in the passage of laws prohibiting the recruiting of labor for shipment out of the state, but rather in improving the conditions under which the colored man works and lives. He is enjoying educational opportunities and is being taught how he should live, but he needs help in securing better living and housing conditions both on the farm and in the cities. Richmond is a notable example of this neglect. During the rapid growth of the city in the last few years the housing question has been one of large concern, and little progress. Few steps, if any, have been taken to improve the housing conditions of the colored population. Many Negroes live in the tumble-down shacks that have stood since the Civil War. Good residences for the thrifty are almost unprocurable.

Nothing will take the place of good housing and fair treament. Along with these things there can be efforts to acquaint the colored man with the fact that the high wages of the North are as a rule offset by high rents, high cost of living, frequent "shutdowns" and the exactions of unsympathetic employers.

There is no use mincing words. The Negro race has its delinquents as other races have. It is traditional in the South to complain of the shortcomings of Negro labor. The truth is it is usually steady, industrious and little disposed to strikes or murmurings. The actual outlay in making life a little brighter for him and in assuring him a better home is as nothing compared with the cost of attempting to replace him or to do without him—News Leader, Richmond, Va.

REPORTS INDICATE BIG INCREASE IN MIGRATION INTO NORTHERN CENTERS

Many Are Going To Farm Lands In New England. Others To Industrial Centers By Hundreds

Associated Negro Press.

CHICAGO, Ill., April 11.—Reports coming to the Associated Negro Press from all northern centers indicate that the increase in migration into northern centers is on. Every train from the South carries large numbers of Colored passengers with all their belongings. Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and intermediate centers are getting the largest numbers through the Middle West. Many of those going into New York City, continue further on North into the industrial districts of New England. There has recently come a demand for farm hands in New England that is being taken advantage of by some of the colored migrants, and it has been found that a movement is on foot to reinhabit some of the deserted farms of New England with Colored agriculturists.

Chicago has hundreds coming daily. Many of them are finding employment in the outlying manufacturing districts, as far West as Gary, South Bend, and Fort Wayne, Indiana; as far North as Milwaukee, and some are going into Iowa and other western States.

There has been a discussion of finding either in Illinois or Indiana, or possibly in Western Michigan, farm districts to which farmers may go, and eventually ship their produce to Chicago. An effort is also being made to find allotment sights near Chicago, in order to build substantial homes "from the ground up," especially for those who have families.

NEGRO EXODUS AT CREST.

Labor Commissioner Says Demand Is Less and Supply Shorter.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 27.—According to L. A. Wilson, state labor commissioner, the crest of migration of negroes from Arkansas to northern states has been reached.

Mr. Wilson gave as his reasons for declaring that the crest of the migration had been reached the fact that the percentage of chances for employment in the north is growing less and the fact that the supply in the south is growing smaller.

The commissioner received a letter today from Frances I. Jones, federal director of the United States bureau of employment, asking for information relative to the reported emigration of negroes. Mr. Wilson stated that the published reports were greatly exaggerated, adding that only 7,000 negroes had left Arkansas, but the departure of this number has greatly crippled the agricultural industry of the state.

Movement from South Carolina

Columbia, S. C., April 26.—With the coming of warm weather migration of Negroes from South Carolina to points in the Northern industrial area has grown to considerable proportions, although probably not as heavy as a year ago, according to reports gathered here today by the Columbia State.

The movement, the reports say, is regarded generally as an economic one, the sections suffering most from the boll weevil experiencing the heaviest emigration.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

NEW YORK CITY HERALD
NOVEMBER 11, 1923

EXODUS OF NEGROES INJURES THE SOUTH

Thousands Desert Plantations for Higher Wages in North.

THREAT TO COTTON INDUSTRY

Social Problems Created in Migration of Population.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 10.—The negro migration from the South to the North, East and West, now attracting nation-wide attention, has been divided into two separate movements or periods. World war conditions caused the first and the shutting off of foreign immigrants of the common labor type started the second, which still is on. Unrest among the negro hordes of the old slave States helped to swell the steady stream that has been crossing the Dixie line for nearly two years. Almost three-quarters of a million negroes have abandoned their homes in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Kentucky and gone to other States to live.

An official of the Erie Railroad, who spent several winters in Florida is said to have been the first large employer of labor to conceive the idea of recruiting from the population of the South. When the war between the Allies and Germany and Austria-Hungary broke out and the call for reservists was issued many thousands of Slavs, Montenegrins, Serbs and others gave up their jobs as section hands, freight handlers, miners and the like in this country and joined the colors of their respective countries. This caused a sudden and serious shortage of common and semi-skilled labor.

The Erie personnel man went to Florida and got a train load of negroes. Other train loads followed, and soon rival roads had agents in Florida, Georgia and Alabama. Many thousands were carried out of two or three States on "transportation."

To make conditions more agreeable and to hold the men obtained the Erie constructed bunk houses out of box cars and provided a mess hall, food and cooks.

South Glad at First.

At first the people of Florida and Georgia were glad to see the surplus negroes go, but later when lumbermen and representatives of smaller enterprises commenced to complain of a shortage of labor steps were taken to prevent outside agents from soliciting men. The very cream of the negro labor was being tapped by the big railroads. City after city passed ordinances prohibiting the wholesale procuring of workmen.

That was the beginning of the first negro labor exodus, and it continued until hostilities in France ceased.

During the "deflation" period, after peace was restored, many negroes who went North and West to supply the war time demand were let out of their jobs. There was a slowing down of the wheels of industry, and the first to suffer were Southern negroes who enlisted for the emergency. Many returned to the South to work there, but about 250,000 remained in their adopted States, and in some places brought about difficult situations. At Cleveland, Ohio, the Chamber of Commerce considered means of getting rid of those who remained there. A plan to ship them back to the South was contemplated, for the temporary demand for their services over many of them were making trouble. But when new prosperity dawned and business commenced to improve the negroes were put to work, and as the demand was greater than the supply another call was made on the South. That resulted in the present exodus.

This movement of negroes is being watched by the Federal Government. Phil H. Brown, an able negro leader, now Commissioner of Conciliation for the United States Department of Labor, is the official observer. He describes it as the "remarkable hegira of the negro people from the Southern States who are obtaining employment in Northern industries."

Government Is Watching.

"The wonderful metamorphosis now in progress, by which cotton pickers are being transformed into steel workers," said Mr. Bown, "is quite as interesting and has as many slants toward industrial economy as any event that has occurred in the country's history."

Better wages, enlarged opportunities for living, fuller recognition of manhood and adequate educational advantages are reasons given by Mr. Brown for the negro migration.

"These," he said, "form the composite urge of the negro who leaves the South.

"Emerging from the devastation of the great war for the correction of civilization, we are undertaking rehabilitation upon a scale more extensive than has ever been known before, and calling for high geared production that is a marvel even to our marvelous country. This production is meeting a demand, the chief essential of which is domestic necessity. Railroads were run down at the heel by the merciless pounding of the war; steel and its dependent industries are strained to live up to their requirements; building trades are called upon to relieve a housing famine that spreads over the country. This great industrial revival was ushered in simultaneously with a sweeping reform of immigration laws.

"Immigration was the chief source of recruiting for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, the need of which became very insistent. It was then that the country bethought itself of the massive negro labor reserves, and it was called out in the emergency. Immediately an upheaval of labor conditions ensued. The mad rush to the Klondike in search of gold is nothing to be compared to this northern movement.

"The center of negro population in the United States has been changed 9.4 miles farther East and 19 miles farther North on account of this movement. This is the first time this center has assumed a northeasterly trend in the history of the country."

This is expert testimony, given after investigation and reflection.

The South is beginning to realize that it is in danger of losing its cotton producers. Its monopoly on that staple cannot continue indefinitely if the negro laborer deserts its plantations.

In the present movement good States, like good employers, have not suffered as heavily as States and employers whose treatment of the negro was not so considerate.

In Georgia and Mississippi, where lynchings have been most frequent and Ku Klux Klans most active, the loss of labor has been greatest. Those communities that have held that an educated negro was a drawback rather than a help to the white farmer are hard hit.

Ben Davis, an intelligent negro business man of Atlanta, a member of the committee on resolutions and platform at the last Republican National Convention, gave THE NEW YORK HERALD correspondent this statement:

"The principal causes for the migration from Georgia are the unrest in the rural districts, non-enforcement of the laws on white and black alike, the loss of confidence on the part of the negr in his white friends, bad housing conditions, the contract labor law, which is unfair to the employee and enables the employer to indict for debt; poor schools, the Ku Klux Klan and low wages.

"White people have torn down negro school houses and negro lodges and reduced tenants to peonage. This cannot be said of a majority of our white citizens, but it is allowed to go on.

"The boll weevil has crippled many leading farmers and put them in a bad position, and they are unable to stand by their negro tenants and employees.

"From the cotton field at 65 to 75 cents a day the negro farmer is going to the North, East and West, where he gets almost that much per hour.

"This movement grows stronger and more widespread."

Asked if North Carolina had lost negroes, Gov. Cameron Morrison said: "I am satisfied that more negroes moved into our State from other Southern States than moved out. North Carolina is 'the North' to which many negroes come. Agriculture in North Carolina is in a most healthy state. Negroes prosper here. They have opportunities and are appreciated.

"We are building factories, schools and roads throughout the State to an unprecedented extent. We uphold the law and protect the negroes in their rights and they know it. The hospitals for their defectives are being enlarged. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been provided for their schools for higher education. We are going to have the greatest institution in the country for the technical education of the negro.

"With all these provisions for his welfare and betterment and the constructive programs of State, county and municipality the negro finds plenty to encourage and keep him busy. This program was not prepared to induce the negro to remain in the State, but as part of a broad, progressive policy for white and black alike."

South Hit in Migration Of 700,000 Laborers

SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND negroes, born in the South, have migrated to the North, East and West within the last six years. Two hundred and fifty thousand of these went to their new homes during the world war in response to a call for labor in the manufacture of munitions of war, and 450,000 since 1921. These figures are agreed upon by Federal and State authorities, who have made a study of the subject.

The States of Georgia, Florida and Mississippi sustained the greatest losses, and Ohio, Pennsylvania and Michigan made the greatest gains. Georgia lost approximately 225,000 of its negro population within the last eighteen months, Florida 100,000 and Mississippi 95,000. It is estimated that 175,000 of these migrants went to Ohio, 105,000 to Pennsylvania and 50,250 to Michigan.

In a series of five articles THE NEW YORK HERALD will tell of this transfer of hundreds of thousands of negroes to the North, East and West. The first article appears herewith.

Suggests Ownership Of Homes as Solution Of Migration Problem

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution:

I have read with much interest the letters in your daily on the unrest of our negro population with the suggestions to remedy the situation. 7-17-23

I have always thought the best plan to secure a contented class of citizens, interested in the welfare of the country, is for each individual family to own its own home. Atlanta, Ga.

With this idea in view as a railroad contractor after the war between the states, I advised the laborers to whom I paid around $1,000 to invest in homes. A number of them followed my advice.

One who bought in Atlanta told me afterwards that he was offered $1,000 for property for which he paid $100, but would not sell as he needed it for a home. Several in Cobb county purchased land on which they or their children are now living contented law-abiding citizens, always ready to assist their white neighbors in any emergency.

To secure permanent and interested citizens of any race or nationality their families should own their own homes. However humble the home the owner feels the same interest in the country as does the posessor of the most expensive mansion.

R. DE T. LAWRENCE.

Marietta, Ga., July 16, 1923.

"Uncle Tom's Negro Chautauqua" Seeks to Halt Northern Migration of Blacks

The local chamber of commerce on Saturday received a unique caller in the person of "Uncle Tom," a negro who gave his age as 68 years, who came in to seek their endorsement of his "Uncle Tom's Negro Chautauqua," which he expects to put on in Montgomery in the next few days. He presented a stack of endorsements from other places, and the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce added theirs to the old man's collection.

"Uncle Tom" says his purpose is to impress upon his race, by means of his chautauqua, that the best place for them is Dixie, and that the South is their real friend. 12-9-23

"I tell my people that the white man of the South stands by them asking only truth, honesty and industry of them and not a copper of collateral," he declared earnestly. "But north of the Mason and Dixon line, I tell them, they have got to have the collateral to get anything."

"Uncle Tom" says that he served with the Council of Defense during the war, working among the negroes, and that he helped among his people in the various patriotic campaigns of liberty loans and war savings stamps. And since those needs have become a thing of the past, he has undertaken to preach the gospel of the south as the true home to the negroes.

He is an old-time southern darkie, giving Florida as his native state, and speaks in terms of loyalty and deference of the "white folks" in Dixie.

Uncle Tom will be assisted in his chautauqua by his wife and three children, one of whom plays the piano and the others sing old and new melodies.

It is expected that his chautauqua will prove interesting, and seats are to be arranged for the accomodation of the "white folks" who care to hear him.

NEGROES FIND THORNS WITH ROSES OF NORTH

Five out of Nine Back on the Job in Escambia County.

ATMORE, ALA., Aug. 11—Special to The Advertiser—The migration of negroes from this section of Escambia county to northern points seems to have proven an unsatisfactory venture. About two months ago nine negroes left one of the largest planters in this section. They went to Cincinnati and Detroit. Five of the nine are back on the place from which they left and the other four are said to be in the county but as yet are ashamed to come back and ask for their old places.

One of the negroes on being asked why he came back explained that while the wages paid were fine, that it cost all he could make to "find himself;" that by the time he paid $20 a month for a room alone, and then had to eat and pay street car fare to and from his work, he found that about all he got from the city was the bright lights and he had to view them moving along as the blue coated officers would not let him stand in one place long.

"Atmore for me," he said, "and I can tell all of the colored brothers who are thinking of going north that they had better think again before they go."

ALBANY (GA.) HERALD
OCT 22 1923

"The president of the American Cotton Association notes that 300,000 laborers, white and black, from the South east of the Mississippi migrated in 1922 and the first two months of 1923, and that in South Carolina and Georgia 25,000 farms have been abandoned in 1923. This movement of population he attributes to the boll weevil and the impairment of cotton growing. Of course, there is something in this, but all the information available is that much the greater part of the labor which has left the cotton fields is black, and that in part it has been drawn to the North by higher wages, and to a much larger extent it has been driven from the South by the attitude of a great part of the Southern people, to whom the blacks are still "niggers." There are "night riders," and lynchings occur, and the K. K. K. flourishes there. —Philadelphia Record.

And when these same black men go North, they get good wages as long as there are more jobs than there are men to fill them, but the moment industry begins to languish and there are found to be more laboring men than there are jobs, then trouble begins—trouble for the black men. Whenever, in any Northern industrial district, white men who are thrown out of employment find that black men have jobs, the white men take steps to have the jobs vacated that they themselves may have a pay envelope at each week's end. Nobody will contend that the negro always gets fair treatment in the South, but he comes nearer getting it here than he does in the North. Since large numbers of Southern negroes have located in Northern industrial communities, they have been the victims of a great deal of discrimination. The prejudice of their white neighbors, and particularly white laboring men, has been much in evidence. And when the negro in the North is thrown out of work—when he becomes an object of charity—he has a much harder time of it than does the negro in the South. For in Southern communities colored folks do not walk the streets hungry, nor do they ever have to sleep in the parks.

100,000 NEGROES GO NORTH IN YEAR

Close Estimate Places This Number as Having Left Sunny South Already in 1923

NEW YORK, Nov. 5.—Surveying the present migratory movement of negroes to the north, which has stirred students of sociology, the national industrial conference board, an organization affiliated with many large manufacturing concerns, tonight issued a report asserting that this year about 100,000 negroes had left their homes in the south.

The present movement, the report set forth, "is almost wholly industrial and has been to a considerable extent induced by the shortage of common labor in the north."

The board found that the normal annual movement was about 10,000. During 1916 and 1917, however, it was estimated that in a wave of hysteria approximately 400,000 negroes had left the south, as "whole communities, entire streets of people and even church congregations headed by their pastors moved north and located as units in the important industrial centers."

Discussing the present movement the board reported that negroes had been induced to come north either by employers sending into southern states labor agents who in turn employed local agents, or by migrating friends who either voluntarily or upon request had spoken or written to friends in the south urging them to move.

Two definite problems, the board said, had grown out of the migration, first, the relation of the white and negro races, "by no means an insuperable problem," and second, housing.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE IS SUGGESTED FOR ANTI-MIGRATION HEADQUARTERS

Col. H. L. Remmel Of Arkansas Wants Five Southern Negroes Commissioned By Government To Tour South Advising Their Race To Stop Going North. Plan Is Condemned By The Colored Chamber Of Commerce At Little Rock, Which Scores Remmel As The Leader Of The Lily-Whites Who Would Disfranchise The Race.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Oct. 18.—(Special). The plan to have President Coolidge appoint a Negro Commission to help stop the Negro migration has met with favor from many Southerners, according to a statement from Col. H. L. Remmel, collector of internal for Little Rock, and Republican National Committeeman from that state. He said that such a plan would meet the general approval of the white South.

The plan suggested by the Arkansas committeeman calls for the appointment of a commission of five Southern Negroes who would maintain headquarters at Tuskegee, Ala., the home of the Booker Washington Institute. This commission would make a thorough tour of the South, holding conferences and mass meetings in central portions throughout the territory.

"It would be their duty," Colonel Remmel said, "to hold these meetings with Negroes in the South and explain to them that the South is the best place for them; to teach them diversification of crops and advise them on ways and means of bettering their condition. We would want Southern Negroes on the board as it is a well recognized fact that the Northern Negro does not understand his Southern brother.

President Coolidge expressed himself as heartedly in favor of the plan and was only doubtful on the point whether or not he could appoint the commission without special legislative authority. He asked me to go over the plan with Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, which I did.

"I know many Southerners will favor the plan."

Condemn Col. Remmel

The Colored Chamber of Commerce of Little Rock recently passed resolutions condemning Remmel as the leader of lily whiteism in the state.

Resolutions

Whereas, it appears from the public press, that Colonel H. L. Remmel of Little Rock, Arkansas, in an interview with President Coolidge, suggested the appointment of a Committee of several colored men to travel thru the South;

And Whereas, Col. Remmel's solicitation for the welfare of the Southern Negro, and particularly the Arkansas Negro, does not square with the doctrine of Col. Remmel and his "lilly white" associates in the Republican politics in Arkansas, in disfranchising the Negroes in the Republican party in Arkansas;

And Whereas, this attitude of Colonel Remmel and his "lilly white" associates in Arkansas have contributed more to the unrest of the Negroes than any one other thing;

Be It Resolved, That we question Colonel Remmel's sincerity, deny his authority to represent the Negroes of Arkansas at the White House or elsewhere and would suggest fair dealing between landlord and tenants, and equality in Republican Party in the South as a better remedy than Federal intervention as indicated by his request.

Be it further Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to President Coolidge and to the public press.

Colored Chamber of Commerce.
By J. G. THORNTON, Pres.
Attest: I. T. GILLAM, Secy.

JUL 20 1923

Negroes going to the industrial centers of the East and North are finding it harder and harder to get jobs at living wages. Unskilled labor is fast becoming a drug on the market in the Northern and Eastern cities, and with cold weather only a few months off there is going to be a lot of suffering among Southern negroes who have gone there

USING NEWSPAPER ADS TO KEEP SOUTHERN LABOR

New Orleans, La.—Full page advertisements are appearing in the Daily States, supposedly written by a Colored man, asking the Negroes to remain in the south where they are assured of good treatment and wages and pointing out supposedly future conditions which might result if the colored man migrated to the north. These advertisements are designed to influence the Negroes to remain in the south, where conditions are pitiful in the extreme, both as regards living conditions and wages, in order that the southern manufacturer and planter can obtain his services for practically nothing. The Negro is not organized in the south, and woe betides a laborer organizer, whether A. F. of L. or industrial unionism who endeavors to show the colored man wherein he can benefit himself by joining a labor union and demanding rights. "The Negro will remain in the south if the jim-crow laws are repealed, the right to vote given and the bill of civil rights enforced. If the Negro is an asset and a necessity to the south, then he should have all the privileges of the white man," said a leader here.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, Oglethorpe Head, Discusses Problem of Negro Emigration

Editor Constitution: The emigration of negroes from southern farms in large numbers, has caused much concern among our employers of labor, and considerable interest has been shown in devising means to restrain their exodus from the south. One would judge from the many expressions to be read on the subject in our newspapers that this northward movement of colored people is approaching the size of a sectional catastrophe.

Yet, in the opinion of the writer, quite the opposite is the case. The more one considers the matter from all points of view, the more are we led to believe that it is one of the most helpful and promising movements and, in general, one of the best things that has ever happened to the south, the negro, and the nation.

To begin with, we all recognize the fact that the determination on the part of northern labor and the northern people in general to relieve our American Nordic civilization from competition with the lower elements of southern Europe by passing a stringent immigration law is at the bottom of the whole matter. Instead of employing European labor, the northern manufacturing concern is employing the southern darky. The results are perfectly plain and the advantages to all parties concerned are apparent.

It is certainly a fine thing for the negro laborer. Anyone who reads the letters that they write home from the north, or who talks with them as they leave in multitudes from any of our southern railway stations, will learn very quickly just why they are deserting the farms, the villages and the cities for the east. In many cases housing conditions in which they find themselves are far superior to those which they left. So are their school facilities and, in general, everything else that makes for their happiness. So far as the negro emigrant is concerned, the matter would seem hardly open to debate. Indeed, it is neither right nor just to attempt to prevent their going by any form of compulsion.

And the negro laborer left behind is also immensely advantaged. He finds that in proportion as the colored labor leaves his community his own wages rise. He finds also that the white employer and the white property owner have something to say to him about his rents and his tumbledown shanty and his living conditions that he has wanted to hear for a good many years. While he may prefer to stay at home in Georgia, he is only too glad to see many of his friends go north, realizing that every one of them who departs is conferring a benefit upon those that they leave behind.

And, in consequence, it follows logically that the white laborer of the south is also advantaged by this exodus. He, likewise, finds his wages rising and the dilapidated house that he has been renting begins to be repaired. Whether he lives on a farm or in a more thickly settled community, he becomes a far more valued personage with a larger income and is being rapidly placed in a position to help himself more effectively. Especially is this the case with the white farm laborer. If he is bitter in his heart, he does not deplore the sinking in value of the farm lands, but recognizes in that fact the possibility that the "poor white trash" of the south may, after a while, be able to own their own homes. He finds himself relieved of the competition of his negro neighbor to a large extent. He is dimly conscious of the fact that his "poor white trash" civilization has been largely made so and kept so by its close proximity to an African civilization. He knows that the very words that his children use incorrectly and pronounce so faultily have been learned from their nurses and negro playmates, and he is not sorry to see his family removed from the competition of his negro neighbor that sinks at times into peonage. He feels that just as cheap money drives out good money, cheap civilization drives out a good civilization, and it looks to him as if he is about to have another chance.

And as it is with him, so it is with the southern farm itself. Any frank and loyal Georgian who knows what farming is as conducted in the middle west or in any country of Europe realizes that a Georgia farm looks like desolation compared thereto. The negro never was a farmer, is not now and never will be. He is admirably suited to the jobs to which, in this farm-to-industry movement, he is going at the present time in such large numbers, and as he goes he is giving the south an opportunity, to just that extent, to have a white farming class, without which neither Georgia nor any other state can ever expect to be great. As long as the white people of this state look upon farm work as a work for the negro hired hand to do, so long will our farming be, compared with the best agriculture of the best states in the world, nothing but a joke. But when the time comes that the southern white man on his farm is proud of the labor of his hands thereon, then the foundation will have been laid for a truly great commonwealth.

Nor is this all. The very finest effect of this exodus of negro laborers is its political effect. If this thing continues long enough the boundaries of the south will be extended to include Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia and Pennsylvania and similar border states, and the one great curse that has vitiated the statesmanship of our country will have been eliminated from our policies. As long as there is a negro problem in America the south is in political slavery, unable to vote her mind about matters of national and international importance to her citizens. When the time comes that the negro problem is no longer a sectional problem—but in so far as it is a problem at all, a national problem—then, indeed, will our south country be free.

And it should be added that from the political standpoint of the negro, also, the change will be most highly advantageous. It is difficult for a white man to realize how it feels to be "a problem" and the negro will never be satisfied, nor will the tension between the races be over until he ceases to be a problem. This can only happen when he leaves the southern cotton farm, where his natural increase is overwhelmingly greater than that of the white man, and becomes in large numbers a city dweller, where his natural increase is no greater and, indeed, is less than that of the white man. This is exactly the situation that is being brought about. As soon as the natural increase of the negro is no greater than or less than that of the white man in the south the whole attitude of the races to one another will change to one of helpfulness, and the negro will be able to attain a hold and place in American life as a citizen that is denied him under present conditions.

As it is with our immigrants, so it is with our negro. It is highly advantageous to all parties concerned that they should be more evenly distributed over America than at present. In proportion as this is accomplished will they develop into the full measure of their possibilities as men. If, for example, this emigration should continue until the negro is fairly evenly distributed over the United States, he would then constitute slightly less than 10 per cent. of the population in any given community. He would, instantly, cease to be a problem and become an American citizen with rights and privileges unabridged. And that important work being done by our inter-racial committees, religious and civic, which suffers now from the tension of racial prejudices and labor rivalry would, for the first time in the south, have a chance to apply the gospel of Jesus Christ to the relationship between white and black men, a happy consummation, which will never be accomplished while the great under-masses of southern white men with the increasing number of mulattoes staring them in the face, see themselves overwhelmingly outnumbered by an unassimilable race whose every social, financial and civic advancement only darkens the threat arising from racial differences and preponderating numbers.

Any way you look at it, therefore—whether from the point of view of the negro emigrant or his relative left behind or of the white laborer or of the farms, themselves, or of the commonwealth, or of the nation — this movement of the negroes to the north is not without its compensating benefit.

The thoughtful Georgian will not overlook the fact that as the negro surplus goes north the son of the southern white farmer will find living room on his own farm and slowly, without immigration from anywhere, the complexion of our agriculture, likewise, will be changed. It would be still better if we could bring in a reasonable number of immigrants from northern Europe and our own middle west. Only when we come to the large employer of labor do we find difficulty, and that is only temporary. For it is obviously true that if the other benefits described in this statement really accrue to the south, then the larger the interests controlled by our large employers of labor the more will they be advantaged. The negro was brought to this country on the curious belief that he was necessary to farming in the south. Disunion and death resulted in millions. As his coming was mercenary, so is every attempt made to retain him. For over a century our white civilization has suffered this handicap. Should we refuse to have our burden lightened even to so small an extent?

Incidentally, those of our southern leaders who for years have been endeavoring to persuade white immigrants from the north and west to settle in the southern states and who have learned the difficulty of inducing them to immigrate to a country where they must compete with the negroes will not fail to notice that this migration is helping them to solve their problem in a double manner. The northern white laborer is being made accustomed to the negroes, not only in his own home country, but is, thereby, prepared to emigrate to a land where the conditions are not widely different.

In any case, there is nothing to get excited about. On the economic side of the question it is perfectly certain that the larger the numbers in which he arrives in the north the lower will be the wages that he will receive there and the higher the wages that the southern laborer will receive. As the one decreases the other will increase until the differential is so small that the emigration will automatically cease.

In the meantime, the south will receive her blessing and the negro emigrant also.

THORNWELL JACOBS.

Atlanta, Ga., July 4, 1923.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal

JUL 12 1923

RACE COMMITTEE SUGGESTS WAYS TO CHECK MIGRATION

The Georgia committee on race relations, at its semi-annual meeting Wednesday, adopted resolutions urging that negro migration from Georgia may be checked by observance of the following program:

1. Suppression of mob violence.
2. Better school facilities for the negroes.
3. Special farm demonstration agents to instruct and aid negro farmers in fighting the boll weevil and other farm pests.

Among those attending the meeting were: Bishop F. F. Reese and Mrs. A. R. Lawton, of Savannah; J. Bailey Gordon, of Rome; Prof. J. Phil Campbell, of Athens; Mrs. R. P. Brooks, of Athens; Mrs. W. A. Turner, of Newman; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzgerald, of Madison; Rev. W. W. Memminger, John J. Eagen, W. W. Alexander, Marion Jackson, Marvin Underwood, John A. Manget, Mrs. W. A. Albright, Mrs. J. Frank Smith, Mrs. John N. McEachern and Dr. T. J. Woofter, of Atlanta; Mrs. Arrington, of Augusta; Rev. R. H. Singleton and W. J. Trent, Atlanta, and Prof. W. W. Reddick, Americus.

Mob Violence Wanes

The steady decrease in mob violence in Georgia was the subject of comment and commendation by Dr. T. J. Woofter, who declared the number of lynchings has shown a gratifying reduction during the last two years and that within the last six months there has been only one such act of mob violence.

The committee voted its commendation to the sheriff of Chatham county, Merritt Dixon; Mayor Seabrook, of Savannah, and former Governor Hardwick, for their "prompt and courageous action in preventing mob violence in Savannah recently."

Rev. R. H. Singleton, pastor of Big Bethel church, Atlanta, told the committee of a meeting held recently by negro leaders of Atlanta at the auditorium, at which the matters of first importance to the negro race were outlined.

Farm Work Discussion

J. Phil Campbell, of the State College of Agriculture, dwelt upon the importance of farm demonstration work as an aid to the negroes in overcoming the handicaps that confront the negro farmers of the state.

A report on the school situation for colored pupils was read by Walter B. Hill. He pointed out that Georgia has not progressed as far or as fast as other southern states in the matter of providing school facilities for negro children.

As chairman of the women's section of the committee, Mrs. W. A. Albright reported that funds had been obtained for the employment of a colored nurse whose activities will include the organization of negro groups all over the state, whose interest will be centered chiefly in maternal and infant hygiene.

TRYING TO MAKE ST. LOUIS ELLIS ISLAND, AND AMERICAN CITIZENS IMMIGRANTS

The St. Louis Mission

Southern Migrants Grossly Outraged. Were Subjected to Inspection and Vaccination Regardless of Their Wishes

8/6/23

In last weeks issues of the daily press, appeared articles perporting to come from the Health Department, to the effect that the migrating Negroes coming to St. Louis, would be inspected and vaccinated in the Union Station on their arrival, beginning Sunday morning July 29th.

Gordon Simpson, of the Urban League had indorsed the plan as outlined by the Health Commissioners which statement was refuted by Mr. Simpson.

Sunday morning, July 29th, between the hours of 7:00 a. m. and 9:00 a. m. Dr. M. C. Woodruff in charges of representatives of the Health Department assisted by a corps of policemen and plain-clothes men, attempted to carry out the orders of Health Commisioner, Dr Max C. Starkloff, to the effect that all Negroes arriving on trains from the South were to be examined and vaccinated, if each individuals arm did not show signs of vaccination marks.

The method employed was for the police to line up the Negoes outside the cars on the lower platform and usher them into the right wing of the station into two small adjoining rooms, where women, men, and child ren (with their luggage) were subjected to the same discriminative treatment.

The police officers acted devoid of any discretion whatsoever, handling the arrivals in a crude and reckless manner.

One police officer was heard to have said—"Now the line is all broken up we will never be able to get these "niggers" together again." Out of the 700 that came into St. Louis Sunday, there were only 60 who were vaccinated, and the number arriving was greatly exaggerated.

On hand to meet the arrivals were men and women of color, including the staff of the Urban League, member of the Travelers Aid Society together wtih other interested citizens.

In known instances two local colored citizens were roughly handled by the police.

Several inter-state passengers were vaccinated no questions being asked as to whether the passengers were remaining in St. Louis, or changing trains to go elsewhere.

Women with babies in their arms and small children, together with their baggage to care for, were forced to stand in line for 2 hours as reported.

Friends who were at the station to meet the new arrivals and relations were prevented from doing so, by the method used by the officials, thereby causing the arrivals much inconvenience and anxiety. Strenuous complaint was made by a number of interested colored citizens who visited the station and vigorously protested to the Health Officer in charge ,the discriminatory and vicious method of carrying out the regulation. Actual facts in the case were pointed out to Dr. Woodruff of the Health Department that the order was not justified in view of the fact that there was only one Negro case in the seventeen reported smallpox cases at present on record. Their efforts resulted in a promise from Dr. Woodruff that no further inspection would take place until further instructions were issued by him. It was also agreed upon that members of the colored race were to take the matter up with the Health Department on Monday following, seeking a solution of the controversy. Monday morning in the office of the Urban League interested colored citizens met, drew up a letter in substance a protest, and suggestions of a solution of the methods used, forwarding the same to the Health Commissioner. Monday evening the daily papers came out with a new order, from the Health Commissioner, setting apart a railroad car under the shed at the Union Station for the inspection and vaccination of all laborers, white or colored coming into St. Louis. Tuesday morning a group of colored citizens called on Dr. M. C. Starkloff, Health Commissioner. Dr. Starkloff presented the committee with a hand bill that had been circulated by some member of the committee calling for a meeting of protest in the Argus Hall, Tuesday evening, saying, "That his attitude towards the colored people had never been questioned, as he had always given them a fair deal etc." After a lengthy discussion it was agreed that the order of Monday evening would be carried out, and that colored social workers would be permitted to meet the new arrivals and assist the Health Department in ascertaining whether the new arrivals were inter-state passengers or not, also assisting in general. Tuesday evening a mass meeting was held in the Argus Hall as originally arranged. Dr. W. P. Curtis Executive Chairman of the Local N. A. A. C. P. presiding.

A resolution was proposed protesting the unjust methods and discriminatory order, which was unanimously adopted. The chairman was empowered to appoint a committee of ten to take further action in the matter. Five were chosen from the N. A. A. C. P. and five others mostly lawyers. The committee arranged for a meeting to take definite steps on Wednesday.

Wednesday morning Dr. W. P. Curtis, Gordon Simpson and social workers were admitted thru the gates of Union Station to meet the trains and view the proceedings. They reported that the treatment was by far better than what the colored migrants received Sunday. Further all laboring classes white and black were subjected to the same inspection. There were people of both races that were not molested in the least. It seems to be the concensus of opinion that if the present program is carried out the colored population will have no complaint to make, but will lend every effort to assist the Health Department in its endeavors.

St. Louis

Shreveport La
Ishmaelite

JUL 13 1923

LAND BUREAU WILL COMBAT NEGRO EXODUS FROM HANCOCK CO.

The Land Bureau which has been inaugurated by THE ISHMAELITE will help Hancock County combat the exodus of negro farm labor which has become a very serious problem in this section.

We propose to bring a number of home-seekers to this county who will buy small farms and **live at home**. In a short time after their arrival Sparta will be able to support a good creamery as all of these farmers will be cattle raisers who know how to make good butter and milk from their herds. By raising cattle they improve their farm lands and make "two stalks of produce grow where only one grew before."

It is not the intention of THE ISHMAELITE to make anything out of our farmers by this proposition—there is no skin-game in connection. Our only motive is to help Sparta and Hancock County, and make conditions propsperous as they once were. This is the only salvation for the faming interests of our county, as we see it.

We are receiving the co-operation of the best citizens of the county on the above movement and have already made options on many acres of farm lands Much of this land has been idle for several years, not bringing in one penny revenue and still the owner is paying taxes regularly each year.

If YOU have any land that is now only a taxable liability—bringing in no profit—see us and let us list whatever portion of it you do not need. There is another man in a distant state, possibly who would be glad of the opportunity to come here and make good.

Our representative will be glad to explain our plan to you at any time you call at our office or if you cannot come—write us and he will gladly call on you.

NEW ORLEANS LA PICAYUNE
MAY 25, 1923

One Negro's "Migration"

The current negro migration gives point and timeliness to the story of an earlier, one-man migration, related by the Columbia, S. C. State. Thirteen years ago one Charlie Hubbard, a South Carolina negro farmer, got the "movin' fever." Seeking counsel of a white friend, he was advised to stay in South Carolina but to look about for a bit of cheap land which he might buy on easy terms and go to farming for himself. Charlie, wiser than his generation, took the advice. He found a badly run-down farm in another part of the state, bought it "cheap" and "on time" and went to work.

A writer on the Columbia paper, hearing the story of this migration, visited Charlie's farm the other day. He found a comfortable farm house screened and piped for water, half a dozen solidly built barns and storehouses, a fine collection of farm implements, well cared for, Jersey cows, full-blooded hogs, a cane mill, abundant supplies of syrup, and four bales of 1921 cotton, still unsold. Wire fences enclosed the fields. In brief, during the thirteen years elapsed since his migration, Charlie has paid out his land, provided a better than average farm equipment and is "sitting pretty." Incidentally he has "raised" thirteen children—and only one of these has caught the Northward "migration" fever.

How many of the negroes of Charlie's type, lured Northward by the prevailing fever, will do as well as he has done? Charlie may have been exceptionally dowered in the way of diligence and common sense; but opportunities such as he had the wit to seize and the grit to improve offer to the industrious, decent negro far more abundantly in the South than in the North.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

DEC 6 - 1923

"BLESS ME, THIS IS PLEASANT, RIDING ON THE RAIL."

(Editorial Correspondence.)

On the Train, Dec.—I was riding on th train out of Hamlet when a gentleman stoppe and renewed old acquaintances when we botl were sentenced to a brief experience in Washington. He had represented an Ohio district in Congress, a Democrat very independent in his ways, who after a brief period preferred to return to his business as manufacturer in Ohio.

"Are many negroes left these days in North Carolina?" he asked.

I told him that the exodus from North Carolina had not been as large as from other Southern States because conditions had been generally so good that there had been abundant employment for all who wished to work of both races at pay that gave support. As a matter of fact, he was informed most of the negroes who had gone North were from States where the boll weevil and other evils had lessened income.

"Well," he went on, "when I was in Congress most of the Southerners were strong against foreign immigration and voted almost solidly to forbid it. At last the restriction upon immigration succeeded and you in the South are losing your labor in consequence. Business conditions in Ohio are good and there is demand for men who will do heavy work. At the time of the World War many European laborers, particularly Italian, returned to Europe to fight for the mother country. Many have not returned. Some who wanted to return were not permitted to do so because of restrictive immigration laws. What was the result? Suddenly the mines, the factories and all enterprises needing common labor found themselves short of such labor. The small percentage allowed for immigrant laborers did not at all create the supply. Educated Americans no longer need to do manual labor, except skilled, and as we had to obtain common labor we manufacturers turned to the South. You had an abundance. We had none. We could afford to pay more than you had been accustomed to pay. So we sent our agents into the South, with the result we are now employing quite a number of negroes. What do we pay them? Forty-five cents an hour, and strong, husky men who do piece work sometimes make as much as $8 a day loading our products on to the train."

The ex-Congressman went on to say that in the small town where his factory is located, when the World War broke out there was not a negro residing in the town. "We could get all the foreign labor we needed at reasonable prices. So we did not make any forays upon the negro labor of the South. But now I have just completed the erection of fifty houses near my factory where colored men who work for me are housed. They work well, too, and they seem satisfied and we find they do not need overseers. We give them a task to do and they do it. Of course, we let them know that if they do not produce, they will not be needed, and we have no trouble."

* * *

This gentleman thinks it a great mistake to put up the bars against immigration. "We must have somebody," he went on to say, "to dig ditches and do common labor. If we cannot get it from Europe, where can we get it except from the South? And you cannot expect us to stop our industry. All industry in the last analysis depends upon brawn that can be procured without paying too much for it. Native Americans are above hard labor. Unless the immigration laws are changed, we will continue to draw labor from the South as long as the negroes will come to us." He paused and asked: "What are you folks in the South going to do about it?"

I told him that we held that the negro had the right to go wherever he could better his condition and we did not propose either to do anything about preventing migration of the negroes who wanted to go North. It was equally true, he was told, that the Southern Congressmen had not changed their attitude on immigration. They believe nobody ought to be admitted into this country who is not potentially a real American citizen. Moreover they did not again intend to be a party to the long practice of employers importing hordes of uneducated laborers into this country, who are kept herded together, and brought here to bring down the price paid for honest labor. For fifty years certain protected interests, particularly coal and steel, have brought over Europeans, many of whom will never become real citizens because they could be employed at a very low wage. At the same time these very men were clamoring for and receiving a high protective tariff tax to protect American labor against the pauper labor of Europe.

* * *

This immigration question is a big one. Jefferson was right in his day in demanding that America be the haven for men seeking freedom and a chance. The hostility to newcomers then was stupid. We needed Europeans to come over to settle a new continent. We encouraged and welcomed them and they came to take up land and were actuated in coming by a desire to escape the monarchical and repressive governments of the old world. If they had not come in large numbers, this country could not have prospered. All of us are immigrants several generations removed. Today we still need immigrants. I wish we could get a quarter of a million to come to North Carolina to till the lands now lying idle. But the policy of selection and discrimination and restriction is essential. Until a plan is worked out for their distribution when they come and for their assimilation after they are here, the bars ought to be held high. Always in the future, while welcome should be accorded to those who pass the reasonable tests, the selection ought to take place on the other side. The diseased, vicious and those who wish to come here merely to get employment, with no thought of becoming real Americans, ought not to be welcomed.

* * *

Unfortunately our Ohio manufacturing friend sees nothing in immigration except furnishing unskilled and ignorant labor to dig ditches and do the hard work which he says educated Americans need not and will not do. We must consider immigration in a larger way.

J. D.

P. S.—I asked the Ohio friend what effect he thought the migration of so many negroes to Ohio would have in the next Presidential election. He said Ohio folks were thinking so much of industry they had not thought of the political side. Mark Sullivan says the Republicans in Washington are basing their hopes of victory in 1924 on the fact that negro migration will greatly increase their vote in close Northern States. As seeming to show there is something in that point of view, a prominent Kentuckian recently attributed the big Democratic majority in Kentucky to the fact that so many negroes had left that State and moved over into Ohio and In

J. D.

WHEN WILL SOUTH WAKE UP?

Unable to check the exodus by personally appealing to the Negro, economic leaders of Alabama are having published in the daily papers of that State a series of opinions on "Why Should Labor Emigrate from Alabama?" The appeals are addressed to the white people judging from context were not intended for the Negro to read.

In a page advertisement published in the Birmingham News, appear the following paragraphs:

N. Y. City

The leaders of economic thought are addressing this article and others to come to those who may remedy the conditions which are driving the general servant of the man to the far country.

The white people of Alabama have it in their power to keep the Negro in the land where he was born and where his unskilled hands perform labor that the whites do not care to do and will not do. To them goes this message in order that they may so change conditions, and without much effort, that the Negro may remain here and do his work.

All appeals to the Negro himself have been of no avail. Actual conditions which confront him in his new environment have not stopped him. . . . .

11-24-23

There are no laws on the statute books to which the leaders of Negroes, and they speak for their race, object as discrimnatory. They have no quarrel with the Jim Crow laws. They want segregation. They know the white man and black man must live apart, but they want their observance of racial legislation matched by that of the whites.

The Negro would live here rather than the North. But in the living he wants to feel that the place he calls home may be so called, as long as he behaves himself, obeys the laws and rules of caste that surround him. . . . .

Here you have the Southern viewpoint. No appeal is made to the white people to treat the Negro as a man and a citizen. He is referred to as "the general servant of man," whatever that means, who "performs labor that the whites do not care to do and will not do."

"The Negro wants segregation. He does not oppose Jim Crow cars, and other discrimitory legislation," the white people of Alabama are told. Never was an untruth more brazenly or unconsciously spoken. If the economic leaders of Alabama really believe the Negro does not object to the curse of discrimination they had better see a new light.

But the most startling paragraph in the appeal is the position announced by these leaders regarding the caste system. They are willing that the Negro call Alabama his home "as long as he behaves himself, obeys the laws and the rules of caste that surround

him!" Quite a bright outlook on life for the Negro—from the economic leaders' point of view.

Fortunately, the Negro is doing his own thinking nowadays. He is greatly desirous of bettering his condition the same as all other human beings. The economic leaders will have to deal with him directly, not through the white public.

The appeal given out by economic leaders of Alabama proves conclusively that there are white people in the South who still deal with the Negro of yesterday instead of the Negro of today. Nearly half a million Negroes have left the South within a year, yet economic leaders hope to stop the migration by promising segregation, Jim Crow cars, discrimnatory legislation and the perpetuation of the caste system.

When will the white South wake up?

THE EDUCATION OF TRAVEL

On last Sunday morning we stood in the Pennsylvania Railroad Station where a large number of our people were waiting for a train going South. A man and his wife and three children with the usual number of bundles were waiting to take the train. We engaged the man in conversation. "Going back home are you?" "Yes, going back for the winter, but I will be back in the spring." "How long have you been here?" "I've been years. I had a hard winter last year, and decided I would go back home and see the folks this winter. I saved up some money and with what little work I can get there, I will be all right." Have you been in Philadelphia all of the time?" "No, I have been to Pittsburgh and Cleveland, Newark New York and Philadelphia. I came up here five years ago then went back, then came again and brought my family." "Which of these places do you like the best?" He proceeded to tell why he liked Philadelphia best. The man was neatly dressed, so was his wife and children—quite different from many of those who come in. One who watches the incoming migrant and the outgoing migrant can usually detect the difference. Usually they are better dressed and cleaner looking when they leave than when they arrive.

The contact with other cities, other ways of doing things, is one of the most important things. Whether the Negro remains in the North or goes back to the South, we cannot over estimate the value of travel and contact with other condiions. The nine and ten months schools which their children have, the higher standard of grading in school, the different standard of housing and sanitation under which they live, the better medical attention: all of these make an impression of good upon the mind, to say nothing of voting, and voting often for one of his own race. If the travel to Europe was good for the white man, who saw a different civilization, higher standard, etc., and was able to come back to America and make improvement, so travel in the North is a good thing for the Negroes who leave the South. If the migration does not do anything else but permit these people to see better conditions, it will benefit. When they go back home and tell of the fine public schools which their children attended, the instances of their treatment on the railroads and on the street cars and in the stores, of the organizations of labor with which they came in contact and the consideration given their employment of strictness as to punctuality, regularity, and efficiency in work, of better wages, of the different co-operative associations, and welfare organization with whish they came in contact, they will do a great deal of good.

Perhaps the biggest surprise the average Negro woman gets in the North is the courtesy of merchants; for be it known that the white merchant in the South is usually a most uncouth animal when it comes to treatment of Negro patrons. Thousands of Negroes have returned to the South with different ideas and they will benefit and the South will benefit.

HOW TO STOP NEGRO MIGRATION.

In discussing negro migration at a meeting in Jackson, Miss., called for that purpose, Mr. W. W. Stone, former State Treasurer and a large plantation owner, is quoted as saying:

"I have lived in the delta for sixty years. I have lived among and handled negroes, and the reason why the negro is leaving Mississippi is because some white men are swindling them. I know lots of folks who have become rich in this way. They think they are fooling the negro, but they are not."

And in further reference to the subject Mr. Stone said: "Strict observance of the golden rule among [illegible] is the only solution to the problem."

The last statement of Mr. Stone gives the only [illegible] world problems. Until the golden rule guides men in their relations with other men there will never be peace [illegible] harmony between individual men or between nations.

That negroes have been swindled by unscrupulous white men is true. They have likewise been swindled by sharp, tricky men of their own race; but that does not have the same influence upon them as being swindled by a white man. The white man who swindles a negro, or robs him of his pay, or cheats him in a trade, is meaner in soul than is the mangy, flea-bitten cur that slinks into the back alleys of Constantinople and lives on the garbage of that unclean city. It is bad enough for a white man to swindle a white man; it is worse for him to swindle a negro.

In one sense the negro race is a child race. It has many of the peculiarities of children, good and bad, needing firmness at one time, kindness and consideration at another time. Rightly treated, negroes look to the better class of whites with the same kind of feeling that the child looks to the man or woman who treats it rightly. The white man who would swindle a negro would swindle an infant in arms or rob a sickly baby of the bottle of milk upon which its life might depend.

And yet we have had such conditions in parts of the South. There has been a disreputable, dishonest, scoundrelly element there, as elsewhere, which thrives upon robbing the inferior race not able to protect itself. It is the duty of the white people of the South of honor and integrity and morality to drive out of the South, if they cannot be reformed, every white man who swindles the negroes. The toughest slave trader in olden days was not as mean and despicable a creature as a white man of this kind. If reformation is impossible or no way can be found of putting them in the penitentiary where they belong, then they must be driven out of this section, so that every negro may know that he is going to be honestly and fairly treated by the white people of his community. That is one way in which must be put into effect the forces which can help to develop the negro race and keep the negroes at home; and in doing this the white people of the South and the negroes alike would be benefited.

NEGRO EXODUS CUTS PLANTING IN SOUTH

Government Survey Shows Big Migration of Farm Workers To North

GEORGIA LOSES 13 PER CENT

Other States Forced to Limit Acreage—Higher Wages Are Sought

Washington, April 22.—A general movement of Southern negro farmers to Northern industrial centres, where high wages are obtainable, is indicated in a special survey of farming districts in the South made by the Department of Agriculture.

Unprofitable cotton growing, due to boll weevil conditions, unrest among negro troops, who experienced more attractive living conditions away from farms during and after the war, and the breakdown of the contract labor system are cited in the report, made public today, as factors in limiting acreage as contributory causes of the migration.

Approximately 13 per cent., or 32,000, of the total number of negro farm-hands in Georgia is estimated to have moved North, 3 per cent, of the total negro farm population, have departed. The movement from Florida, Alabama reports that approximately 3½ per cent of its negro farmers has moved since the last crop season. Arkansas shows a movement of about 15,000 negro farmers, or about 3½ per cent of the negro farm population.

The movement from Kentucky has been very small, and from Missouri, North Carolina and Oklahoma no migration is reported. Louisiana reports an exodus of about 1 per cent., Tennessee of about 2 per cent, while in Texas the situation apparently is not so serious as in the Eastern cotton-growing States.

From South Carolina about 22,750 negro farmers, or about [illegible] per cent of the negro [illegible] is declared to be much [illegible] worse than that prevailing generally.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

Negro Teacher Urges Negroes to Stay in South

Hattiesburg, Miss., July 24.—R. H. Flynn, negro teacher of New Orleans in an address today to members of his race and a number of white people of this city, advised the negroes to stay South. The address, it is felt in Hattiesburg, will have its effect in checking the migration of negroes.

One of Flynn's striking phrases was "It is better to listen to a white friend in the South than a white stranger in the North."

Flynn is president of the national progressive association of negroes.

He proposed a council of negro leaders to confer and co-operate with the white leaders to bring about a better understanding between the races and to impress upon the negroes that their proper place is in the South as the white man's helpers.

SAVANNAH, GA. PRESS
AUG 8 1923

MOVEMENT OF NEGROES.

IN Southern rural communities the organization of the Ku-Klux Klan has brought terror to the black population—this is a fact, regardless of the protestations and explanations of the Klan.—Asheville Citizen.

This is said to be one of the causes operating in the exodus of negroes from the South. The Citizen goes on to say that several causes are operating in the exodus of the negroes from the South. In some States the number of the emigrants is so large that the explanation of more wages is not sufficient and careful Southern observers of social conditions say that the colored people, within the past few years, have become discouraged over the lack of police protection in rural districts and inadequate school facilities.

It is just as well to consider, however, that there are more Ku-Klux in the North than there are in the South. To quote the New York Times, "the taste for flowing white robes runs from Oregon to Long Island."

So far as the schools are concerned, it is there that great improvement is being made in the South. The State school departments of the various States are every year appropriating more money for negro education.

In Georgia there have been organized since 1912 eleven county training schools which supplement the labors of the elementary schools for negroes. Education of the right kind is understood to be the best solution for the hard problem of inter-racial contact. These institutions now number 142 in fourteen Southern States and their central idea is to give industrial training, especially in subjects pertaining to home and farm, to prepare boys and girls to make a living and lead useful lives by knowing how to do well something practical to prepare rural and elementary schoo teachers.

HELPING THE NEGRO.

Valdosta Times July 26 1923

As essential steps in stopping negro migration from Georgia, the State Committee on Race Relations at its semi-annual meeting held in Atlant last week recommended the immediate suppression of mob violence, the provision of better schools for negroes and farm demonstration agents to teach them how to make a living under boll weevil conditions. The legislature was asked to increase the appropriation for state negro schools and to provide more adequate normal, industrial and agricultural training for colored youth. It was pointed out that negroes pay one-twentieth of the state's property taxes but receive back only one thirty-fifth of the appropriations for schools above the common grade.

As a matter of justice, each county should undertake the building of at least one good negro school, and we believe that every county in South Georgia should employ a farm demonstration agent for work with the negro farmers. Very few counties in South Georgia have negro farm demonstration agents and we feel that such an expenditure on the part of the county board of education of Toombs county would be a fine investment.

COLUMBIA, S. C. STATE
JUL 27 1923

NEGRO EXODUS NOTED IN SCHOOLS

Special to The State.

Greenwood, Aug. 6.—As an indication of the exodus of the negroes from this section, the enrollment in negro schools last year showed a decrease of 699 pupils. The white enrollment increased by 389 pupils, the report of County Superintendent T. E. Dorn shows. The total white enrollment in the county was 5,019; total negro, 5,384.

The superintendent of education's report also shows that the average salary paid men in the white schools of this county last year was $1,086.04, while the average salary paid women was $826.

Atlanta Georgian
JUL 29 1923

Weevil Caused Negro Exodus, Asserts Barrow

Chancellor Arrives At This Conclusion After Making Study of Recent School Census.

Some interesting figures and facts have been deducted from the school census of the current year by Chancellor David C. Barrow of the University of Georgia.

According to Chancellor Barrow the main cause of the negro migration to other sections of the country is the boll weevil. He arrived at this by comparing figures taken from counties in cross sections of the state.

His article follows:

By DAVID C. BARROW

The recent school census gives some interesting figures. The ages of the children are 6 to 18, as perhaps all know.

1923—Total number of white children 524,135
1918—Total number of white children 471,754

Gain in number of white white children 52,381

1923—Total number of colored children 376,217
1918—Total number of colored children 369,107

Gain in number of colored children 7,110

If the normal ratio of increase be asumed as the same for white and colored children, the increase in the number of colored children should have been 40,984.

Under the hypothesis above, the census shows that the number of colored children is 33,875 less than would have been expected. This would seem to indicate a considerable migration from the state.

There are many interesting details

The increase of colored children in Fulton county is 9,896. The state, then, outside of Fulton county, has a loss in colored children of school age amounting to 2,786. As a rule the counties in which are located cities of considerable size made gains.

SECTION SHOWS NET GAIN

Of eight counties, in a range across the state from Floyd to Hart, six show gains in colored children amounting to 622, and two show losses amounting to 42 leaving a net gain of 220.

Of eleven counties, in a rang across the state from Heard to Columbia, nine show losses amounting to 2,989, tko show gain amounting to 550 leaving a net lo in this range of 2,439. The city Griffin causes a gain of 308 Spalding county of this range.

In a range of ten counties running across the state from Clay to Liberty, six counties show losses amounting to 1689. Four counties show gains amounting to 838, leaving a net loss on this range of 860.

In this range Dougherty shows a gain of 544. A study of the causes which make this county exceptional might be enlightening. Possibly the citizens of Dougherty county have adjusted themselves to ball weevil conditions.

The heavy loss in the Hegrd-Columbia range is probably due to the boll weevil.

My superficial study causes me to think that the migration is largely due to the weevil. It seems, however, that certain counties have sustained heavier losses than others and it is probably that local conditions have had considerable influence.

COMPARES THE DATES

Going back to the census of 1913 the comparison is as follows:

1918—Total white children of school age 471,754
1913—Total white children of school age 428,365
Increase in white children 43,389

1918—Total colored children of school age 369,107
1913—Total colored children of school age 366,207

Increase in colored children 2,900

Comparing the results of the census of 1923 with those of the census of 1918 and using per cents:

In 1929 the gain in white children was a little more than eleven per cent.

In 1918 the gain in white children during a five year period was a little less than ten per cent.

In 1918 the gain in colored children during a five year period was a little less than two per cent.

In 1918 the gain in colored children during a five year period was less than one per cent.

From the consideration of the ranges, given above, Athens is in the territory where the migration movement is greatest.

The gain in Athens was 478, while the loss outside of Athens was 393, showing a net gain of 85 in Clarke county.

If some one who had time and knew something about statistics would make a study of this census the results might be useful.

I have not the material which will enable me to compare ranges for the period from 1813 to 1818 with those from 1818 to 1823.

Migration Not a Serious Problem

A correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch writes from Savannah that the migration of negroes to the North "is not merely an exodus; it is a stampede." He relates that cabin after cabin has been deserted, acres upon acres of fertile lands are untilled, weeds and wild flowers are overgrowing the former realm of King Cotton, "and not even a human being to ruffle the oppressive silence save the occasional approach of a traveler."

All this is impressive, but in reality there is nothing to be done about it. Migrations have taken place before. Texas and the West were settled by families leaving the older Seaboard States, and the pioneers left many vacant farms behind them. Others took their places, and if the migrating negroes do not return history will repeat itself. The land does not increase in area, and it must be tilled if the nation is to be fed and clothed.

Whatever economic problem is presented will solve itself; we may be sure of that. Governor Hogg was much in favor of negroes going North in reasonable numbers as the surest way of settling the race problem. He held that a large negro population in the North would give the white people of that section a clearer view of the practical phases of the problem and correspondingly relieve the South of the onus of the responsibility. It was his view that it would impart a national, rather than a sectional, cast to the problem and improve the understanding of both North and South. There is much merit in that view.

There is the possibility, too, that in the States most affected by the migration the tenancy evil may be considerably mitigated, which in the long run would be beneficial.

If the negro's economic position improves in his new environment, nobody will object. The average earning capacity of the Georgia or South Carolina negro is not large—certainly is far below what the earning of so much physical energy ought to be. At present the average Southern negro is not employed as fully as he should be.

The Post is far from beholding the present movement as a calamity. If the negro's best opportunity is in the North, that is where he ought to be, and Southern white people ought to be the last to impede his going; if it is not, he will not be long in ascertaining the fact and he will return.

BETTER FARMERS

The exodus of the negro is bringing the large land owner face to face with a serious situation—that of cultivating his land or of disposing of it. In either case the "small" white farmer, whether he be renter, share cropper, tenant or prospective owner, is the best solution.

The situation in the delta region of Mississippi and Louisiana is such that the large land owners, as well as the business interests, are of the opinion that a concerted campaign be undertaken to attract the small white farmers to that territory. In some of the delta towns a local movement is on foot to get in white farmers. In this places there is quite an interest in a general movement for the whole region, big and broad enough to get results of more than a local nature. Cutting up the large plantations into small farms and settling them with white farmers will make the delta a wonderland.

Any county or parish peopled by thrifty "small" white farmers is on the high road to prosperity. Being better providers than the negroes, they make all the year gardens, raise more poultry and, while not in the dairy business, they can milk a few cows to keep up running expenses. Soon that section will be safely anchored to the firm foundation of diversification. Better schools, better roads, and better living conditions will certainly follow in the wake of colonization of the right type of white farmer, whether it be in the hills or the delta region.

JUL 26 1923

STEP SUGGESTED TO STOP MIGRATION

END OF MOB VIOLENCE URGED AS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE. BETTER SCHOOLS A FACTOR.

As essential steps in stopping Negro migration from Georgia, the State Committee on Race Relations at its semi-annual meeting in Atlanta, Wednesday, recommended the immediate suppression of mob violence, the provision of better schools for Negroes, and farm demonstration agents to teach them how to make a living under boll weevil conditions. For the prevention of lynching the Legislature was urged to give the governor greater authority in case of derelict sheriffs, a measure which governors of the state have frequently requested in the past. Local citizens were urged to stand behind the officials and the courts in preventing and punishing mob violence.

The Legislature was asked also to increase the appropriation for State Negro schools and to provide more adequate normal, industrial and agricultural training for Colored youth. It was pointed out that Negroes pay one-twentieth of the State's property taxes, but receive back only a thirty-fifth of the appropriations for hchools above the common grade. As a matter of justice each county was urged to undertake the building of at least one good Negro school. The establishment by the state of a Colored tuberculosis sanitarium and a training school for Colored delinquent girls was also recommended.

The Woman's section of the committee reported that they have secured funds for a Colored public health nurse to devote her efforts chiefly to maternity and child welfare throughout the state.

Rev. R. H. Singleton, pastor of Big Bethel, made a report to the Committee of the Conference on migration held by Negro leaders in Atlanta on July 4th, at which an address to the public was drafted setting forth the principal causes of the heavy migration. Among them were mentioned low wages, poor housing, bad working conditions on plantations of absentee owners, lack of educational advantages, poor traveling accomodations, unequal enforcement of the law, the labor contract law, and mob violence. A number of these points were taken up by the Race Relations Committee and covered in its recommendations.

Other speakers were: Prof. Walter B. Hill, Prof. J. Phil Campbell and Hon. E. Marvin Underwood.

Among those attending the meeting of the committee were:

Bishop F. F. Reese, Savannah; Mrs. A. R. Lawton, Savannah; J. Bailey Gorden, Rome; Prof. J. Phil Campbell, Athens; Mrs. R. P. Brooks Athens; Mrs. W. A. Turner, Newnan Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison; Rev. W. W. Memminger, Atlanta; John J. Eagen, Atlanta; W. W. Alexander Atlanta; Marion Jackson, Atlanta; Marvin Underwood, Atlanta; John A. Manget, Atlanta; Mrs. W. A. Albright, Atlanta; Mrs. J. Frank Smith Atlanta; Mrs. John N. McEeachern, Atlanta; Dr. T. J. Woofter, Atlanta; Mrs. Lindsay Arrington, Augusta; Rev. R. H. Singleton, Atlanta; W. J. Trent, Atlanta; Prof. W. W. Reddick, Americus.

SIX GOVERNORS EXPRESS VIEWS

Heads of Southern States Have Diverse Views on the Leaving of Colored Workers

'THEY ARE GOING ANYHOW'

Little Rock, Ark., Aug. 16.—Letters received by Governor McRae here from governors in the Southern States on the question of Negro migration expressed diversified opinions.

So many thousands of colored workers have left the State of Arkansas, that Governor McRae asked a number of chief executives in Southern States how they were dealing with the situation. Several of the replys are as follows:

EXODUS IN ALABAMA

GOVERNOR W. W. BRANDON, of Alabama: "There is an exodus of Negroes from this State, but we have no organized effort to prevent it."

GOVERNOR JOHN M. PARKER, of Louisiana: "We have an organization of planters throughout the parishes of Louisiana to see what steps can be taken to stop the migration."

THEY ARE LEAVING MISSISSIPPI

GOVERNOR LEE RUSSELL, of Mississippi: "My honest opinion is that the Negro should be left alone and let them go when they get ready. They are going anyhow the sooner the better. A few riots like Springfield and Washington will make it so hot for them they will be glad to come back."

GOVERNOR THOMAS McLEOD, South Carolina: "The exodus here has been due to the fact that farmers were unable to tide their tenants and laborers over the winter. Whenever they were so taken care of, there has been little leaving the farm. No State-wide action is necessary."

VIRGINIA OFFERS SOLUTION

GOVERNOR E. LEE TRINKLE, of Virginia: "An adequate State employment bureau would, I believe, be the best solution of the problem. There has been considerable exodus Northward."

GOVERNOR PAT N. NEFF, of Texas: "From March 1st to June 1st, employment agents shipped 32,000 persons from this to other States. I believe only a few were colored."

GOVERNOR C. A. HARDEN, Florida: "Movement from this to other States has not assumed very serious proportions."

NO ALARM IN N. C.

GOVERNOR CAMERON MORRISON, North Carolina: "There is no need for this State to be alarmed. Certainly the stage has not been reached where State-wide action of any kind is necessary."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement

Some Things the White Folk Could Do to Stop Migration

Migration is the all-absorbing topic among farmers, domestics, manufacturers and varied industries in the South—and it is the one question that will do more than anything else to bring home to the white man the value of the Negro as an economic factor in the development of the resources of the South.

One of the fundamentals underlying the increasing drift of Negroes from the South to the North is that the Negro has lost confidence in the white man's willingness to give him a square deal—and this confidence must be restored. He believes American justice is double standard—one law for the white man and another law for the black man.

Just in proportion as the Negro leaves the South, in such proportion will its producing capacity be limited and its economic value lowered. The removal of 100,000 farm hands from southern plantations to western and northern industrial centers is far more destructive to the economic growth of the South than the white farmer, merchant and manufacturer have had the frankness to admit, or the intelligence to see. They are still riding the hobby that, if the Negroe leaves, we can get a more desirable set of workers. They have never learned the fundamental that labor is not going to contribute any more to capital than capital contributes to labor—and that the South cannot keep the Negro in ignorance and economic poverty without in a very large degree impoverishing the white man along the same lines and retarding the material growth of our section.

The Negro is the most dependable working class in our industrial life, but neither the South nor the North has recognized his economic value or sought to take care of him and develop him as a valuable labor asset. In the South he has been outlawed by an inquitous contract system and denied a reasonable share of the profits of his labor—the right to vote denied him, and the opportunity afforded him to educate his children is very largely a mockery. In the North, the labor unions and race prejudice have practically excluded him from the trades and every other avenue of profitable employment until the very present time.

If the white man is anxious to stop migration, and the Negro is very anxious to do so, for the reason that he likes the South better than he does anywhere else, let him address himself to removing some of the following evils which underlie the wholesale migration of our people to the North:

First—Restore the black man's confidence in the white man by disabusing his mind of the impression that all law in the South is made for the protection of the white man and the punishment of the Negro.

Second—Suppress mob violence by legally punishing the lynchers.

Third—Follow the example of the North, and open up the industries of the South and various other vocations that are now shut to the Negro working man to increase his economic opportunity to make meat and bread.

Fourth—On the farm, improve his housing conditions and give him a reasonable share of the profits of his labor—provide better schoolhouses and teachers, and pay their teachers a living wage—protect his schoolhouses, churches and lodge rooms from the torch of the fire bugs who cowardly prowl around at night.

Fifth—In the cities, give him the same school facilities you provide for the whites—playgrounds, parks, recreation resorts, swimming pools, lights, good streets, sewers, sanitary connections, police protection, and make him feel that he is at home and there is no such thing in the economy of the development of America as a white man's country.

Sixth—Improve the elevator and street car service in the cities as an economic measure and time saver. In other words, give him social justice.

Seventh—Make out of him just such an industrial factor and working man as you would make out of a foreigner—giving him the same kind of attention and opportunity to increase his economic value. Teach him by practice that fitness will determine his place in the agricultural, political, economic and industrial life of the nation, and not color.

BENJAMIN JEFFERSON DAVIS.

VIEWS and REVIEWS

By James Weldon Johnson, Contributing Editor.

THE NORTHERN EXODUS.

The present exodus of Negroes from the South appears to be assuming greater magnitude than the exodus which took place during the war, and even if it has not yet equalled the former in numbers, it has already surpassed it in importance.

The white people of the South found a good many ways to account for the exodus which took place during the Great War and to reassure themselves that it was temporary character. They declared that it was caused by the chaotic social and industrial conditions resulting from the war and that as soon as these conditions were over the Negroes would return to the South. Indeed, many pathetic stories were circulated in Southern newspapers regarding the return of certain individual migrants. A good deal of space was given to their stories of hardships which they suffered in the North and to their joy at being once again "back home down South, among their best friends."

But the prophesied return of the thousands and tens of thousands did not materialize. Not only did the great majority of Negroes who came North remain and prosper but they have secured work for their relatives and friends and have written them to come on.

There are now signs that the South has awakened to the situation and to a realization that it must be met. The Southern newspapers have changed their policy. They see the absurdity of belittling the movement, of failing to recognize its importance. They see that it is of no use to print articles telling Negroes what a hard time they will have in the "cold and bleak North, far away from the place where the watermelons grow." They have come to look the facts in the face and to know that this movement, if it keeps up, will mean industrial and agricultural disaster for the South.

And so we have a paper like the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" printing an almost pathetic appeal to Negroes to remain in the South. In a lengthy editorial, after balancing the advantages offered to colored people by the North and the South, it says:

> "The *Commercial Appeal* during its long history has never attempted to deceive Negroes. It does not take much stock in the old sentiment about the old mammies and old uncles. It has never condoned a lynching and never will; the lynching of a white man and the lynching of a Negro are violations of the law, and when any group of men start out to do something that is unlawful they do a harm to the republic which, if persisted in, will destroy it. The *Commercial Appeal* believes that a Negro under the law should have his rights, he should have the property that he earns. Down here we believe that he is coming into these things.
>
> "We do not want to cajole the Negroes, we are not attempting to persuade them, we are just laying down a few facts and the most sensible of their own people will tell them that these facts are the truth."

In addition to the sentiments being expressed by Southern newspapers, whole Southern communities and even states, are taking action. Mississippi has entirely changed its complacent attitude. A special correspondent in the New York "Evening Post" reports from Jackson that a move is on foot to raise a million-dollar endowment fund for the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute which is headed by Professor W. H. Holtzclaw, a well known colored educator. The same correspondent also reports that at a conference at which a number of prominent colored citizens were present a resolution was adopted in which the following passage occurred:

> "We must improve living conditions, improve working conditions, look after the health and sanitary problems of our laborers, and see that they get proper churches, schools and places of amusement. Every man and woman in the state must see to it that the laws protecting the Negroes in their lives and property are rigorously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs, regardless of race or color; and that there be the fullest cooperation between the white man and the black to insure amicable relations, efficient service, and mutual profit to both."

As the "Evening Post" correspondent says, some of these plans savor of locking the stable after the horse has departed. Nevertheless, if the plans are carried out they will have the effect of slowing the movement down.

Another indication of how seriously the South is taking this matter comes in a recent dispatch from Washington which cites how thoroughly alarmed the South is on account of the continued heavy drifting northward of its Negro population. The dispatch reports Senator Dial of South Carolina as saying:

> "Our Negro population is leaving rapidly and I am satisfied that many more are going to leave. Serious consequences will result to many landowners in the very near future."

Senator Dial, according to the dispatch, announced that he had had conferences with the ministers of Sweden and Norway for the purpose of arranging plans to turn the migration from the Scandinavian countries toward the South as a solution of the problem brought about by the Negro exodus. We think the Mississippi plan is a good deal more feasible than the attempt being made by Senator Dial. Immigrants from Northern Europe have never been attracted toward the South. These immigrants come from highly civilized countries where men have a great deal of individual freedom. The South is not civilized. Not even white men have very much individual freedom. Almost the entire section is living back in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The immigrants from Northern Europe will always prefer the great virgin lands of the northwest and the far west where they can grow up in an advanced and enlightened society; and besides, these people would never become plantation hands and sharecroppers. They will only be satisfied with their own lands.

On the other hand, immigrants from Southern Europe will not go South, for the simple reason that there they will be classed as "dagoes" and "wops" and treated like "niggers." So there is very little likelihood that they will go South and undertake the work of picking cotton.

The above summary indicates only very slightly the vital significance of what is taking place. It is simply another proof of an eternal law, a law which holds good throughout the universe, namely, **that no change takes place without the operation of some force.** The Negro can wail about his condition for the next five hundred years, but unless he is able to create some force or to correlate existing forces and bring pressure to bear on his condition, there will be no change. **There must be force of some kind—intellectual force, or economic force, or political force, or the force of united mass action, or a combination of all of these forces, to bring about the results which the Negro seeks.** Of course, there is also physical force, but we have not named it, and not because we think it is wrong to exercise physical force to secure just rights, but merely because in our case we consider it impractical.

Now, why is the migration making a change in the expression of sentiment in the South and undermining the traditional attitude of the white people of that section? **It is because a great force is being put into operation, the force of economic pressure.** Southern newspapers and the white people in Mississippi and other southern states are not lamenting the departure of Negroes and taking steps to have them remain because they so fondly love their black brothers and would feel sad and lonesome without them. **It is because of the plain fact that the meat and bread and clothing and shelter of the majority of white people in the South depend basically upon the sweat and labor of the Negro.** The ten million Negroes in the South are producers of its fundamental wealth—the wealth upon which the whites speculate and profit. When we reduce life down to its naked aspect it becomes almost solely a question of the human stomach. It is this primitive need that is the basis for all the laws of economics, and it is upon the operation of these laws that the greater part of human action rests, from a day's labor to the conduct of a five-year world war.

In leaving the South in large numbers the Negro is putting into operation this irresistible force. **The South might withstand his pleas in the name of justice and humanity and Christianity, but it cannot withstand the force that means loss of bread and meat and shelter, loss of money.**

And so, if this movement keeps up there is bound to be a change in the South; conditions there for the Negro will be greatly bettered. But in order that this movement may keep up and these results of better conditions be brought about, the situation in the North must also be watched. **If the Negroes who come North are not adjusted industrially and socially, the North will withdraw its hand of welcome and we will simply have the Negro problem transferred from the South to the North and in a more dangerous form.**

If these colored people coming North do not find jobs and do not keep them, if they do not find suitable housing: if they congregate in an overcrowded and unsanitary way in large cities; if they become vagrants, a burden on the community; if they are frequently hailed before the police courts; the advantages which might be gained in the South will be offset by reversed conditions in the North.

This puts an obligation upon the colored people in the North—an obligation not only to help their Southern brothers but to preserve their own status; **for if they allow these reversed conditions to take place in the North, their own favorable status will become changed. The whole matter is a practical one.**

It is a service similar to that maintained by the Travellers' Aid Society. There should be representatives at the railroad stations to meet trains, to get the names of these people who are coming North, to find out where they have come from, whether or not they have jobs already, what church they belonged to in the South, whether or not they have living quarters, whether or not they have friends in the city to which they have come. In all cases where it is necessary these people should be helped. Work of this kind by the colored people of the Northern cities is not only one of benevolence; it is work that has become imperative.

We suggested plans some months ago—that in every Northern city to which colored migrants from the South are coming, a citizens committee should be organized for the purpose of helping the newcomers to become adjusted. This committee should maintain

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Labor—1923
Migration Movement

PARKER TELLS GRIPPING STORY OF CONDITIONS THAT ARE DRIVING THE NEGRO FROM THE SOUTH

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The exodus of the Negro people to the North has attracted much attention and newspaper comment. This comment has been wise and much of it unwise. Certainly that effort to minimize the importance of this migration and the causes has not meant any good to our section. Whatever we may say respecting the opportunities in our great southland we cannot solve this question or reach a solution until we are able to settle on the facts with an idea and program to remedy the condition.

Prof. David W. Parker, in his letter this week on "Timely Topics," has made a most comprehensive survey of conditions that disturb the peace and happiness of the colored people of the South. Prof. Parker is a Southerner, reared and trained in the South and has been doing educational work among Negroes for the past thirty-five years. His contact with white people has been unlimited and he speaks out of his great experience and study of the relations existing between the races. Some of the exposures are rather indicting in his article, but it may be just these exposures that need to be made in order to get at the facts and disturb the destructive elements that are driving our people from their native heath.. The article is altogether worthy, interesting and fair. Here is what he says:

TIMELY TOPICS

By David W. Parker

The migration of colored workers to the North has become an economic question in the South. Big newspapers of the South discuss it editorially, and captains of industry are alarmed at the shortage of labor. Large plantations are growing more weeds than cotton, and at some of the mines there are more petty bosses than practical miners.

There is a reason for this state of affairs. The Negro of 1923 does not think in the terms of the Negro of 1863. Many do not understand the psychology of the colored man. The Negro understands the white man far better than the white man understands him. An old Negro may grin and shuffle along, but he is a sleuth in the study of human nature. Why does the Negro migrate North?

Here is the answer in plain words and short sentences:

1. Because the great mass of the race is disfranchised and cannot vote to place some of the best white people of the South in office.

2. Because life, liberty and property are safer where law is more generally observed and mob violence is choked to death by the courts.

3. For higher wages to maintain his family and better educate his children.

4. To escape the constant cry of "nigger," "nigger" in every public issue raised by marplots and plebian politicians.

5. To breathe God's free air as a freeman and not be constantly reminded that he is a "nigger."

6. To better serve God, country and humanity.

7. To sum up the whole in two words: Better Treatment.

These facts are furnished without bias or prejudice. The writer was born in the South and expects to spend his last days here. Every colored man understands the cause of the migration, and others who read this column can clearly see the heart of the colored worker. No Negro can stop the exodus. Preachers follow their congregation.

Again: The Negro of 1923 is not the Negro of 1863.

* * * * *

We have some captains of industry in the South who have hearts full of human kindness and sympathy for our people. Listen to President Carr McCormack, noble son of a great financier, talking to the colored miners at New Castle:

"I stand for absolute justice, fair play and for the protection of the humblest man within our employ. I want to know your feelings; I want to know your desires. I am anxious to encourage every worthy aspiration and support every worthwhile program. I stand ready as of always to come to the rescue and give whatever assistance our company may give for the comfort and pleasure of the men and their families on these works."

Noble words. Abraham Lincoln could have said no more. The McCormacks are multi-millionaires. They own scores of mines in the Birmingham district and prefer good honest colored labor. They are kind to their labor and God has blessed them. The operator who leaves out the human element and who desires nothing but production and profits usually finds himself in a peck of trouble financially and otherwise.

No mine run by Ramsay and McCormack has thugs for deputies who hang around fallen women and hire the lowly element to bootleg liquor for them. The McCormacks stand for clean living and the betterment of the condition of their workers. As the result, President Carr McCormack like Messrs. G. B. and H. E. McCormack and Erskine Ramsay has the love and respect of every colored man and woman connected with the great Prat Consolidated Coal Company. Good treatment will solve many problems.

* * * * *

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, for many years the right arm of the late Booker T. Washington has wired Judge E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation to give the Negroes of the South the opportunity to perform the labor in the industries of the great corporation which he represents. Dr. Scott reviewed the conditions of the Negro in the South and showed why he makes a more loyal American than the cheap laborers of Europe.

Upon his return from Europe Judge Gary issued a statement deploring the strong immigration laws now in force. Judge Gary knows that according to the eternal law of supply and demand that to flood this country with the dregs of Europe would cheapen the wages and drag America down to the level of Russian sovietism.

Judge Gary's statement was met with such protest all over the country until he hastened to modify his remarks.

The late Congressman John L. Burnett of Alabama was twenty years in whipping the immigration laws into proper shape. They are a monument to his sacred memory.

BROOKLYN DAILY CITIZEN
APRIL 24, 1923

NEGRO EXODUS FROM THE SOUTH.

There is a general movement of Southern negro farmers to Northern industrial centers where high wages are obtainable, according to a special survey of farming conditions in the South, made by the United States Department of Agriculture. The report, which has just been made public, gives as contributory causes of the migration unprofitable cotton growing due to boll weevil conditions, unrest among negro troops who experienced more congenial living condition away from the farms during the war and afterward, and the breakdown of the contract labor system.

The movement seems to be throughout the cotton-growing States. From Georgia 32,000 negro farmers, or approximately 13 per cent. of all those in the State, moved North during the past year, and the movement continues, although planting has begun. South Carolina reports a loss of 22,750, or about 3 per cent. of the negro farm population. From Arkansas the North received 15,000, or 3½ per cent. The figures are 3½ per cent. from Alamaba. Tennessee lost 4,500 negro farmers.

This is alarming news and calls for serious study that a remdy may be provided. The negroes cannot be blamed for seeking to better their condition. On the other hand, their employment in the great industrial centers of the North, in many cases at lower pay than the white workmen receive, is an evidence of the determination of the employers to obtain low-priced labor and calls for censure.

The prosperity of the country lies, in large part, in the condition of its agricultural industries, and the exodus of so many thousands of workers from the farms and plantations of the South is a menace. A large abandonment of acreage is already reported.

The influx of so many thousands of colored people in the North is also a menace. In the South the negro is liked and there he finds climate, work and environment to which he is accustomed. In the North everything is different. Naturally enough where there are many negroes in a city or other community there will inevitably be a "negro quarter," and sooner or later race riots are apt to develop. If the movement continues there may be a negro problem here as well as in the Southern States.

It is to be doubted if the negro will ever find the prosperity in the North which awaits him in the Southern States. Many thousands of negroes already own their own farms and the number is increasing from year to year. This gives them prosperity and satisfactory living conditions—in fact, an ideal life. This is the ideal to which the level-headed leaders of the race are pointing and to which they are endeavoring to lead their fellows. The shortage of labor in the North is a temporary phase and when it is ended thousands of those who came North will find themselves out of employment, while those who remain will find out that the boll weevil conditions, which are partly responsible for the emigration, will be overcome and agriculture in the South, with everybody connected with it, will enjoy renewed prosperity.

Negro Migration and Southern Agriculture

Colored Migration.

From the agricultural statistician of Alabama comes announcement that over 10,000 colored laborers have left farms of the state for northern centers within the past few months. This is but one of the many reports showing a migration of colored people from the farms of the south to northern industrial centers. The movement has reached such proportions that now, whenever a southern negro buys a railroad ticket to the north, he is adding his mite toward reducing the cotton acreage.

A survey by the Department of Agriculture showed that in the past few months southern farms had a net loss of 324,000 laborers, mostly in the states east of the Mississippi River. Some went to towns and cities of the south, but many left for the north, where the high wages paid in some industries appeared like boundless wealth to those people. This movement is still going on and will permanently deprive the south of much of its agricultural labor. This means much to the cotton trade, for cotton cannot be successfully raised without colored labor; neither is it like wheat or corn, which yield to mechanical invention. It is essentially a hand-produced crop, and the loss of a few thousand laborers in any southern state would seriously affect the cultivation of the ordinary acreage of cotton.

If present intentions can be translated into achievements, the south will plant about 10 per cent more cotton than last year. What the crop will be is merely guesswork now. The most we can do is to look at extremes and the average of past years. The lowest yield per acre in the past five years was 124.5 pounds and the highest 178.4. An increase of 10 per cent in the acreage of last year might mean a minimum of less than 10,000,000 bales or a maximum of 13,800,000. The average yield in the same period was 153.3 pounds. This yield would mean something less than 12,000,000 bales.

The world is now using American cotton at the rate of 13,000,000 bales a year. At the end of this season July 31, 1923, there will be only small surplus in the world to begin new season. At the maximum es mate the new crop will be a lit more than sufficient to feed the sp dles of the world, to say nothing ab leaving a surplus to carry over in the next year. Therefore, the supp of cotton next year bids fair to be bad as now, and maybe worse.

This brings us back to the question, can the expected acreage be made? Not more than a third of the planting has been done yet, so intentions are not yet converted into planted cotton. If it can be planted and cultivated, and even picked, which seems doubtful from the present labor supply, the long look ahead is not cheerful. This movement of the colored people is not like the spring migration of the birds that go north for the summer, but is mostly a permanent change of habitation. A continued colored migration inevitably means a decreased cotton production in the future while demand is on the increase. Like the boll weevil, the negro now is to be counted in the market as a bullish factor—Wall Street Journal.

This very illuminating editorial was printed in the Wall Street Journal last Monday. Anybody who knows anything is sure that the cotton crop this fall cannot be large in the measure of what we usually call a large crop and yet, yesterday, futures were hammered down. There was no business reason for doing this; it was entirely speculative. Under the law of economics and where prices are based upon supply, cotton should command a good figure. It should fetch as much this fall as it did last fall.

On July 31, 1922, there was a carry-over of 5,123,000 bales of cotton. This year, April 1, there were 6,039,000 bales. Last year's crop was about 10,000,000 bales. The crop and the carry-over amounted to 15,000,000 bales.

If consumption continues from April 1 to July 31, as it did last year, there will be a carry-over of a million and a half bales, so in order to get a world consumption of over 15,000,000 bales we have got to grow this year about thirteen and a half million bales of cotton.

The acreage increase is not over 10 per cent. The season so far is below normal; it is much worse than last year. Labor is scarce. So with the crop off to a bad start and with other untowards condtions a crop of even 12,000,000 bales would be phenomenal.

Therefore it looks from all fundamental conditions that there is going to be a small supply of cotton this fall for normal needs. This means that cotton should fetch a decent price.

Reports at Moultrie Indicate Exodus.

Moultrie, Ga., May 15.—(Special.) Despite the fact that some of the negroes, who left here last fall, have let it be konwn that they are anxious to get back, members of the race are still leaving Moultrie and Colquitt county in large numbers for the big industrial centers in the north and east. Most of them are being lured by letters received from friends. So far labor agents have not been very active around Moultrie.

Negroes Come North.

The negro exodus from the South is growing. The South is becoming alarmed. Frantic telegrams from Chattanooga, Jackson and Memphis tell of hundreds of negroes passing through every day in charge of northern labor agents.

In view of the South's usual attitude toward the negro, it is difficult to see what the alarm is all about. The South has always been telling the North about its "negro problem." That problem was supposed to be that there were so many. Why, then, become alarmed if the North begins to relieve the South of that problem?

The South as a whole has never done anything to make conditions attractive enough to induce the negro to stay. Economically it has never given him much of a wage or much of a decent living. Politically it has done everything to keep him from his right to vote. Socially it has ostracized him. Nor have lynchings helped to make things attractive for him. Yet the South is alarmed because he is leaving.

How is this migration to be stopped? A dispatch from Memphis speaks of the "arrest recently of a number of negroes found idle about employment agencies, notwithstanding appeals by southern planters for help." It is hard to say whether this action is most to be condemned for its high-handedness or for its stupidity. Something like that was recently done with white men in Pittsburg. But if this isn't equivalent to peonage, if this isn't "involuntary servitude," what is?

There is one way in which the South can keep the negro. It can pay him a decent wage. It can treat him like a human being. It can, in short, try to make it worth his while to stay.

N Y C WORLD
MAY 15 1923

BIDDING FOR NEGRO LABOR.

Rather belatedly the Manufacturers' Association of Georgia calls upon the people of Georgia and of the South in general to do everything possible to check the Negro migration from South to North. What methods are to be used to induce the Negroes to remain the manufacturers state only vaguely. If any injustice is being done to the Negro it is to be eliminated. Where living conditions are discovered to be bad they should, the manufacturers suggest, be improved.

If the Negro received full justice with his neighbors in the South and if his living conditions were equal to anything obtainable in the North he would doubtless stay where he is and save travelling expenses. But he has been known to get very much less than full justice in Georgia, and the record of lynchings in that State is not reassuring. It is doubtful if the Negro in the North is so much "a stranger in a foreign land," as the manufacturers put it, that economic and social inducements have no appeal for him north of Mason and Dixon's line. Since the Immigration Law has practically cut off the supply of cheap workmen from Europe, the South and the North are in direct competition for Negro labor and the South is losing.

No doubt the South will offer sufficient incentives to keep the Negroes if labor becomes scarce and valuable. Lynching may disappear and living conditions in Negro quarters undergo a sudden change for the better. But unless this happens quickly, the South will have lost enough man-power to threaten an economic revolution.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
APRIL 22, 1923

Negro Migration and Southern Agriculture

The problem of negro migration from the South concerns not only the South, but the whole country. The negro is indispensable to Southern corn and cotton production, for even though white labor can be employed for these purposes, colored labor is preferable, and in large sections the only labor available. It has been conservatively estimated that over 50,000 negroes have left the Southern states for the North, the Middle-west and West within the last ninety days, and that they are leaving on every train. According to the O-K Weekly of Harahan, La., fully 15,000 have gone from the Mississippi delta and Louisiana, while 12,000 more have left Georgia, with imposing quotas from South Carolina, Texas and Alabama.

Far-reaching social and economic consequences are involved in this movement. While the labor situation in the South will be more complicated and discouraging, the labor situation in the North will likewise be affected by the introduction of a type, alien to many sections, as a competitive element, particularly in wage disputes. Negroes in labor unions hold a precarious position, when indeed they are admitted at all, while as strike-breakers they arouse racial animosities to a frenzy. The negro's place by nature and circumstances is in the South.

By the disturbance of social and economic conditions through sinister propaganda, encouraging the negro to leave the Southern countryside, an already acute labor and social situation is further accentuated. Every effort should be made to stem the tide, while no encouragement should be given nor inducements made to solve the Northern labor shortage by drawing upon availiable supplies from the South. The North will even more seriously regret a large negro population than the Southern states, which have paid dearly for the social and economic blunders of slavery. In any event, the problem is one that demands dispassionate but sympathetic consideration.—United Business Service of Boston, Mass.

NORTHERN PEOPLE COMING SOUTH.

Albany (Ga.) Herald.

While so many negroes are leaving the South for the North there is some compensation in the fact that people from the North have been settling in the South during the past few years than ever before.

While it cannot be said in truth that we are getting as many settlers from the North as there are negroes going North, it may be said in all sincerity that the difference in numbers is perhaps made up by the average difference in the two classes. One thrifty, hustling Yankee who comes South and settles on a farm or engages in business is really worth more to the community with which he becomes identified than half a dozen of the sort of negroes that are migrating to the industrial centers of the North.

This is said in no spirit of disparagement of our negroes, particularly the more intelligent and industrious class, but the comparison is intended to be drawn from the class of white men coming South from the North and the class of negroes going North. Our best negroes are not migrating to any considerable extent. A large percentage of our negro population own their own homes and are prosperous, and these are not going to be lured away by the promise of high wages as day laborers in the industries at the North.

The Herald is really not as much exercised over the alleged negro exodus as some of its friends and contemporaries appear to be. The migration of so many negroes from the rural districts of the South is embarrassing to farmers in some localities, but conditions in the South particularly here in South Georgia, are changing rapidly—and for the better, we believe—and our agricultural system will soon be adjusted to the changed conditions. And in this readjustment the newcomers from the North will have a helpful part.

Labor—1923.
Migration Movement.

Going North

BY REV. W. W. ALEXANDER

The Georgia State College of Agriculture recently reported that 100,000 people have left the farms of that State in the last six months. Of these, 80,000 were negroes. This shift of population left 11,840 abandoned farms. For 1923 at least these farms will produce no crops. The negro Baptist organization of the State confirms these figures, reporting that in the same period its rural Churches in Georgia have lost more than 50,000 members. Bishop Williams, of the Colored Methodist Church, and Bishop Chappell, of the African Methodists, report that there were many circuits to which no pastors could be returned this year because the people were gone.

In greater or less degree this condition prevails throughout the rural South, the movement being larger from some States than from others. Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas seem to have had the largest losses. This is a continuation of a movement that has been under way to some extent since the Civil War. The last census showed a marked change in negro population between 1910 and 1920, a great drift away from the rural districts of the South. The center of negro population shifted nineteen miles north during that period.

This drift was greatly accentuated by the industrial expansion resulting from the war in Europe, but ceased almost entirely during the period of depression in 1919 to 1922. With the revival of business in 1922 it set in again and is now going on with increasing volume. In the past this movement has been largely from the rural to the urban South and from Southern to Northern cities. The present movement is largely from Southern farms to Northern industrial centers.

There has been much speculation as to the causes. It seems clear that the present movement is not due principally to labor recruiters. It is a mass movement. Back of it is a *migration psychology* very definite and very widespread. This, more than the influence of labor agents or definite propaganda (there are some labor agents, and there has been some propaganda in the negro press), is immediately back of the migration. This psychology is a very intangible but very powerful reality which must not be overlooked. There is a widespread discouragement among Southern negroes. They can see little improvement in their situation and little hope for the future. They do not feel that Southern people are interested in them. A leading negro educator has said: "The negroes in Georgia do not believe that the State is interested in their welfare."

This State of mind is accentuated by the present economic situation. Crop and market conditions since the war have brought a severe test to Southern farmers. Negro farmers, along with the others, have fallen into hard times. At the same time the new immigration laws have shut off the supply of unskilled labor from Europe. Late in 1922 Northern industries began a program of expansion, and by early 1923 "prosperity" was announced as at hand. The Southern negro was the only available supply of the unskilled labor which is always necessary to industrial expansion. With the present state of negro psychology these economic conditions made the migration inevitable.

The negro has not in the past made a quick response to economic advantages. He is not sensitive to economic forces, and this response of the unskilled Southern negro to the present economic situation is due to something more than the lure of wages. The eager desire among negroes for the education of their children has undoubtedly played a large part. Dr. M. L. Brittain, many years the able State Superintendent of Schools for Georgia, testifies that rural negro parents set a higher value upon education for their children than do the poorer whites. Much progress is being made in the development of rural negro schools in the South. However, there still remain many local school boards which are indifferent and antagonistic to this development. In many sections only the meagerest provisions have been made for negro schools. Taken as a whole, the expenditure of State funds per educable negro child is only a fraction of that spent per educable white child. The law, of course, and the whole philosophy of free school education presupposes a distribution of the fund upon the basis of educable child without regard to color. In spite of great improvement in buildings, many negro schools meet in makeshift buildings unfit for human habitation. Most of the Southern States have failed to provide adequate facilities for training negro teachers. It is significant that Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the States which have done most for rural negro education, have felt the recent migration least. Negroes who are going from the rural South are seeking better opportunities for their children.

A few days ago a highly intelligent and trustworthy negro pastor in a Southern State had a notice signed K. K. K. posted for the third time on his door warning him to leave at once. The Klan, of course, will deny any connection with the incident. The fact remains, however, that there was nothing for this man to do but leave. In this rural community there was no legal protection for him. This happened when the crops in the surrounding country were being ruined for lack of negro farm labor.

In another Southern county within eight months six or eight families of negroes have been driven from farms they had been able to buy and pay for. They had the reputation of being law-abiding and respectable. What appeared to be the same mob went from house to house, brutally beating and terrorizing them. The judge in this circuit is a fearless man. In the face of much opposition from citizens of the county he secured a grand jury that indicted a number of men for these crimes. There was strong direct and indirect evidence. A former governor of the State assisted in the prosecution. The first trials have been held and the accused found—not guilty.

In North Carolina, perhaps the best governed of the Southern States, a mob recently beat a colored farm demonstration agent. He was a Hampton graduate who had for years rendered valuable service in teaching the negro farmers of North Carolina better methods. In spite of the fact that both Federal and State authorities have sought to discover the identity of the mob members, not one has been indicted.

A leading lawyer and Churchman in a Southern city noted for race clashes recently said: "We give the negro all the justice and protection it is safe for him to have." A Florida judge is reported in the press as saying: "The time has not come for a white man to be convicted on the testimony of negroes."

While such conditions are not typical, there are many communities where negroes are not safe from treatment like that described above. They feel these things very keenly, and many of the migrants believe that they will find better protection where they are going.

Again, while negroes of the South have no desire to associate "socially" with white people, they do feel that the segregation laws often work an injustice on them. Seats in the rear of street cars are set aside for colored. White people often occupy these seats all the way to the rear of the car even when there is space up front. If the negro should protest, he would meet with harsh treatment from that section of the public who are always watching to "keep the negro in his place."

Segregation in railroad travel is difficult to maintain without real injustice to the negro. He is charged the same as a white man for a ticket. He rides next to the baggage car, the place of greatest danger, often in a wooden coach. Frequently only one toilet is provided for men and women. Smoking is allowed. The white newsboy and the train conductor usually occupy sections of the colored car in which to work and store merchandise. Principal Moton of Tuskegee, while on a speaking tour in behalf of Liberty loans during the war, stood on a train all night, while the conductor occupied a section of the small car set aside for negroes. This is a common experience with negroes who travel. They pay equal prices for unequal accommodations and courtesy. Negroes think that this is unjust.

The farm labor system of the South makes exploitation of the negro an easy matter. He usually is ignorant. There is no written contract. There is a constant chance that the negro may slip away in the midst of the crop and leave the landlord an unpaid supply bill. Out of this grew a theory that it was best for the landlord to keep the negro tenant in debt. There are many stories in Mississippi and Georgia of the methods by which landlords "hold" their negroes and "settle" with them so as to keep them always in debt and hence under their control. Conditions are improving in this regard. Yet in many neighborhoods to-day may be found men who have made local fortunes by exploiting negro labor. The famous Williams murder farm in Georgia brought to light conditions as bad as anything known to slavery. Williams, a respectable citizen and a Church member, murdered eleven of "his negroes" who he feared might tell the story of his dealings with them. Such conditions have greatly helped to swell the migration.

It is interesting to follow these unskilled Southern negroes into the industries of the North. It is thought by many that most of them find their way back South. As a matter of fact, it has been found that only ten per cent ever return to permanent residence in the South. Some have thought that the winters would freeze them out. They seem soon to learn to dress for the colder weather. The houses are warmer, and they ap-

pear to suffer little discomfort from the weather. The older migrants doubtless sometimes suffer much from homesickness, but the younger generation are soon at home and show no desire to return.

There are those who imagine that negroes go North to associate with white people. But in truth the masses of negroes in the North are further removed from white people than in the South. There are fewer restrictions in travel and the like, but negroes live in negro neighborhoods, attend negro churches, and move in a negro world even more exclusively North than South. There is no evidence in the North that the obliteration of racial lines is even considered on the part of either white or negro.

These negroes direct from Southern farms are poorly trained for city life. The change from outdoors will be bad for their health. They are to take the place of the foreign labor which has been exploited by the steel and other industries. In Chicago and other cities real estate men have found that negroes may be forced to pay higher rents than any other class. In the past labor unions have not desired the negro in their organizations. The industries expect to use him to break the power of the union. There is growing prejudice against him as his numbers increase.

On the other hand, his wages are better, the schools are better, and he undoubtedly feels safer than in many sections of the South. The communities to which he goes are more sanitary and have good facilities for looking after the backward and the needy.

Previous to the Civil War much of the skilled labor of the South was done by negroes, but industrial changes and the passing of slavery crowded him out of skilled industrial processes. Many people believe now that he is incapable of doing skilled work. During the labor shortage of 1916-19 the negro began to enter skilled positions in industry, but the depression that followed crowded him out. He is again finding the doors open to skilled positions, and this time under conditions that will probably for years be normal. He has a chance to change his status from a common laborer to a place of greater importance in the skilled operations of industry. This is the most significant change in the industrial status of the negro since the emancipation.

There are many struggles ahead of these untrained negro farmers as they enter industry. On the whole, employers North welcome the change from foreign to negro labor. The negro speaks "American." He is good-humored and pleasant. Foreigners were silent and sometimes sullen. If the negro has had little industrial experience, his life on Southern farms has not made him a "radical," a word which causes uneasiness to industry just now. The situation is such that many thousands more will go. Only a general business depression or the lifting of the immigration restrictions could stop the movement, and neither of these seems imminent.

Though the majority of negroes may continue to live in the South for a long time, this shift in rural population means the immediate loss of millions of dollars to the rural South and ultimately a reconstruction in agriculture in extent second only to the passing of slavery. Change usually brings improvement. However, it always has its melancholic aspects. There are many who will view this drift of negro population away from Southern farms with regret and see in it the passing of much that was romantic and beautiful. The Southern white man is sincere in saying that he is the negro's best friend. It is unfortunate that so many negroes have never discovered it.

ATLANTA, GA.

How To Check Negro Exodus.

(From Paterson (N. J.) Press-Guardian

We read of opposition in the South to the migration of Negroes into the North and of methods—some of a questionable character—to check such migration. If the South wants the Negroes and the Negroes prefer the South, there are but two means of keeping the bulk of them there. First, higher pay for their labor than they are now receiving, for it is mainly the lure of high wages that carries them northward; second, better treatment than—in genaral—they now receive. The Columbus (Ga) Enquirer-Sun even gives the second requisite first place, for, though recognizing that economics are concerned is says:

"The Negro does not receive the justice in the same measure that the white man does, and he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs—those who rent him homes think that any sort of shack is good enough for the Negro; the sections he occupies in cities are practically always unsanitary, the streets usually unpaved, and no incentive given him to emulate the standards set by the white man. And the question of schools for the Negro fails to receive the proper attention."

Speaking along similar lines, the Albany (Ga.) Herald blames the Ku Klux Klan, and those masquerading as Klansmen, for the Negroes' unrest and desire to go North, pointedly observing that no people like to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror which drives people to flee from it. Questionable methods may serve the purpose in some instances, but even in those only temporarily.

There is no escape from the common-sense conclusion that the only way to hold the bulk of the blacks in the South is to make them contented and that the only way to make them contended is to pay them more and treat them better

The Jacksonville, Florida, *Journal*, a daily newspaper, is thoroughly aroused over the migration of Afro-Americans from that State and the South generally, and says: "Negroes are going North by the tens of thousands; until now some of the basic industries of Florida and its neighboring States are threatened by as serious a labor shortage as during the war, and tending to grow even more serious." It thinks that the situation cannot be ignored and needs the best thought of all of the best citizens.

Discussing the "Fruits of Migration," the Indianapolis *Ledger* takes the case of the Governor of Georgia ordering out State troops to protect a prisoner from the mob at Savannah. It said:

It is all because Hannah has left Savannah! That's the answer. Upward of seventy thousand of her kind, including Hannah's husband, brother, uncles and aunts have forevermore the curse of cotton, withdrawn their support of the southern labor profiteers and murderers and left Georgia, seeking enlarged opportunity and a modus vivendi for themselves. Georgia is suffering. Famine and industrial stagnation are wolves at her door, because of this deflection of colored labor afforded by Hannah's kith and kin, Georgia recognizes some semblance of justice when placed at this extremity. And it is all because Hannah left Savannah! Thus it would appear that this departure has not only helped Hannah, but Savannah.

If a measure of justice and protection before the law is one of the results of migration, it will prove a benefit to those who remain, as well as those who leave.

TRY TO STOP NEGRO EXODUS

Georgia Baptists Join Fight for Better Treatment of Colored Race.

Special to The Chicago Daily News.

Atlanta, Ga., June 18.—The Baptists of this state have entered the fight to prevent the further migration of negroes north. A state law to stop lynching is suggested as one remedy for the evil which is making nights sleepless for the Georgia farmer.

"The Christian Index," the weekly state publication of the Baptists, carries an article by W. W. Alexander, prominent Atlanta man, urging the anti-lynch law. His discussion is headed: "Let's stop shoving." The exodus of the negro is ascribed to the "shoving of the south" rather than to the "pulling of the north.

Mr. Alexander states that 100,000 persons have left Georgia farms within the last six months. Of them, 60,000 were negroes. The result is 12,000 abandoned farms. The negro Baptist organization of the state is quoted as saying the colored rural churches have lost 50,000 members through the migration.

"Mob rule," "peonage," and terrorism inspired by anonymous warnings to leave the community are mentioned as helping to drive the negro away. If the legislature will but organize a state police force, give the governor the power to remove sheriffs delinquent in protecting prisoners, enact an anti-lynch law, stop peonage, fewer negroes will away, Mr. Alexander says.

Gov. Hardwick, ex-Gov. Dorsey, the Rev. E. J. Forrester of the state board of education, Prof. J. Phil Campbell of the state agricultural college, and many other Georgians are said to indorse the program suggested.

NEW HAVEN CONN UNION
MAY 27, 1923

WHY ARE THE NEGROES COMING NORTH?

Ewitor Union:

Wages are higher today in the South than ever before, yet the tide of negro migration from the South to the North, first noticed in the middle of the winter, has now reached a volume that to the South is little short of alarming. The servant question in the southern states, it is said, is complicated as never before by the migration of negro women and girls with their husbands, fathers and brothers. But the Southerner most damagingly affected by this migration of the major labor element as the cotton-planter for we are told that before the war two-thirds of the cotton crop was produced by negro labor Not that all of the migrants are from the farming district but with one stream of negroes labor going from industrial centers in the South to industrial centers of the North, their places must be filled and this is done by a stream from the rural districts. Thus northern industry receives semi-skilled labor while the southern industry trains and educates the stream from the rural districts only to have it join migration later on. The chief cause given for this migration to the North is an increasing demand for common and semi-skilled labor, brought about by the revival of industry, while European sources of labor are almost closed.

G. B.

EDUCATOR APPROVES EXODUS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Cambridge, Mass., July 1.—The present migration of Negroes from the South is a natural progress which will result in good, James Hardy Dillard of Charlottesville, Va., said in an address at the Harvard alumni exercises today.

"Advance in the work of Negro education," he said, "is remarkable, especially in the amount of public funds appropriated. The Negro people are showing each year remarkable growth in holding property, in undertaking business projects and in supplying from their own ranks the professional needs of the race. The Southern white people are more and more recognizing these facts.

"Sixty years is a short time in history for any great readjustment. There must, of course, be ebbs and flows and now and then special movements. Just now, for example, we are interested in the renewal of the migration to the North and West. It is a natural process that will result in good and it will not change the fact that the great majority of those Negro people will continue to live in the South. And in the South, on the whole, I think the advance toward better understanding between the races in a new relation is as fast as it could well be in order to steady progress without harmful reaction."

Labor—1923
Migration Movement.

Shifting Negro Population

(From New York Herald.)

Southern negroes are again on the move toward northern jobs. Thirty-two thousand negro field hands, 13 per cent of the general supply, are said to have left Georgia since last summer. At that rate the whole south has lost some 200,000 laborers. In North Carolina alone the departure of 5,000 unskilled negro laborers has resulted in shutting down 50 highway projects.

In spite of heavy northward migration during the war years the south still contained three-quarters of the negro population of the United States in 1920. That census was taken at the peak of the post-war boom. Scarcely was the count concluded when many thousands of blacks, out of work, hurried back home, where the sun shines on both sides of the fence in winter. The northward migration was again begun last summer during the shopmen's strike, and has been gradually gathering speed under the influence of rising industrial wages.

There are approximately 1,600,000 negro males between 18 and 44 years of age living in the south. Because of the negro's willingness to roam, this bloc constitutes a labor pool upon which industry draws in busy times by means of high wages. But that is a heavy blow at cotton production, for these southern negroes are mostly country dwellers and plantation workers.

Cotton acreage must be reduced and cotton prices rise in proportion as negro labor leaves the fields. There is no chance to substitute other labor, because the climate in the best cotton growing areas prohibits white men from protracted field work. Therefore cotton growing in Egypt and other competing areas will be stimulated to the satisfaction of European spinners, who have long resented the virtual monopoly of the American south in cotton.

This shift in population has several other disturbing features. The coming of more negroes intensifies the housing problem in northern cities. There are never quite enough houses for negroes. As a result they crowd over into white neighborhoods, a habit that frequently makes bad blood and leads directly to racial upheavals.

Another difficulty, from the standpoint of sociology, is that while the negro men come north the women tend to stay south. In 1920 there were 332,271 more negro women of marriageable age in the south than there were males. Unsatisfactory domestic relationships are certain to flow from this disproportion.

High wages are the magnet drawing negroes north. An unnatural labor shortage, caused by a stupid immigration law, creates a situation disturbing to the real advantages of the north. Short of admitting more able-bodied white men from Europe, there is no shutting off the current that robs the south of native labor without permanently benefiting the north. Given a chance, the north can find more assimilable neighbors and more efficient laborers in Europe than in North Carolina or Georgia.

The agricultural south should join the industrial north in working for the repeals of the 3 per cent quota act. The interests of the two sections in this matter are identical.—New York Herald.

NEGRO MIGRATION FELT OVER SOUTH

Northern Agents Reported Active in Inducing Laborers to Leave for Other States.

Memphis, Tenn., May 12.—Migration of negroes from the Memphis territory to northern industrial centers has resulted in an investigation by representatives of the state department of labor of certain employment agencies here and a tightening of the lines requiring compliance with license requirements which resulted in the arrest of several of the agents. This action followed complaints by planters that negroes were being brought to Memphis and held awaiting orders for labor from northern points and ignoring requests for farm help from southern plantation owners. Proposals also have been made for the enactment of city ordinances regulating employment bureaus, but thus far no formal action has been taken.

5-13-23

Virginia Shortage Acute.

Richmond, Va., May 12.—Although the labor shortage in Virginia is more acute at this time than since the world war, no concerted effort is bein made to keep workmen in the state, Commissioner of Labor John Hopkins Hall said today. Negro laborers on construction work in the larger cities of the state are being paid 35 cents an hour, while the larger industrial concerns of the country are offering 40 cents through labor agents, Mr. Hall said. This increased wage is attracting many.

Report Large Exodus.

Mobile, Ala., May 12.—Contractors on all kinds of work report a very large exodus of negro laborers from Mobile and other south Alabama counties to the eastern and western industrial centers, so much so that labor agents are being arrested for taking away the labor without having first secured a state license.

At least 4,000 negroes from Mobile and surrounding territory have gone to the big manufacturing centers of northern and middlewestern states in the past three months according to railroad

Serious in South Carolina.

Columbia, S. C., May 12.—The labor situation in South Carolina is the most serious in many years if not in the history of the state, according to a statement made here today by W. T. Willingham, in charge of the United States employment bureau here. Labor is short for all kinds of work, he said.

Mr. Willingham said that labor agents from northern sections have been working throughout the state inducing neroes to leave for other states. They are receiving from $2 to $7.50 each for every laborer they induce to go to industrial plants outside the state.

The federal employment bureau head said that he had never heard of reported offers of $4 to $10 a day being made by agents for labor to stay in the south. "It is just a wild rumor, in my opinion," he said.

The labor shortage in the state extends not only to the farming districts, but also is acute in the manufacturing industry, he said, with the possible exception of cotton mills. Lumber men from the eastern section of the state are pleading for help and the Piedmont section manufacturers are asking for labor.

Domestic help is also short, and what can be had is inferior, he said.

Not So Serious in North Carolina.

Raleigh, N. C., May 12.—A labor shortage on the farms of North Carolina already is being felt, but the situation in this state is not as serious as in other sections of the south as a result of an exodus of negroes to the north, M. L. Shipman, state commissioner of labor and printing announced today

Officials of the United States and state free employment service in Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington, Winston-Salem, Greensboro and other cities have been notified by the commissioner to report to county authorities any case of an agent without license soliciting the employment of negroes for jobs in the north.

"The obvious reason for this exodus," said Mr. Shipman, "is promise of higher wages and better living conditions. Social standing is also held out as an inducement in contrast to entire separation of the races in the south, both social and political."

Joint Meetings Called.

Jackson, Miss., May 12.—Joint meetings of whites and negroes in every county seat in Mississippi have been called by a special state committee to discuss methods to check the exodus of negro laborers from Mississippi. It was estimated by D A. McCandlish, federal statiscian, that 9,000 negro farm hands have left the state since last fall. Many farms are idle because of the lack of laborers, and it is generally predicted that many farmers will curtail their crops next year for lack of tenants.

Exceed Demand in Louisiana.

New Orleans, May 12.—The supply of negro labor in Louisiana exceeds the demand and no special inducements are being made to prevent negroes from migrating to the industrial centers of the north, it was announced today from the office of the state commissioner of labor.

If there has been any movement of negroes from the state this year, it has been so small it was not noticeable, it was said. The industries plantations and farms are well supplied with labor, and many negroes are asking employment, the announce-

MISSISSIPPIANS ACT TO END NEGRO EXODUS

Business Men and Planters Discuss Problem.

JACKSON, Miss., May 2.—A representative and enthusiastic meeting of business and agricultural men of the state held today in the House of Representatives, discussed and took action on the serious labor exodus from Mississippi. The fundamental cause of the exodus was found to be dissatisfaction with local conditions for which it was admitted was the fault of the employers. This shortcoming on our part is giving the northern and western employer, it was found, opportunity to entice away our labor by the offer of higher wages and specious promises that are but short-lived it fulfilled at all. The discussion also developed the fact thta while the negroes are leaving in large numbers a serious proportion of white labor is also going. A dozen or more representative negroes attended.

To Get Prompt Action.

The meeting appointed a committee to sound a warning and arouse the people to the importance of immediate action. A ringing call was issued by the committee to all civic, social, commercial and agricultural organizations to get into action and to arrange for joint county meetings of whites and negroes to be held on Saturday, May 19, for mutual co-operation in a combined movement to counteract the existing causes of the trouble.

This committee includes L. O. Crosby ex-officio chairman, Picayune; O. F. Lawrence, Grenada; Capt. W. W. Stone, Greenville; J. M. Hatfield, Jackson; Francis S. Harmon, Jackson; F. L. Adams, Morton; R. F. Morse, Quitman; J. B. Lusk, Jackson; W. H. Holtzclaw, Utica; J. M. Williamson, Shelby; Lawrence Jones, Braxton; Isaiah T. Montgomery, Mound Bayou, and Ed Coleman, Aberdeen.

In accordance with the sentiments expressed by hte meeting the committee this evening issued the following address to tne people of the state:

"First—The attention of every thoughtful person in our state is called to the acute situation which faces both the farmer and the southern manufacturer due to the exodus of southern labor, mainly negroes, to industrial centers in the north and west. This movement away from our farms and sawmills and other industries is fraught with the deepest danger to the economic life of our state and calls for the best thought and effort of all people, regardless of race or condition, who desire to see Mississippi in a prosperous condition.

Not Political Question.

"Second — The State Chamber of Commerce, "nonpartisan, nonsectional and nonpolitical,' desires it clearly understood that in no sense is this a political question. In Mississippi today we face not a theory, but an actual condition. The exodus of an increasing number of our laborers is due to a variety of circumstances, many of which are within our control, and this opportunity is taken to bring the matter squarely before our people.

"The northern manufacturer and the western employer are bidding against us for our labor. Unscrupulous labor agents are operating within our borders in defiance of our laws and luring the more ignorant of our people away from the south by specious promises and rosy pictures of life elsewhere. It therefore becomes necessary that from this insidious enticement of our labor from us:

"We must improve living conditions, improve working conditions, look after the health and sanitary problems of our laborers, and see that they get proper churches, schools and places of amusement. Every man and woman in the state must see to it that the laws protecting the negroes in their lives and property are rigorously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs regardless of race or color; and that there be the fullest co-operation between the white man and the black to insure amicable relations, efficien service, and mutual profit to both.

Promise to Negroes.

"Third—oT this end the State Chamber of Commerce through this committee desires to make known to every honest, law abiding negro in the state that we want him to make his home here; that the white people intend to see to it that he gets a square deal and decent living conditions; that the state Chamber of Commerce invites the co-operation of the colored people themselves in the handling and solution of this problem; that it is our candid judgment that the negro is better off in every way in the south than elsewhere; that it takes less to afford him a living; that in the north and west his wages may be greater but a careful study by actual observers from Mississippi shows that the cost of living is relatively much higher, and more than offsets the increase in wages; that the northern manufacturer seeks to lure the negro to his factory to take care of a temporary emergency and will turn a cold shoulder to every plea for a job, to every call for aid, when conditions change and he no longer needs his labor; that by nature, temperament, and training the negro is best suited to live in the south and we want to work with him to make Mississippi the garden spot of the world.

"Fourth—Finally this body especially urges upon the Mississippi Development Board, upon every local Chamber of Commerce upon the Rotary, Exchange, Kiwanis, Lions, Civitan Lumbermen's clubs, and other civic organizations; upon the state Bankers' Association, the Staple Cotton Growers' Association, the Mississippi State Farm Bureau; upon every large employer of labor, upon the women's clubs, and upon every community and county, that on Saturday, May 19, a joint public meeting of white people and negroes be held at the county court houses, school houses, town halls. Chambers of Commerce aid other public places where people of both races may talk together of those things which mutually concern both.

It is urged that points of agreement between the races be emphasized and points of friction be minimized; that any and all discussion of the social and political phases of this situation be avoided as having nothing whatever to do with the solution of this purely economic question, and that inter-racial committees composed of both negroes and whites be formed in every community so that each race may be informed of the viewpoint of the other so that dangerous incidents may be handled by legal means; and to the end that peace and harmony may prevail and prosperity come to white and black alike through cordial co-operation in the agricultural and industrial upbuilding of our state."

President Crosby was introduced by R. H. Pate, field secretary of the state chamber of commerce. Mr. Crosby said the question before the meeting of checking the exodus of labor from the state was one of the most serious importance. His observation and information had shown him that labor was leaving Mississippi, going chiefly to northern manufacturing centers. He visited Chicago and made an investigation on his own account to determine why the negroes were going there and to other like points and he visited the car shops and manufacturing enterprises.

Labor Is Demoralized.

Following the industrial slump of 1920 when labor conditions became demoralized and the country was faced with the problem of unemployment, there was now a tremendous revival of business, with railroads and manufacturing industries speeding up to make up for the lost time occasioned by the period of depression. Labor was in great demand. In the north special methods were employed to secure labor and the industries had systematized plans to get labor. They were offering inducements never before offered, and doing welfare work among their labor such as they have never done before. In dealing with our problem it was necessary to remove the cause of the trouble. It was necessary to get every man, woman and child in employment to give better service and to enable them to earn more money and pay them better wages. We must equal in efficiency and systematized work the best that can be found anywhere. Mississippi, he said, was only about 40 per cent efficient today. We do not realize this until we compare our methods with those of the north.

He urged that the negro needed our help to teach him how to work better and that every negro should be taught to have a bank account. We hook him up with a mule on our southern farms where he has to contend with an excess of stumps and gullies on every acre, and expect him to take 50 per cent of what he can thus raise and make something for himself. The result is a mortgage on all he has in a few years. He believed Mississippi had greater possibilities and opportunities than nearly any state of the union.

In substance he thought the main trouble was neglect of labor and that as soon as we adopt plans to encourage them to better work and pay them better we will have no trouble in keeping them. He found that with all the talk of higher wages north and better living conditions, there was more unrest among the negroes there than in Mississippi, and many had come back.

Superintendent Mullett of the Long Bell Lumber Co. said he had labor trouble and was short of labor. His company was paying good wages and had even run its plants at a loss to keep its labor, but he was willing to go further and do anything in reason to hold labor. He believed that most of those who had left him would come back. Some had returned after facing hard winter and treble expenses which soon cleaned up their higher wages.

J. M. Hartfield, president of the Merchants Bank of this city, stated that in his opinion the condition is not a new one, but is a sort of crisis that if met in the right way will prove a blessing to the state. The movement of negroes to the north is the result of the labor shortage that exists all over the country, and the north offers to the negro more in wages and living conditions than is offered him at home. Mr. Hartfield stated with frankness that many instances had come under his observation showing that the negro does not always get a square deal from the white man of the south and that until he does get exactly 100 cents when he is due a dollar there will be labor shortage and a continuation of the exodus to the north. Mr. Hartfield also touched upon the fact that the death rate among negroes in this state is much higher than it should be and is one of the reasons why conditions should be improved for them, as an economic expedient as well as a civic duty of the dominant race to the dependent one.

Mr. Crosby supported Mr. Hartfield's attitude, and illustrated the economic advantages of improved housing and living conditions with examples taken from saw mills about Picayune.

RELIABLE EUROPEANS MUST REPLACE NEGRO

Exodus of Latter to North Believed Permanent.

PLANTERS ARE AWAKENED

Most Optimistic Agree That Movement Is Serious Economic Problem Without Apparent End—Immigration Is Solution.

With the movement of negroes from the Memphis region to northern industrial centers continuing diminishing slightly but continuing far in excess of previous years, land and plantation owners throughout the delta sections of both Arkansas and Mississippi are nearer a unanimous view on the labor subject now than they have been in years. In two points in particular there is a remarkable similarity and unanimity of opinion.

Where few believed, until this year, that the movement northward would be of consequence, and that the negroes would stay north, there are very few now who believe that the exodus will end. Any number of the plantation men who predicted a few years ago that the negroes would return and that the movement was of no concern, have performed an "about face" on the subject. They seem convinced that negroes will continue moving toward the industries as long as there is normal industrial activity, and that only a very small per cent will return permanently.

In the second place, the employers of negro labor throughout this region declare that the alleged "mistreatment" is a very inconsequential and a minor cause for the exodus.

A state-wide survey of the Arkansas department of agriculture, just completed and furnished in report form to officials at Washington, bears out the latter view. The survey disclosed that, save for housing conditions, "the movement could not be attributed to bad treatment." On the other hand, it was definitely declared that it was due to economic conditions, with little or no organization figuring in it. Better housing conditions and better wages in the north, linked with a certain amount of "personal liberties," likely more imagined than real, are given as factors.

Mistreatment Not Cause.

In support of their charges that mistreatment is a very small factor, planters who have made it a practice to "cash furnish" their tenants and labor and allow them to sell their own cotton, have suffered as much or more than any others.

Planters who have furnished the land, mules, tools, seed, feed, credit for clothing and food and have taken all the risk of poor crops or no crops, and who then give the negroes one-half the crop produced, have lost labor the same as all others. And they point out, at the same time, that there is no other business in the country where the employer gives the employes one-half the gross receipts, leaving the employe little or no risk. Yet this labor has been going with the other labor. The "mistreatment" charged is the exception and not the rule, they assert.

Interest in the labor matter was first taken by the Southern Alluvial Land Association shortly after the war ended, when directors of the organization, all big land owners and plantation operators, started a movement to call attention to the trend of the northward movement and, at the same time, authorized a publicity campaign throughout northern newspapers in which negroes who had gone north were informed that their fare for return to the delta region would be advanced if they wished to return. In August, 1919, several hundred newspapers throughout the country carried stories to this effect, the hope being that the labor supply could be replenished at picking time. Very few came back south.

"Our investigations since that time have convinced us that the negro labor movement is something over which the planter has absolutely no control," declared W. H. Dick, president of the association and a planter with several thousand acres under cultivation in Mississippi. "We can't expect to compete with the industries unless cotton prices are far higher than they are now. It makes no difference what we do for our help, the chances are against us holding them so long as industry needs labor—and with immigration laws as they are now, that appears to be for an indefinite and long time.

"The more study we give it, the more are we convinced that the only solution is the procuring of a good class and race of northern Europeans, energetic, thrifty, easily assimilated people selected for their known ability to make good farmers and good citizens. We can get them with the active co-operation of all the interests of this region. We have something to offer such people—something that will be of benefit to them and to us. It is a work of much detail and cost, of course, and co-operative organization we very quickly found, is the only practical means of handling it. We might as well make up our minds that something must be done if the millions of acres of delta lands in this region are to be utilized and the quicker we start the better will it be for all of us—planters, merchants, bankers and everyone alike."

W. R. Satterfield, vice-president of the Chicago Mill and Lumber Company, with extensive holdings throughout the lower valley, and chairman of the immigration committee of the Southern Alluvial Land Association, returned from Washington during the past week where he conferred with officials of the immigration bureau with a view to a later conference on the subject of the immigration. The situation in the Memphis region was placed before the bureau officials, together with the outline of a plan by which worthy immigrants might be settled with advantage and opportunities in this region.

"What we need is new settlers and to get them we must have something to offer them that will help them—better their condition," declared Mr. Satterfield. "They asked me about American farmers and I told them of what we had been doing for several years to attract the small and the tenant farmer to this region. We lack one essential—and most every new region lacks the same essential for that matter—and that is a social condition equaling that from which the average northern farmer comes, schools, churches, picture shows and things of that sort. The average American farmer nowadays has these things at his very door. He is loath to go out into a new section of the country, away from schools, churches and these things, and hew out a farm. We may hate to admit it and think about it, but it's a fact and we cannot get away from it. But the good, thrifty class of northern European farmer is not accustomed to such things. We can bring him in here and offer him a chance to better his condition. We can help such chaps. And he is the one who will make good and develop the country. He can come in with nothing more than his bare hands, start as a share-cropper, a tenant or a farm laborer, with the usual "furnishing" seen after by the planter and landowner. In a few years he is a substantial citizen, provided of course, he is a selected or 'hand-picked' immigrant to begin with.

"We may not have taken time to give it though heretofore, but our labor problem has been developing for a long time and it is with us clearly now. The thing to do is start solving it. Two, three, five or ten years from now we can look back and thank ourselves for having started as soon as we did."

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN
APRIL 24, 1923

Labor Raids in South

That some southerners are taking the law into their own hands to prevent an exodus of Negro labor to the North is indicated by Dow Service Daily Building Reports:—

Whole consignments of laborers are arranged for shipment North, but somehow they do not arrive. It is the rule rather than the exception, according to the experience of building material manufacturers, who at this time are striving particularly hard to keep a steady flow of brick and similar basic materials coming to this market.

Instances have been reported where employers in search of crude southern man power have been detained when about to entrain with their gangs of laborers for the North by ostensible process of police power, and, while a hearing is in process of being arranged, the gangs have been stampeded in one way or another and finally the would-be employer returned without help.

By "crude southern man power" Negro labor is evidently meant. The article goes on to say that "underground" methods similar to those of the days before the Civil war have been resorted to by northern manufacturers in order to transport labor from the South. But the grade of the workers that it is possible to obtain by these methods appears not to be satisfactory.

It is obvious that expedients are being used by representatives of northern manufacturers to entice Negro labor from the South. The charge is made that in some places southern employers have combined legal subterfuges with persuasion, intimidation to prevent group

the legislative to the executive, with the judicial acting last.

The first afternoon address was given by Prof E. G. Woodhouse of Smith college, who spoke in part as follows:—

"One writer on American politics has defined a political party as 'a durable organization of individuals or groups of individuals, fluctuating in personnel and numbers, united by common principles or a common policy, and having for its immediate end the control of the government through the carrying of elections and the possession of office.' The American people have very seldom, and then for very short spaces of time, had nation-

COLUMBUS O. JOURNAL
MAY 1, 1923

A Colored Migration.

During the past year and especially in the last few months there has been a very large negro exodus from the agricultural districts of the South to the industrial centers of the North. In Georgia, for instance, it is estimated that 13 per cent of the total number of colored farm hands, or about 32,000 in all, have moved North in the last year. In South Carolina about 3 per cent or 22,750 colored farmers have gone. Florida reports 2 per cent in the Northward movement, Alabama and Arkansas each 3½ per cent, other Southern states less but still an appreciable number.

These are large and impressive figures; and, naturally, the result of such a general migration from the South to the North is bound to have marked consequences. The immediate result is serious harm to Southern agriculture. Cotton fields are neglected, the boll weevil is becoming formidable, and large tracts have had to be abandoned, owing to the lack of labor.

The causes cited for the Northward movement are unrest among returned colored soldiers, higher wages and better living conditions that may be obtained in the Northern cities, and the breakdown of the contract labor system.

It is impossible, however, to read of such a pronounced colored exodus within the past year without connecting it, in some measure, with the activities of the Ku Klux Klan during the same period. Although the klan is now scattered over the whole country, the rural districts of the South were its breeding places. It is a pity that the colored people should be, by whatever causes, drawn away from the Southern farms, where both the climate and the nature of the work are well suited to their needs, other conditions being right, and where their labor is in greater demand than in the crowded cities.

Labor — 1923
Migration Movement.

Negro Farm "Croppers" In South Offer Large Labor Supply to North

Assimilation Into Industrial Communities of Other Sections Offer Opportunity for Release from Present Conditions Which Make Them Peons and Serfs.

EMPLOYMENT REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTHERN INDUSTRIES SHOULD CANVASS THE RURAL SOUTH

Croppers," Owning Neither Land, Stock or Implements, Operating Thousands of Small Farms With No Hope of Ever Becoming Owners, Should Enter Industry.

(By CHARLES E. HALL).

Washington, D. C.—When Judge E. H. Gary, chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, returned from Europe last week his first interview was a denunciation of the present immigration law which he claims prevents European workmen from coming to America in sufficient numbers to relieve the labor shortage. In well informed circles it is said that this is the opening gun in what may become a much more live issue in the next twelve months in American politics than the "open shop" or the tariff.

The bringing into prominence of this question of restricted immigration deeply concerns the members of our group, many of whom are of the opinion that this restriction and its continuance until we get a foothold in industry, means more to us than any legislation enacted in recent years.

Means More for the Negro

It means the distribution of larger payrolls to Negro workers in the industrial centers, and an increased apportionment of money to our rarcial doctors, lawyers, ministers and business men.

It means more homes, more children in school, more business enterprises and the strengthening of our insurance companies, our banks and our fraternal societies in the North.

There are those who even go so far as to frankly express the opinion that such legislation is more important to the race generally than the passage of Dyer bills or the appointment of a few politicians to big jobs.

Be this as it may, none of us can deny the fact that more progress can be made through an association with highly organized and intelligent industrial groups, and through the handling of intricate machinery than can be made by driving a mule down a dusty country road, or by engaging oneself in the seasonable occupation of picking a field of cotton *for the other fellow.*

As there has not been until recently much of a migration from the South, since the year 1920, it is believed that the United States census figures for that year might well be used for the purpose of indicating a source of unskilled labor supply that can be further drawn upon to relieve the labor shotrage, at least until Congress meets next fall and attempts to modify the present immigration law over the protests of the labor union chiefs who are satisfied with present conditions, and who maintain that the manufacturers in order to keep down the cost of labor prefer to have a thousand men at the gate applying for work when only fifty or a hundred jobs are open.

Thousands are Available

If the employment representatives of Northern industry are crying, as some newspapers report, for unskilled labor, they should canvass the rural districts in the South where there are thousands of colored farmers operating small farms under a "cropper system" that will not permit them nor their children, nor their children's children to become owners. This class of tenant farmers of whom there are several hundred thousand, and for whose progress there can be but little hope under existing conditions, constitute the peons and serfs of our Western CHRISTIAN civilization, of which we all so loudly boast.

In Bolivar county, Mississippi, for instance, out of a total of 12,808 farm operators in 1920 there are 11,833 Negro farmers of whom only about 590 were owners. The total acreage of farm land in this county is less by 225,000 acres than in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, the richest general farming county in the United States from the standpoint of value of products raised, yet Bolivar county had more Negro farmers alone than there were native white, foreign-born white and Negro farmers combined in Lancaster county.

In Washington county, Mississippi, with a farm acreage less 40,000 acres than Frederick county, Maryland, there were 8,674 Negro farmers, or 2,400 more than in all of the 24 counties of Maryland combined, but in Maryland there were more than 3,500 colored owners as compared with only 284 owners in the Mississippi county.

In Leflore county, Mississippi, there were 5,461 Negroes who operated farms averaging about 35 acres. The total land in farms here was about 60,000 less in acreage than in Burlington county, New Jersey, where there are only 2,172 farmers, including about 40 colored farmers, but in the New Jersey county the farms average about 125 acres as compared with 25 acres in Bolivar, 34 in Washington and 35 in Leflore.

Many More "Croppers" Than Needed"

The average number of farms in the 053 counties comprising the United States is about 2,112, and the proportion of owners is 609 per 1,000 operators, but in Bolivar county there were only 0, in Washington county only 33, and in Leflore county only 21 Negro farm owners per 1,000 operators as compared with 609 for all farmers, or with the average of 236 owners per 1,000 operators for the Negro farmers throughout the United States.

It thus appears that there are several times as many Negro "cropper" farmers as are needed down there and that the farm acreage among this class of farmers should be increased in size to more favorably compare with the general average of 148 acres per farm as reported for the United States as a whole.

Such an arrangement would probably *release about* 200,000 *workers,* whose entrance into the manufacturing industries would greatly relieve the growing labor shortage so sincerely deplored by the Steel Trust officials. Unless a man is truck farming and has good market facilities, there is not much hope for substantial progress, especially for a "cropper," in operating a 25 or 35 acre farm.

The race needs and must have, particularly in the North and West, more farm owners and share and cash tenants, and efforts are being made to get them, but we do not need more "croppers" who own neither work animals nor farm implements, and who are, strictly speaking, FARM LABORERS instead of farmers.

Conditions Are Discouraging

These discouraging conditions prevail throughout the South, and it would not be a difficult matter to list more than 250 counties in which the number of Negro farmers range from 1,000 to 8,000, and in which the proportion of owners does not greatly exceed, if at all, 100 instead of 609, or 236 per 1,000 operators.

These small farm counties with th hopeless "cropper system" in such state as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North and South Carolina should be brought to the attention of the captains of industry now that they anticipate a labor shortage.

Certainly loyal American workers should be given a preference over foreign-born earners many of whom *refuse to be melted* in the great American melting pot, as was demonstrated during the war.

The attention of the manufacturer should also be directed to the 216 counties in which Negroes constitute from 50 to 90 per cent. of the total population and in which there are nearly three quarters of a million colored males 21 years of age and over. By drawing on this source of labor the Southern white people would be relieved of the fear of Negro domination, and would no doubt *gladly assist* in the work of recruiting large numbers of colored men for Northern enterprises.

The Open Road North.

(From Columbia (S. C.) State).

Discussing "Migration and Its Causes," THE AGE, a newspaper of the Negroes, published in New York, concludes an article with this paragraph:

"If the South desires to retain the Negro as the most valuable of its assets, as a source of skilled and unskilled labor, it will lend an open ear to such suggestions as those offered by the meeting at Greenville, which was said to represent at least a thousand homes."

The "Greenville" reference is to a meeting held in that city in which extension of better school facilities and better general treatment to the Negroes, to check migration, were favored.

The premisis of THE AGE are not admitted by all Southern white people—certainly not by *The State.*

The State has since its beginning advocated justice to Negroes, the giving to them for their dollar the dollar's worth, justice in the courts, as good schools as the state can afford for them and, above all, helpful and encouraging treatment—all this with inflexible maintenance of separation of the two races.

As numerous "race newspapers" and newspapers of white people, too, have the habit of proceeding on THE AGE'S assumptions, *The State* takes occasion to say that it does not believe the Negroes to be "the most valuable of the South's assets" and is not concerned about their retention "as a source of skilled and unskilled labor." On the contrary, the dispersion of the Negroes over the continent would be a most excellent event for the South. The migration is even now improving race relations in the South. However, it may and does cause temporary inconvenience and losses, in the long run it will be an immesurable blessing to the South. We do not believe that Negroes should be driven away; they are here, they are entitled to receive fair treatment, and what constitutes 'fair treatment" will in the main be, as it is, defined by the Soutnern white people.

We cannot be cruel to the Negroes, we cannot cheat them or deny them the rights of human beings without degrading ourselves—without undermining our own civilization. To say that they should be denied training in the good schools, to set up that ignorance is better than knowledge for Negroes, is itself exposure of stupidity. We must do our best for the Negroes because righteousness commands it, because in so doing we do best for ourselves.

Were *The State* disposed to discourage migration, improvement of Negro schools would be the last thing that it would urge. The more the Negroes shall be educated, the more they will be disposed to leave the South. As THE AGE truly says, restriction of immigration is creating in the North demand for Negro labor and gaining concessions for it. This the better informed Southern Negroes learn first, they are the first to migrate—and the inconvenience that the South now suffers is chiefly due to the departuer of the Negroes of the better class. To be sure, were a heroic effort made to assist the Southern Negroes they might be convinced that the South offers them more than the North does but that would be effective only in a long period, two generations would be required to lift them to a plane in which they would be worth much better wages in the South and, considering them coldly as a labor class, the South can and will obtain white labor superior to them in that time.

No one expects all the Negroes to leave but it is nonesense to pretend that South Carolina would not be tremendously improved weer 400,000 of its 800,000 Negroes to migrate in the next ten years, so that the commonwealth would have two whites to one black. Nor is *The State* one of those parroting that the South is the "natural home of the Negroes," that they "are and will be happier in the South than elsewhere" in the United States. Usually it is canting nonesense. We doubt the statement. Much may be said on either side of it. At any rate, we are content that the

Negroes decide it for themselves.

The sooner the old notion that a white Southern woman must have plenty of Negro servants fades, the better will it be for the Southern people. The destruction of the remnants of the aristocratic life of the South based on the service of Negroes would entail anguishing pain in thousands of individual cases but it was never healthy for the commonwealth, when the Negroes were slaves or since they have been free. The conditions in Nebraska or Oregon and infinitely better for the growth of such a civilization as *The State* would have in South Carolina.

South Carolina would be a better state with 900,000 whites than with 900,000 Negroes.

Let us give the Negroes justice, let us show them help and kindness—but not for the sake of keeping them in the South. The restrictions on immigration are excellent for the white South in that they open the road to Negro employment in the North—and they are no less as excellent for the Negroes. The Northward movement of the Negroes, if it shall continue, will be an imporatnt factor in desperate efforts by the white North to relax or remove the restrictions.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

There is much sane optimism about the effects of the negro migration to the North in an article by Mr. ROBERT R. MOTON, President of the Tuskegee Institute, printed elsewhere in today's issue. He looks upon this racial movement as a good thing for North and South alike, and more especially for the negroes in both sections. He points out that those who go North benefit from new contacts as well as from better wages and living conditions, and that those in the South who have left the farms to replace the negroes formerly working in industrial centres who have gone North have not only themselves benefited from the change, but have indirectly helped those who have stayed behind by relieving the surplus of labor and thus bringing better wages to the negro farmhands.

In examining the causes for this migration Mr. MOTON has found that they are not all purely economic. He admits, of course, that the lure of higher wages has been a great incentive. But he believes that the desire for greater social freedom, the wish to be rid of the haunting fear of mob violence which is an ever-present though suppressed heritage of the negro in the South, has been a large contributing factor. Although the negro, on the whole, is happiest in the South, where he is best understood and where he is most at home, yet the latent unrest is often stilled by saving devices. Undoubtedly the best result of the migration is that attention is being directed afresh to the position of the negro in both sections. The South, in particular, is concerned about it, and not only Southern State Departments of Labor but Chambers of Commerce and other bodies are studying it carefully and thoroughly. Unless the movement is checked it bids fair to create great economic and social transformations in all parts of the country. It is still too early to foresee clearly the ultimate outcome. Any great racial migration always has its repercussions. Race prejudice, unfortunately, is only too easily stimulated.

this northward movement. He does not, of course, escape segregation in the North. He is not, so Mr. MOTON believes, really welcomed by his fellow white laborers, and especially by the labor organizations. But the opportunities in the North are greater, school facilities are better, and housing and living conditions more satisfactory.

For the whites Mr. MOTON also sees benefits. He believes that the shortage in labor in the South will induce them to turn more toward mechanical devices. The South has so long had an ever-ready supply of extremely cheap negro labor that comparatively little effort has been made to go in for labor-

NEGROES MOVING NORTH.

The continued northward migration of negroes may well have far-reaching consequences. The movement assumed serious proportions in 1915, and continued on a large scale throughout the war. Lured by high wages, the negroes left their Southern farms for the factories in colder climates. Not until the latter part of 1920, when the industrial slump made itself felt, was the exodus temporarily stopped. Today, however, the shortage of common labor in various occupations has again begun to appeal to them, with the result that several of the Southern States have had a serious decline in their negro populations. The Department of Agriculture reports that nearly 13 per cent. of Georgia's colored farm labor supply moved North during the last year, and that from Alabama and South Carolina more than 3 per cent. of the total negro farm population left during the same period. Florida reports a loss of about 2 per cent. and Arkansas about 3½ per cent.

These figures are significant when it is considered that they represent the movement of one year only. Already in the South there have been complaints of the labor shortage which the flow North has occasioned. Much of the labor in the South has been intermittent. Many negroes who own their own farms have been content with earning a bare living. Negro farm hands, also, have generally been ready to lay off for a few days when they have had a few spare dollars. The result has been to accustom the South to an abundance of labor. The renewed drawing away of the surplus by the prospect of high wages in the North is therefore naturally disturbing to the economic life of the South.

In the North, too, the migration is felt. Except in certain regions, the newly arrived negroes have not come in numbers large enough to produce serious economic changes. As early as 1919, however, the Government considered the problem of sufficient importance to establish a director of negro economics in the Department of Labor to help in making smooth the way of the negroes in their new environment. When any new people comes into a well established settlement there is always the possibility of misunderstandings—a possibility which is great enough when living standards differ, and which is even greater when race consciousness is strongly defined.

According to spokesmen for the labor unions there are no restrictions against negroes joining those organizations. In the South there are locals composed entirely of negroes. In the North there are colored members in many different organizations. How far assimilation can proceed without difficulty still remains to be seen. Clearly, however, in the North as well as in the South, this change in population is a serious problem. Its possible effects require sober attention.

MIGRATION MAKES S. CAROLINA RACE POPULATION EQUAL

75,000 Colored People Have Left The State In Two Years Causing an Even [illegible] of White and Colored remaining.

FIRST EVENT OF KIND IN 45 YEARS SAYS EDITOR

Columbia, S. C.—Speaking before the Southern Commission on Race Relations editor W. W. Ball of The State declared that for the first time in about 45 years the white population of the state outnumbers the colored.

In 1920, Mr. Ball said, there were about 48,000 more colored than white people in South Carolina. Since that time, however, there has been a tremendous migration northward and westward, so he believes the whites outnumber the Negroes. In 1910 the Negroes outnumbered the whites by about 156,000. It is probable that more than 75,000 colored people have migrated from this state in the last two years. This estimate is considered a conservative one.

Dr. Ball stated that in his opinion, the relations between the whites and Negroes were better at present than in the last 45 years. He said the lynching problem had been almost extirpated in Virginia and North Carolina and he said further there was less lynching in South Carolina than any other state with a large Negro population except Alabama.

Bishop K. G. Finlay, of the Episcopal Church, who presided at the meeting, said that colored people object to segregation, not because they wanted to live among the whites but because they feared that, if segregated, their sections of the city would be neglected as regards street upkeep and policing.

W. W. Alexander, director of the commission, said that race problems as such should never be discussed at joint meetings of the races, but instead community problems. The discussion should be about some concrete object instead of theories, he said, and mentioned the subject of schools, policing and playgrounds.

LABOR EXODUS PAST CREST IN ARKANSAS

Felt Mostly in Delta Counties, Says Report

(By the Associated Press.)

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 3.—The movement of negroes from Arkansas began last August and has apparently passed its crest, according to findings resulting from an investigation by the state department of agriculture of the negro labor situation in Arkansas. In slightly more than a year, the report indicates, approximately 12,000 negroes left the state.

In 1922 there were 72,000 negro farmers in the state, it was reported, with an estimate of five members to each family, bringing the total number of negroes on farms to 360,000.

The movement, according to reports, was heaviest from the delta counties in Eastern Arkansas. Passenger agents of three railroads in Memphis said that the heaviest movement was toward Chicago. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad reported that the negro traffic was not heavy enough to justify a negro car and estimated that an average of three negroes a day were going to such points as Toledo, Cincinnati and Cleveland.

The Illinois Central Railroad reported that the movement to Chicago averaged 36 persons a day during the first 10 days in April, with three-fourths of these estimated to be negroes, mostly men.

Reports to the state department of agriculture indicate that there is sufficient labor in Lee County bottoms and reports from there and adjoining counties say that the main shortage is in what is known as the hills, or Crowley's Ridge, where the soil is thinner and the boll weevil probably worse than in the bottoms.

In Marianna, Lee County, it is said that the exodus has been very heavy, especially from Crowley's Ridge. Outside of those who may go to Memphis, about 80 or 90 a month, reports show, are leaving Marianna and going to St. Louis, Kansas City and Chicago.

At Helena, in Phillips County, the movement began as early as last August, and it was reported that Helena soon found 500 negro tenant houses vacant. These filled up during the winter and in turn are now being vacated. Planters there say the shortage amounts to 15 to 20 per cent. The county agent reports 10 per cent.

In St. Francis County the same difference of opinion exists, the planters placing the shortage as high as 15 per cent and the county agent at five per cent. In Cross County, at Wynne, the loss has been light. Reports from Mississippi County state there is sufficient labor there. In Cross County reports are that negroes who left the county for Southwest Missouri are now returning. No detailed reports were available from Crittenden County.

The loss of negroes to northern points from other sections of the state is small, the state department of labor states. In Jefferson County, the third cotton county in the state, there have been complaints of shortage of labor for the past three years and some Mexicans have been imported. The movement of negroes from there to northern points has been pronounced, but the county lost a number of negro families due to direct solicitations of agents, which has been stopped, at least temporarily, it was reported from that section.

In Southwest Arkansas, in the vicinity of Texarkana, white labor is available and is taking the place of negro labor there, according to reports. Negro labor in that section is reported not to be affected.

The cause of the movement is said to be purely economic. The movement has not been organized, state officials said, but is due to the better housing conditions and better wages in the north. Negroes who have gone north are said to be earning $4 to $5 a day and some skilled labor is reported as high as $10. These negroes write back to friends or relatives, it is said, and urge them to join them.

Probable consequences are considered by the state department to be an increased use of fertilizer and machinery, and land owners in some of the affected sections believe the movement will result in breaking up some of the larger plantations. Outside of housing conditions, it was said, the movement could not be attributed to bad treatment.

Labor — 1923.
Migration Movement.

Text and Pretext

By M. ASHBY JONES, D.D.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF

Curiously enough, in the discussion of the migration of the Negro from the south, everyone has had his theory as to the cause, but no one thought to ask the Negro himself to give his reason. But last week Negro leaders from every part of the state gathered in Atlanta and formulated a very remarkable statement, covering the question of the migration and the general conditions of their race. This statement was published quite generally by the press of the state. I am wondering how many white people have given a thoughtful and impartial reading to this calm and frank declaration of racial conditions as they appear to the Negro himself? By every sense of fairness, and by every compulsion of justice, no white man has a right to form a final judgment on the subject until he has given an intelligent and sympathetic hearing to the Negro. For this reason, I am using this column to call the attention of our most thoughtful people to the Negro's plea, on the simple ground that every man has a right to be heard in his own behalf.

The opening paragraph calls attention to three significant facts often overlooked by our people when they consider the question of substituting immigration of foreigners for the migration of the Negroes.

"The groups dwelling together here constitute a combination that it would be difficult to improve upon by combining any other two groups of the human family (for the tasks they are called upon to perform here.) The white and the black people of Georgia speak the same language, practice the same religion, and in general, think along the same lines in social, economic and political channels. Their relations together for two centuries give each an acquaintance with the other that they have with no other people of the world."

Reasons for Migration.

The Negroes give eight reasons for the movement of their people away from the South. They may be classified as follows: Lack of credit facilities, low wages, poor housing conditions, bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers for absentee owners, poor educational facilities, bad traveling accommodations, inequality in the enforcement of the law. Seven of these reasons are bad economic conditions, to which any weak and ignorant population might be subject. Granted such conditions to any people, accompanied by a favorable economic invitation to go elsewhere, and a migration would be inevitable. But their eight reason grows out of racial prejudice. It is "mob violence."

Whenever this phase of the situation has been discussed by our white people, the attempt has been made to minimize the terror of the mob as a factor in the movement of the Negro away from the South. Usually this situation has been accounted for by some, almost parenthetical, admission that outrages have been committed upon defenseless Negroes, now and then, by "irresponsible" mobs. That word "irresponsible," which many of our white people seem to think excuses, or at least minimizes, the barbarious outrages committed upon a helpless people is the crux of the whole situation. Let any white man fairly put himself in the place of a Negro living in a section where there are "irresponsible" people, who may terrorize his home, or put him to death, without a moment's notice, then ask himself how long he would live under the terror of such a menace. It is the fact that the civilization of Georgia has allowed, for fifty years, groups of citizens to act like barbarians, without being held responsible, which accounts for many of the social evils we suffer today. Are the rest of us, irresponsible also?

A Challenge.

These Negroes close their statement with a challenge to all that's best in the Christian civilization of our state. I cannot forbear to quote a portion of it.

"We deny the charge that we have either ambition for so-called social equality, or desire for Negro domination. We point with pride to the record of the loyalty and faithfulness of our fathers, through two and a half centuries of slavery, the last four years of which put them to the severest test. How well they stood that test, let the pen of your own illustrious worthies, and the tongue of your own immortal Grady tell.

"It is written that 'Man shall not live by bread alone.' We confess that we covet that life which bread alone cannot give; we covet it for you; we covet it for ourselves; and in the name of Him who said it, we challenge you to join us as Christian people, in the task of working out a program of justice, equity, and Christian brotherhood, which shall include both groups, each separate in his sphere, that shall guarantee to both, the fullest opportunity to come into the heritage of that larger and purer life, which bread alone cannot give, but which is so absolutely essential to a well rounded humanity.

We must accept that challenge in the spirit in which it is made, or cease to boast of our racial superiority.—Atlanta Constitution.

AND WHAT NEXT?

(Preston News Service)

ATLANTA, GA., June 22.—Plans to cope with the labor migration from Georgia will be discussed by the members of the City Club at its next meeting on Friday afternoon. It has been pointed out that 35 per cent of the Negro population already has moved outside of the cotton belt

The situation created by this movement of Negro labor has caused a serious problem to fall on the shoulders of cotton growers and merchants in this section. It is claimed that something must be done to check the exodus of Negroes from Georgia or the entire producing system of the state will be completely broken down.

Edgar Watkins, president of the club, points out that some concerted action must be taken to relieve the tense situation. Just what will be done he said he was not in position to say, but he felt that some measure should be resorted to, to put an end to general unrest and dissatisfaction among Negroes of the state.

Louisiana Farm Bureau Flashes Distress Sign

Sheriff and Police Chiefs Urged to Act Against Agents Luring Negroes North.

(Special to Pittsburgh American)

MONROE, Pa., June 15.—The Ouachita farm bureau of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation today sent communications to sheriffs and heads of police departments in all Northeast Louisiana parishes asking that the duly constituted authorities work with the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation in an effort to prevent labor agents from inducing Negro labor to leaves the plantations.

This step was authorized in a resolution adopted by the Ouachita farm bureau at is session in Monroe.

A considerable number of Negroes have left some of the North Louisiana parishes recently, but members of the Ouachita farm bureau believe that by co-operation of sheriff and police departments agents will be prevented from making further inroads in Louisiana

NEGRO MIGRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

(From Commonwealth, Greenwood Miss.)

Negro migration to the North is being consdered all over the entire South, and probably no two men can agree as to what the solution of the problems the Negro leaves behind hi mmay be. Speaking generally three solutions have been suggested, and each has found many ardent supporters.

The first is a movement to bring the Negro back to the South.

The second is to import a class of peasant labor similar to the Negro from Mexico and some European nations.

The third contemplates the break up o fthe big plantation system, and would provide small farms for settlers from the northwest add northern European nations.

The first solution may or may not be successful, but its chances of success are doubtful. It is a question if the Negro, whatever he may find to be his condition in the North cares to come back South, and it is a still more serious question if he is of any use to the farmer if he comes. The Negro appears to be in the throes of a restless world movement that appears periodically among the nations of the earth, the same movement that peopled Western Europe and America with its present inhabitants, and that movement never has had a backward swing.

The Negro may be worse off in the North than in the South, but he is going, and though the movement in isolated instances may be retarded it canot nbe checked or stopped.

The second solution entails problems and brings up difficulties that few of us are willing to face. America has enough of the low class immigrant today, and the Delta can best do without them. America today is suffering from national indigestion due to too many non-assimilable elements in the 'melting pot," and any effort along lines which would add more will not only arouse stern opposition from far sighted patriots, but prove a failure in solving the farming problem in the Delta.

But we have faith in the Delta, and its people and are confident that however dark the outlook may be, a soluton of the problem will be found, and the Delta emerge from its night a brighter and better land.

The breaking of plantations offers tremendous difficulties from many angles, and threatens a period of transition that nobody will welcome.

SOUTH WAKES TO NEED OF RETAINING NEGROES

Finds Higher Pay Necessary to Prevent Migration of Colored Labor.

Chicago Daily News

(This is the third of a series of four dispatches dealing with the negro migration from the south to the north and west.)

BY ROBERT T. SMALL.

Special to The Chicago Daily News.

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Washington, D. C., July 30.—How is the south to put a stop to the exodus of the negro—the worker who has been the backbone of the industry of the southern states?

It is admitted now that the granting of certain reforms that the colored race has been fighting for will not check the swelling flow to the north, because the main impelling force behind the movement at this time is the big pay offered for common labor in many of the industrial centers.

Chicago Ill. 7-30-23

The prospects dangled before the eyes of the southern negroes by the labor agents who get paid "by the head" are generally beyond their wildest dreams and nothing can stop the workers thus influenced from making their way as best they can to the promised land.

Government agents in the south investigating the movement have reported that in some states they find the only way to stop the migration and get the colored people back to the farm is to pay them higher wages.

What Negroes in South Want.

What the leaders of the race in the south actually want from the whites, however, is best to be understood, by the address just issued from a statewide conference of negroes held in Atlanta. Bishop J. S. Flipper, of the African Methodist Episcopal church of Georgia, presided. Disclaiming any ct for at incendiarism or radicalism, they declare their sole intention to be a citation of the conditions which are causing negroes to leave Georgia for northern population centers. These are the causes given:

Lack of credit facilities for farmers.

Low wages for farm labor.

Poor housing conditions both in the cities and the rural districts.

Bad working conditions on plantations managed by overseers during the absence of the owners.

Lack of educational facilities for children.

Poor accommodations on the railroads.

Inequality in the enforcement of the laws.

The labor contract law, the repeal of which is requested.

Mob violence.

Questions for Whites to Study.

These then are from the mouths of the colored men themselves, the questions that the southern people as a whole have got to study and to meet as they deem best and proper. The contract labor law unquestionably is one of the serious problems in southern states. The government agents have reported that a breaking down of the contract system has contributed largely to the exodus from Georgia.

Under the contract system the negroes could not leave an employer who had advanced them money and the system was so devised that the laborer generally was in debt. If he attempted to depart while in debt he was promptly arrested and brought back.

The government agents also report that in certain southern states there is no question but that soliciting and advertising have been important factors in getting the migration under way. Bad times in the boll weevil districts also have caused the colored farmers to give up the struggle in the south and speed away to the promised riches of steady industrial employment in the north.

World War Great Factor.

The world war must stand its full share of responsibility for helping the migratory movement of the negroes and this of course is a psychological problem with which the south is helpless to deal.

Government agents are inclined to put the unrest caused by the war at the very top of the contributing factors in the labor movement. Returning negro troops who had seen something of the world, were not content to live again on the farm. They had had a taste of city life and the contentment they once knew in the country was theirs no more. With the black as well as the white it has in truth been a question of "how are you going to keep them down on the farm after they have seen Paree?"

In most of the southern states where opinions have been gathered within the last two days, there is a disposition to feel that the present condition is one that will right itself. Not many southerners believe in the efficiency of restrictive legislation. They rather feel that such acts will aggravate rather than ameliorate the situation. Such legislation, it is felt, will be used as a vehicle for propaganda against the south.

It is admitted everywhere that the migration has become a problem more or less serious for the big plantations, lumber mills and other industries employing much common labor. There is talk even that many of the big plantations may have to be broken up. People in the north do not realize the size of some of these farms but may get an idea of their extent by the declaration of a Georgia legislator that forty families had left his farm and others were preparing to leave.

Press Unmasks Swindlers.

The Arkansas Democrat, frankly discussing the situation, says: "There are two steps the south could take, we believe, which would materially improve matters.

"First, the negroes themselves should be protected against the swindler-propagandist who gives them false information and false hopes in return for their money. Arkansas has been a harvest state for a number of these swindlers, who should be in the penitentiary for obtaining money under false pretenses. Only a few weeks ago a multitude of negroes gathered at an Arkansas town to await in vain the special train a propagandist has told them, in return for fees ranging from $2.50 to $10 each, that he had 'chartered' to take them to the promised land.

"Next there should be an organized effort to present a true story of what the negroes can obtain in the north, how they fare when they get there; whether they really are wanted; whether the high wages they are paid to-day will be paid to-morrow, or next month; whether when a slight slump in industrial activities in northern cities comes, these newly employed negroes will not be the first turned out to get along the best way they can; whether rents, food and other living costs in the northern cities do not more than consume the increased wages they are enabled to earn.

"Only one side of the 'negro and the north' story has been told, and that has been told by persons who for selfish reasons want the negroes to flood the northern cities. The other side should be told, not merely for the benefit of southern industries and plantations, but for the protection of the negroes themselves."

JUL 30 1923

Williamson Writes On Negro Migration

Selby, Miss., July 28, 1923.

Editor Evening Post:

In touring the south, I find the major part of those who left the south are the younger and loafing set, who have not fixed purposes not even thinking of the future. The better thinking negroes are in the south and will remain if the proper steps are taken. Of course, some good ones are left; some bad ones are here; I speak of the majority.

The labor situation is not as bad as I read in the papers. A better system of farming, a better understanding, both races co-operating together, will bring about a feeling that we have not heard of and you will see that better crops are made and the south be made to bloom.

The migration s not so much economic as it is distrust fear and a demand for civic rights. The demands made by the negroes are through ignorance, improper training and advice given by those would be leaders and agitators.

These wrongs can only be corrected through the proper teaching from the proper sourse. Interracial meetings will do much in convincing the negroes of their mistakes. If these meetings are held and let the negroe explain what he has hid in his breast, the white people could handle the matter more intelligently and get better results. These meetings are hold in the southern part of the state with good results.

The negroes should have a leader and they should follow their leader and they will not follow one selected by their white friends. We must have a David from the farm who will lead the race along the paths leading through the rural districts where they can be made a useful people. A leader who preaches the gospel of "back to the farm," as the race who leaves the farm, sooner or later will fail.

J. W. WILLIAMSON.

PHILADELPHIA PA INQUIRER
JUNE 10, 1923

White Immigrants for the South

SOUTH CAROLINA is alarmed by the exodus of negroes from the State. So, perhaps, are other Southern States. The industrial opportunities offered by the war had something to do with the northward migration. But it is not unlikely that dissatisfaction with the conditions of life in the South is in large part responsible. Southerners like to say that they understand the negroes much better than we do and get on with them better; and in the way of personal relations this is measurably true. It is not surprising, however, that the more intelligent and ambitious negroes should be anxious to get away from those parts of the country where, whatever other advantages may be open to them, they remain in a condition of political inferiority.

The migration has created such a shortage of labor in the South that white immigrants are sought. There has been little of this immigration in Southern States. In seven of them, including South Carolina, the foreign-born population is less than one per cent. of the whole. Senator Dial would increase it by inducing Scandinavians to settle in South Carolina. How valuable in our national life this element has been, the history of the Northwestern States shows. Moreover, it has been in the main agricultural, and it is this kind of labor that most parts of the South need. But it may be doubted if an effort to get Scandinavian immigrants for the South would have much chance of success. They naturally gravitate to the North.

If the South wishes to encourage white immigration, why not look for Italian settlers? The quota law has sadly diminished the number of Italian immigrants, to be sure. But the movement to get the Italians already here out of the cities and into the country is nothing new, and it has had some measure of success. The Italians have a love of the soil and a capacity for cultivating it which has been strikingly shown in California and elsewhere. In New England they have taken farms deserted by the natives and made them profitable. They might not be much attracted to South Carolina without some assurance that the race prejudice which is so potent there would not be extended to them.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc..

Alabama

TO MAKE JOBS FOR 5,000 BELIEF HERE

The Birmingham Reporter

From indications the eight-hour shift will be instituted in Ensley and elsewhere in this district September 1. It was stated Wednesday that word was expected to be received here between now and August 20 for the new schedule to take effect on the first of the month. This expectation was based on the announcement that Pittsburgh and Gary have already been started out on the eight-hour basis.

The employes affected in Ensley number between 900 and 1,000 men and to place them on the new eight-hour day will create jobs for 500 additional men. This does not include the Fairfield by-product plant, the Fairfield works or some places on the Birmingham Southern raliroad, all properties of the Tennessee company, nor does it include the rolling mills of the company. It is stated that of the Tennessee company between 1,700 and 2,000 men will be affected, providing additional jobs for 50 per cent of that number. In the Birmingham district as a whole the best obtainable estimate is that 5,000 men will be affected, with jobs for 50 per cent of that number.

8-18-23

The company will announce a 33 1-3 cut in time worked when the new scheme goes into effect with an increase in pay of 25 per cent. This will prove to be a decrease in pay to every man affected of from 15 to 17 1-2 per cent, it is stated. For instance, a man now earning $4.80 will work eight hours at the new rate and he will be paid for ten hours, which will be a reduction for that man of 80 cents, it is claimed. To earn that additional 80 cents he would be required to work four additional hours or for 20 cents per hour under the present working and wage scale.

Birmingham Ala

The reduction in working hours and the new scale has been figured time and again by the Tennessee company accountants and they know just exactly what the results will be. This is not true of the men who are unable to analyze the figures. No one would insist, it is stated, that it were preferable to work 12 hours to 8, yet there is said to be in Ensley the original apprehension that when the proposition is effective the resultant decrease in earnings will not be viewed with the same pleasure as the reduction of 33 1-3 per cent in working time.

The Tennesee company, being the pacemaker, the new schedule of working time and payments will be followed by the other companies in this district. No announcements have been made, however, yet there has never been an innovation made here by the Tennessee company that has not been followed so far as working hours is concerned but what was copied by other concerns. Announcements are expected, therefore, from other companies soon.

WHAT IF THE BIRMINGHAM NEGRO WOULD WAKE UP?

Birmingham Reporter

In Birmingham alone there are nearly 80,000 Negro people, and more highly paid laboring men and women than any other one county in America. At least a million and a half dollars are paid to Negro men monthly in Jefferson county. The labor market is increasing. Compared with expenses in other sections, Jefferson county and the adjacent ones are paying a wage that guarantees a greater profit than any other county in our country. These are not suggestions, or conjectures, nor doubtful expressions; they are drawn from the records and can be substantiated by the slightest investigation.

We are living in a marvelous district. A place where all may find profitable endeavor who desire it. Nothing in commerce is impossible for the Birmingham colored people if they would wake up and put their earnings to proper and profitable exchange. Millions of dollars are laying idle in the banks, in the pockets, and in various other places that might be at work, if the Negro would wake up. This doesn't mean that all of us must start businesses of some kind, or that every one is fit or prepared. But there are scores, yes, hundreds of these Negro men and women, whose character and business ability is sufficient to harness these funds and make a more substantial place for themselves, more attractive positions for the coming generations, and establish a creditable place for race members.

9—8—23

No one will ever become more concerned in an individual or race than the individual or race has interest in himself. A wasteful man or a wasteful race won't establish confidence and cannot be trusted with positions where the welfare and comfort of a creditable number of people are involved. Races, like individuals, must establish their worth by successfully handling positions of trust involving character, honor, stability, physical, moral and intellectual fitness. These qualities of exceptional worth must be proven among and with ourselves. We have the money, we have the brain, we have the resources, we have the opportunity.

Birmingham, Ala.

For years and years in this growing and thriving city we have trampled these opportunities under foot. We have been asleep, we are blind, we are looking over and beyond the gold mine. When, if we would turn and look about us and corral our forces, we would establish every commercial venture and operate it successfully to the everlasting credit of the race and open a way for those qualified members that are prepared for just such a task.

No charity will be placed on equality with independence.

Every dependent individual carries with him or her certain slave notions, and is, in fact, to some degree, carrying certain atmospheres of slave life.

No dependent race can be accepted on equality, or in the same equasion of consideration that an independent race is.

If the Negro would exercise more rights, it will be when he qualifies in the accepted sense for these rights.

If a higher consideration for race members will be had, it will be when the race ceases to waste and frolic out its earnings and establish a more constructive and sensible regard for race members and a proper exchange of its earnings.

If we are to have our women more fully regarded by men of other races as well as the men of our own race, it will be when we cease to allow them to be charities and make for them as far as practical, honorable and profitable employment within the group.

If the Negro man is to have a higher respect by other races and groups nothing will aid this respect more than a self-consciousness of his position in the world, and a more fundamental respect for the women and children of his race.

It is altogether necessary that we take stock within, and measure our own strength. Consider as far as we may wasted opportunities, and gather ourselves in for a more substantial drive that the opportunities so lucrative in this county and the adjacent counties will not be wasted, but developed to their full growth.

What if the Birmingham Negro would wake up? Banks would be established, life insurance companies, fire insurance companies, haberdashers, dry goods stores, shoe stores, wholesale and retail grocery stores, lumber mills, truck farms, chicken farms, brokerage businesses, laundries, soap factories, florists, harness making establishments, trust companies, mining corporations, furniture stores, candy factories, five and ten cent stores on the Kress plan, and construction companies. All these things are possible and could be operated successfully if only were used the wasted money of the Negro people of this county.

This is not to say that Birmingham doesn't have creditable businesses among Negroes, because she has, but these businesses would be bigger and better if there were a sensible and business-like co-operation on the part of the members of the race which can be only established by race-consciousness and race respect. We have some very creditable life insurance companies here, and the largest construction company owned and controlled by Negroes in America. Other businesses could be equally as strong and will be when the Birmingham Negro wakes up to his opportunity and establishes commercial and race solidarity.

What if the Birmingham Negro would wake up?

Connecticut.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.,

Bridgeport Employers of Negro Labor Do Not Pay Very Much Wages, Charges Bridgeport Man

Editor of the New York Age:

It seems like a joke when the manufacturers of Bridgeport claim, according to a statement in The Age, that they prefer Negro laborers to foreign laborers.

There are thousands of laborers of all kinds in Bridgeport who have been for the past two years unable to get along on the small wages. A lot of them have been forced to sell out; thousands of them have left town all together; and hundreds of them now are working down through th State of New York and commuting every day. If the manufacturers of Bridgeport are going to pay the Suothern laborers a living wage; it would be very nice for them to come here; but if they are going to pay them starvation wages, it would be far better for them to seek some other manufacturing town.

The trouble with the majority of our men in seeking the welfare of their brothers is to feather their own nests first. The Portugese, who do hard laborious work in this country, will not do it unless he gets a good salary The American men of this country want to adopt the same rule. The average American white laborer claims that the only objection he has to the colored worker is "he won't stand up for good wages."

If any of our young colored brothers want to come to Bridgeport and test out the Christian spirit here(let some of them try and get on the police force or try to get a job as motorman on a trolley car.

If our men are asked to leave the South in great numbers, there should be some guaranteed wage scale, and also the jobs should last for some length of time, so that such men would be able to care for themselves and not become a nuisance to the city and to their friens. I remember when the agents wr hiring men and their families by the thousands to leave the South for Oklahoma. Do you remember what happened in Tulsa? The wage question was really the cause of the Chicago Riot.

Mr. Faulkner, in his statement, referring to the American Tube and Stamping Company of Bridgeport, mentioned Mr. Peter Duesenberry of New Bern, N. C. and how he had worked himself up in the American Tube and Stamping Co. Mr. Faulkner speaks of him as one man, but he takes the place of half a dozen men. He is about six fet tall and weighs 360 pounds or more, and is the life of the entire west end plant. He is called however, all over the shop. If a piece of red hot steel jumps out of a rolling mill like a rattlesnake in a forest, Mr. Duesenberry is called to capture it and place it in the rolling machine again. If a freight car comes in the yards loaded with pigiron and should happen in some way to get oc the track Peter Duesenberry is called to come and straighten the car up.

The point is, What wage is Mr. Duesenberry getting for his services?

There is no white manufacturer in this country today that employs Negro laborers because he likes them. He employs them because he knows thy will do more work for less wages than any other human being on earth.

The South boasted when Grover Cleveland signed the Bill of Free Trade, and fluttered the country with the scum of Europe, that they were going to make the Negroes leave the South. They were going to have all Italian labor through the South When the southerners found the Italian would rather sell bananas than pick cotton they decided to let the Negro stay in the South.

I am myself, in favor of everyone leaving the South that possibly can as long as the United States Government absolutely refuses to give us any protection whatsoever in the Southern Statch. But when our men leave the South they want to do the same as all the rest of the laborers that leave their homes—"Seek a day's pay for a day's work."

And that is what the Bridgeport manufacturers are refusing to pay at the present time. There is a rumor afloat that there will be a slight increase in wages due to the shortage of labor, but, if so, it will just hit the bosses and skilled mechanics.

Bridgeport, Conn. P. G.

GAL. TWO—NICK

Labor — 1923.

Occupation, Wages, etc.,

General.

THE NEGRO AND
THE STEEL INDUSTRY

(Parker System Labor Service)

Inasmuch as the steel industry has absorbed the greater number of Negroes who have come north and now since the flood tide of migration has ceased for the time being, many are claiming the Negro to be unfit. It may be opportune to inqure into this matter and find out what basis these cities have for their statement.

That there should be some dis-agreement upon the question is natural. Men who have spent their life time upon farms and in lumber camps would be expected to find such an industry as steel somewhat new and different. That it is new and different answers all critics. No man or class of men can be or are fitted for all work. That many Negroes should be found unable to meet the requirements of efficiency is to be expected, and not only among them but among all races. The gratifying fact is that so many have been found efficient.

The Steel industry is technical. It requires brain as well as brawn. Today it offers more avenues for advancement than any other branch of labor. That the Negro should be offered the chance to compete is in itself worth while. and the fact that men, who a few years ago were farm hands are today capable of handling machines, testing steel, moulding metals, and doing everything else required in steel work proves that he has capable ones among him and that the ratio is on the increase.

The Negro is a laborer. Generations have taught him how to work. That he should be incapable of any kind of labor is and must remain false. What he lacks is mearely training, let training be supplied and he will be found efficient and competent. The greatest trouble is that the opportunity for training has always been denied. The steel industry offers it and mark it down that the Negro will make good.

Pittsburgh Courier
11-24-23

NOV 17 1923

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY.

It took many years to remove the popular misconception in the North that the Southern cotton mills were profitable because they employed negro laborers at low wages. The South has never been able to use negroes successfully in industry because they are not by disposition nor by training suited to the exacting, consistent duties of machine work. They are there purely mechanical work. The South is therefore watching with peculiar interest the experiments of the North in employing colored men in such an industry as steel somewhat in skilled industrial occupations.

A news article from Cincinnati relates that a large rolling mill plant near there is employing 1,000 negroes along with 3,000 white men in its operations. This concern has found as the South long ago discovered, that there are good negroes and bad negroes. The latter they call "floaters," presumably because they float in, work a few days, and then float out. But the better class of negroes have been assimilated into the plant successfully and have caused no friction with the white workers. They are earning from $1,200 to $2,000 a year. The company has constructed a village for them and provided comfortable homes. In the efficiency tests the negroes have proved to be not as capable as the Slavs who comprise the bulk of white employees, however. When the Slav establishes a 100 per cent mark, the negro makes about 70.

This instance seems to be exceptional. As a general thing the North is finding that "the negro's proneness to work a few days, get a small supply of money and a loaf is telling against him in hard driving, regular hitting industries." That means, so a reviewer says, that when cold weather comes on and the industries slacken in orders the negroes will be the first to be discharged.

The negroes can fill a true niche in the North as servants, common laborers, chauffeurs and in other occupations which do not require extraordinary dexterity or elaborate mental equipment, but the North will discover that they cannot be used extensively and profitably in skilled industries. And the negroes will find that their labor is treated as a commodity subject to seasonal fluctuations.

Labor—1923

Occupation, Wages, etc.

General.

Higher Wages Must Be Paid To Keep Laborers In the Southern States.

Norfolk Journal
Issue—
12/20/22

—Manufacturers Record.

One of the most candid and interesting contributions to the discussion of the causes of Negro migration comes from the *Manufacturers Record*, Baltimore, in the form of the following editorial which appeared in a recent issue:

A leading lumber operator in North Carolina calls the attention of the Manufacturers Record to the fact that the iron and steel people of the East now have their agents at work in the South seeking to draw Negro laborers away from present employment and carry them North and West. He writes that a few weeks ago two car loads of Negroes were taken out of Richmond for work at Northern steel plants, and he adds, "I am told that one-half of the Negroes who went North to work during the war period have since died. Poorly and thickly housed they soon contract tuberculosis and die. It is stealing, pure and simple, to take these men away from us who need them so badly, and when work is slack again at the steel mills they will be the first to be discharged. I wish you would look into this and see what can be done."

To this complaint the Maunfacturers Record can only say that nothing can be done to stop the efforts of Northern and Western iron and steel works, shorthanded as they are, from seeking to draw Negro labor from the South. We were recently told that from one county in Georgia more than 60 per cent of the Negro tenants on cotton plantations had left for other sections, and a somewhat similiar movement, though perhaps not quite so heavy, is going on in every part of the South. Many Negro tenants who have had to face the boll weevil conditions, against which they are not equal to contend, are receiving tempting offers at larger pay than they have been getting in the South, to go North and West. Naturally they are moving that way.

The South must face the situation that the North and West will to the utmost extent of their ability drain Negro labor away from the cotton farms and from industries. on the promise of larger pay. The Negroes who are moving North will not be frightened by the report of adverse housing conditions, or of sickness produced by living conditions around the steel mills and iron works. The South must solve the problem of the retention of its laborers by paying wages commensurate with the wages which they are offered in other sections. The curse of the South has been its low wages on the farm and in the factory and in the office. Many years ago the late Edward Atkinson, through the Manufacturers Record, repeatedly warned the South that it would inevitably lose its Negro working population, which is a great asset of this section, unless it improved their living conditions and gave them higher wages, and, said he, "low wages are in the end the costliest wages."

You can not develop the individual man or the individual country to full capacity on low wages. Unwise leadership has ever since the Civil War held wages in the South to a figure far below the wages paid in other sections. This has proved an economic curse. If wages had been adjusted on a higher scale, affording a better living opportunity for laboring men, white and black, better homes and better living conditions generally, the whole South would have been lifted to a higher plane of prosperity. High wages and high salaries were largely responsible for the great development of the Pacific Coast, and for the abounding prosperity which has existed in tha tion, as well as in many parts of West.

The South must me to a realization of the necessity of paying higher wages. It must retain its laborers by paying wages commensurate, measured by the cost of living, with the wages paid elsewhere. It must give to its laboring people, white and black, on the farm and in the factory, better homes, and enable them to live in that degree of comfort which the well-paid laborer of the North and West can enjoy. In no other way can labor be retained in the South. If we permit the Negro and other laborers to be drawn from the South by the activity of labor agents from the North and West, seeking more men for work in iron and steel and kindred plants, we will not only lessen the supply of labor in the South, but we will bring about a condition in which this section, by reason of scarcity of labor, will have to pay even higher wages than other sections. Low wages are a curse to the individual and to the section in which they prevail. Good living wages are a blessing to the individual and to the country which pays them.

Many Southern States are reporting an exodus of Negroes to the North and Middle West. They have been leaving in droves from some sections of the cotton belt, and the reason is obvious when the following facts regarding the scale of wages paid this class of labor are known.

The average rate of wages of male farm labor for the whole country October 1 was $28.97 a month with boad, against an average of $30.14 a month in 19211, according to reports of the United States Agricultural Department. By the month without board, against an average of $30.14 a ber 1 was $41.58 compared with $43.-32 in 1921. Day wages with board October 1 were $1.57 compared with $1.68 last year, and day wages without board were $2.08 compared with $2.18 in 1921. In the South workers of this class have received a much lower rate and even then in some States the supply of labor has been in excess of the demand.

Of 1300 reports from county crop reporters to the Agricultural Department, 36 per cent stated that the labor supply exceeded the demand at current wages, 33 per cent stated that the demaand exceeded the supply, and 31 per cent reported an even balance. Excess of supply was said to be most pronounced in the cotton states, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas; also in Missouri, Nebraska and Kansas. Demand exceeded supply in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and the Pacific Coast States.

HIGHER WAGES MUST BE PAID TO KEEP LABORERS

Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Ga.
1/18/23

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AUBURN GRADUATES ASSURED OF PLACES AFTER PRESENT TERM

Representatives of Big Corporations Visit Poly Institute in Week

AUBURN, ALA., March 10.—The Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn during the past few days has been the mecca for a group of representatives of the largest engineering corporations in America, seeking Auburn graduates to be added to their staffs of engineers. Only last week, representatives of the Alabama Power Company came to Auburn and employed seventeen members of the graduating class, who will take up work with this Alabama corporation on June 1.

During the past week, the Southern Bell Telephone Company, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Western Electric Company, the General Electric Company and the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company have all had representatives at the institution and after a careful survey of the work done by the engineering department and a thorough consideration of the qualifications of students each employed some of the Auburn graduates from this years' class for positions in their engineering corps.

In addition to the Auburn men sought by the various corporations, practically forty members of the graduating class in electrical engineering have been employed during the past two weeks by large corporations in Alabama and in other states, according to Prof. A. St. C. Dunstan, head professor of electrical engineering at Auburn.

Among the representatives of corporations here during the past week were W. M. Boring of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, New York, who employed the following men W. W. Foster, Montgomery, Ala.; J. F. Nettles, Tunnel Springs; Phil Preiss Montgomery; K. H. Stough, Midland City; H. S. Brownwell, Birmingham; A. M. Kottman, representing the Westinghouse Elecertic Company of Pittsburg, Pa., chose the following men: J. G. Stephenson, Moulton, Ala.; W. B. Sims, Grand Bay; J. O. Jackson, Montgomery; George R. Purifoy, Brewton, Alabama. The list of men employed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company the Western Electric Company and the New York Telephone Company follow: H. S. Brownell, B. B. Marsh, Phil Priess, M. P. Robinson, M. C. Taylor, J. H. Bevis, W. M. Bross, W. J. Carr, W. E. Delhomme, C. B. Gamble, A. D. Knapp, J. L. McKinnon, R. V. McDonald, A. Malone, C. V. Morriss, W. L. O'Donnell.

Among those representing the telephone industry, which includes the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, the Southern Bell Telephone Company, the Western Electric Company and the New York Telephone Company were D. H. Woodward, T. Thibeau, Dr. J. H. Bigelow, Dr. Geo. B. Thomas, Kendall Wieseger and H. G. Spurlock.

The employment of a lagre number of these men provides for a limited time in the factories of the manufacturing plants of these corporations, after which they are to return to Alabama to take certain positions with the various interests represented in tihs state. Some of these corporations have been sending to Auburn annually for a number of years and picking a number of graduaes for employment with their companies. However, the number is increasing from time to time due to the records made by Auburn men who have gone out into the great engineering plants throughout the nation, according to Prof. Dunstan.

The December issue of the Illinois Central Magazine, published monthly by the Illinois Central Railroad System at Central Sation, Chicago, contains two articles of special interest to Negroes. One is entitled "A Successful Negro School on Our Lines," which is Southern University, Scotland, Louisiana, near Baton Rouge. The other is "Five Veterans of the Memphis Terminal," four of whom are Negroes. The article on Southern University is a well presented description of the history and present status of the school. It is illustrated with views of the campus including the main building, the President's home and a few of the teachers' cottages. The photographs of the "Five Veterans of the Memphis Terminal" accompany the article of that name. Tandy Baker, Negro hostler at the roundhouse in Memphis has been in the service of the Illinois Central for 44 years; John Williams, Negro turntable operator at the roundhouse in Memphis for 42 years; James Johnson, Negro boiler-maker at the Nonconnah shops for 47 years and Tom Ellis, Negro laborer at the roundhouse at the Nonconnah shops for 42 years. The comment made upon the services of these men is appreciative and very generous.

WE DO 95 PER CENT OF WORK

Other 5 Per Cent of "Common Labor" Done By Native and Foreign Whites

FIGHT MADE FOR WAGES

Unions Urging Workers To Organize for Fifty Cents An Hour Rate

Ninety-five per cent of the common labor in Baltimore is done by colored workers, declared Frank Wilson, business agent of the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union, this week.

The other five per cent is done by Italians, Pollacks, American whites and Russians.

While the colored workers are doing the major porition of the labor work, Mr. Wilson said they are unorganized and for this reason are getting far lower wages than foreign workers on the same jobs. In keeping with the big membership drive to get thousands of colored working men in the Unions, a labor meeting will be held at Macedonia Baptist Church this Sunday afternoon at four o'clock at which the speakers will be Benjamin Schiro, organizer in the Building and Common Labor Trades; Henry F. Broening, president of the Local Federation of Labor and Rev. D. G. Mack, pastor the church.

"Although we have comparatively a few men in our Hod Carriers and Common Labor Union at present, we are making a bid for higher wages. The Camp Fire Proofing Company, in Cleveland, Ohio, doing some work here, is paying its common laborers fifty cents per hour. The Pharaoh Fire Proofing Company, of Cincinnati, doing some work here, is paying forty cents per hour, and it is said they will sign an agreement April 1st to pay fifty cents per hour. The J. Henry Miller Construction Company, a local concern, is only paying thirty-five cents per hour.

"When you remember that the average working man can only work 185 days a year because of bad weather and other delays, you can understand why thirty cents an hour is not a sufficient wage. Such low wages explain why women have to get out and help the men earn a livelihood and why men are unable to support themselves by working are driven to commit crimes."

600 WAITERS AT PALM BEACH HOTEL

Lester Walton Finds That Colored Garcons Are Losing Out Except In the South

New York, March 28—Although the Negro has been supplanted by the white foreign-born waiter in many of the most fashionable hostelries of the East, he continues to hold undisputed and uninterrupted sway as knight of the tray at Palm Beach, Fla., said Lester Walton in the World Sunday.

At this winter resort, the most popular playground in America, it is "George", not "Gaston" who reigns supreme in the dining room, where he graciously functions as the intermediary between guest and culinary department.

Gallant Six Hundred

The 600 and odd waiters at Palm Beach during the season are recruited chiefly from the ranks of those who work at Northern summer resorts. Joseph S. McLane, head waiter at the Royal Poinciana, brings his 425 men to Florida on three special trains. Two of them go out from New York and one from Chicago. This season the first special left New York Jan. 13, picking up men at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Richmond. The second special departed Jan. 17. The Chicago special is made up of waiters from Chicago, Cleveland, French Lick Springs, Columbus and Louisville.

In New York the men are engaged for the Southern trip by Dr. B. C. Waller, formerly secretary to Headwaiter McLane whose headquarters are at the National Headwaiters' Association, No. 436 Lenox Avenue, Joe McLane, as he is familiarly called, is in his twenty-third season at Palm Beach. He has been head waiter since 1908. Twenty-four assistant headwaiters are on his staff. Morris Skelly, another Negro, is head waiter at the Breakers with 175 men.

McLane and Skelly also appear in the role of amusement promoter. The star colored baseball players of the country are brought to Palm Beach by them and two clubs organized, one representing the Royal Poinciana and the other the Breakers. Visitors are treated to some high class ball playing in the winter months, with comedy thrown in for good measure. Another form of entertainment furnished the guest by the headwaiters is the cakewalk. The winners consider the cake a minor compensation compared to the financial remuneration received from generous spectators.

Also Negro Musicians

The band furnishing dance music on the beach, in Cocoanut Grove and in the Palm Room are picked Negro musicians from New York. The second band is made up largely of waiters who make extra money when the dining rooms close.

The Florida East Coast Hotel Company, which operates the Royal Poinciana and the Breakers, also conducts two hotels at St. Augustine, two at Ormond Beach, one at Miami, one at Long Key and one at Key West. With two exceptions, Negro waiters are employed.

Does waiting pay? The amount earned annually by the average waiter employed in fashionable hotels of New York exceeds that of many engaged in the professions. Head waiters, who make $5,000 a year in wages and tips are numerous.

Labor — 1923

Occupation, Wages, etc.,

SOUTHERN WAGES AND THE NEGRO

Every day, and in every way, I am feeling better and better—even though I have been at close grips with the grip—or the flu—or some other blank ill that flesh is heir to, for nearly a month—but the one-handed debate was a beaut. I did all the talking, and the language, while not particularly elegant, was too plain to be misunderstood.

At any rate, I won the discussion, and am as active as a cat shot with high-life, and haven't a trouble on earth.

The Good Book declares, that "whatsoever a man soweth, that also will he reap," and while my crop has been pretty backward for the last twenty-five years, it is now just beginning to bear fruit, and gathering time is near at hand.

I have been sowing the same seed—*White Supremacy*—all these long years, and bless the good Lord, the crop is more than wonderful and best of all—strong, and valiant hands have grown up, from my boy readers, into big square shouldered, fearless, 100 per cent white American reapers—and they are coming in a rush, to aid me in garnering the scrap, I have been broadcasting all these long weary years.

The race question, has been my hobby—if you call it that kind of a horse—and the following, clipped from *Vardeman's Weekly*, follows the identical lines, upon which I have written hundreds of times, and printed in K. *Lamity's Harpoon*—of which the American Forum is the successor. Read the article carefully, and you will at once *grasp the danger that menaces this country*—and *then*, lend your influence to better conditions, by any just and legal plan available. Until this "race question" is settled, America is in *constant danger*.

The article follows:

Matter recently published in various papers, shows that the wages paid to Southern laborers is considerably lower than wages paid to workers in the North. The reason for the difference in the wages is on account of the predominance of negro labor in the South, which cheapens all labor with which it competes.

We see this fact demonstrated, if we compare the wages of those workers who do not compete with the negro workers. Take for instance, Railway Engineers, Conductors, and other trainmen who do not face negro competition. All these men receive fair wages, and on a parity with the wage paid the Northern workmen engaged in the same line of work.

If we turn to the unskilled workers, we immediately find the discrepancy. The same is true of agricultural workers. We need but compare the wage paid by the Western wheat grower and that paid by the Southern cotton grower. The blighting curse of the negro falls wherever he sets foot. He curses not only himself, but those with whom he is thrown in contact.

The poor compensation received by the Southern cotton grower is due to cheap negro labor. Cotton was first known as a slave product, and sold cheaply. Its price was fixed in the beginning upon a basis so low that it would not decently feed, clothe, and house the producers.

The white man in the South who raises cotton ought to be well compensated. It takes a high degree of intelligence to grow cotton successfully. The South has almost a monopoly in its production; certainly to sufficient extent to dictate the price.

Yet, the white man who undertakes to raise cotton, must consent to live upon a scale in keeping with cheap negro labor. He must live upon the economic plan of the negro, because the products of his toil must be sold in competition with the product of the negroes, and the price received is so low that it will not pay for a higher standard of living.

The negro question is the greatest question before the American people for settlement. It must be settled if America is to remain white. It must be settled if the economic conditions of the workers are to be remedied. The negro is a great factor in keeping down wages of the American workers, and thereby forcing them to live under conditions that make it difficult to rear and educate a family in keeping with civilized standards.

American labor can understand that the importation of cheap European labor forces down the wages of American workers and forces them to live upon the economic plane of the low class European. Even the big political parties know this.

American labor can understand, and does understand, that it is fatal to American labor, American standards of living, and American civilization to admit Asiatic labor into this country. The Big Political Parties know this, and keep out the Asiatics.

But American labor and the big political parties refuse to deal with the negro question. The negro is more fatal to America than cheap European labor or cheaper Asiastic labor.

Our statisticians are telling us that America will soon be overpopulated. Good! Let us ship the negro back to his own country. If we can send four million soldiers to Europe in time of war, we can send ten million negroes to Africa. It is necessary, if America is to be saved to Anglo-Saxon civilization.

PHILA. PA. PUBLIC LEDGER
MAY 16, 1923

THE MAN FROM GEORGIA

Southern Negroes, Bred to the Soil, Easily Accept Labor Conditions of the North

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—I saw a black plowman from Georgia the other day, a recent arrival in Pennsylvania, doing a piece of work that involved neither a mule nor a cotton patch nor a hoe nor a pick. Up to his thirty-fifth year this man had never seen an elevated road nor a subway station nor even a five-story building. In fact, he had never but once been as far as 100 miles from the place of his birth, the fertile lowlands of the upper reaches of the Savannah River in Georgia.

But now he was in a city of more than 2,000,000 souls and using a very modern application of motive power in order that he might do a difficult job in our modern labor-saving way.

He used an implement which was new to me, and no doubt only recently introduced to him. He was cutting through the concrete foundation beneath a paved street so that other workmen might more easily dig a trench for underground telephone wires. Compressed air, or whatever motive power used, was conveyed through a long, heavy rubber tube, which added to the unwieldiness of the implement. The tool itself was a heavy, cumbersome affair with a long, chisel-like pick—working like a piston from its cylindrical upper part, which cut its way very effectively through the flinty concrete. It was purposely made heavy and bulky so that it would partly hold itself in position when set for action.

But when the power was let on our machine jumped and bumped occasionally in spite of the 200-odd pounds of flesh that guided it. In spite of himself, our worker's body quivered and his teeth rattled together whenever he failed to set his jaws tight. And besides, he had to watch carefully each operation. When the chisel struck firmly against the concrete it often wedged itself and stuck; when it struck ineffectively it bounced completely out of position.

How nerve-racking the whole operation seemed and how very, very far from the quiet, level stretches of a Georgia cotton field!

And yet our worker triumphed over these little difficulties because, in our common use of the term, he had no "nerves." His work left him only tired after a day was done—not worn out and enervated. And he could turn in and go to sleep on the minute almost as mechanically as he could punch a time-clock.

But there was still another seeming disadvantage which our worker labored under: He was engaged in the very heart of the city. A crowd constantly hedged him about. Sometimes the crowd seemed really too near for a free movement of his apparatus. It was a new operation, and folks are always eager to see something new. Their eagerness, however, in this case seemed annoying and disconcerting. How can you do a thing which requires both strength and concentration when everything—the noise of passing trucks and streets cars as well as the push of the crowd—tends to make you self-conscious and, perhaps, forgetful of the main business at hand?

Here, again, our worker triumphed. He was not the type to be intrigued—as Mr. House would say—by such silly, extraneous forces and conditions. All he said to himself was: "I'm doing this job; I'm getting pretty good pay for it; I think I've got a cinch on it because I'm doing it jam-up. * * * Oh, boy! It's about 12 bells!" or something of that nature which, of course, is not a fatal sort of introspection or reflection.

But there was a third disadvantage, more important than the two I have named, which our worker had met and overcome even before he had reached Pennsylvania and got his present job.

When he threw up the plowman's job in Georgia to come North certain people whose word he relied upon had told him that it was impossible for him to make good in Pennsylvania; that the climate was too rigid; that most of the work up that side called for brains and some degree of skill, and that his race was made for a hot climate and a cotton field and a one-horse plow.

These things were told to him firmly and bluntly by persons who usually told him the truth.

But again—which was really our worker's first victory—he triumphed because this line of thought didn't sink deep enough into his consciousness to perturb him. Happily for him, his thinking was of that elemental character which rejects as inconsequential what might happen under certain conditions "if you don't watch out." He intended to keep his eyes open and not to let any goblins of climate or machines or gaping crowds have an absolutely free hand over his future well-being.

So, like his prototype from Missouri, he came North with no obsessions, and yet with no spirit of cocksureness and infallibility. He was healthy; he was strong; he was not a heavy thinker; in simple matters he could go straight to essentials; and more important still, he was eager and willing to learn. He didn't know enough to worry over somebody's prediction of a possible tragedy under conditions which he couldn't fully comprehend, and so eventually he triumphed over the theories and predictions of the outsiders and over some other seeming hostile things.

WILSON JEFFERSON.

Philadelphia, May 14, 1923.

STEEL MILLS RECRUITING MANY COLORED LABORERS

N Y C ILLUSTRATED NEWS
JULY 9 1923

(NEWS photo)

Working for "a corporation with a soul" is not especially uplifting, as this photo shows. This is a labor gang tearing down a wornout furnace before it has cooled. The heat is terrific. Seventy-five tons of boiling steel have just been run off. Thousands of colored workers are lured from the South by offers of "easy work" to labor around the open hearth furnaces at Homestead.

Men Told of 'Easy Work' Started at Repairing Blast Furnaces on Blazing Planks

Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, refused some time ago to permit the DAILY NEWS to investigate labor conditions in his mills. Therefore Ralph F. Armstrong, INDUSTRIALIST, was assigned to work as a laborer in the corporation's mill at Homestead, Pa. He reports (1) That Judge Gary has totally misrepresented the twelve-hour day and other labor conditions. (2) That the workmen want conditions changed, but are powerless to protest and hold their jobs. (3) That the seven-day week has not been abolished. (4) That the "Corporation with a soul" has a soul of production only. (5) That the corporation is enticing colored laborers from the South to work in its mills under false pretenses. (6) That the corporation controls entire town governments and police forces. (7) That prostitution is widespread in the labor settlement at Homestead. These reports are contained in a series of articles, of which this is the fifth.

By INDUSTRIALIST.

Employment agents throughout the South, capitalizing Judge Gary's speeches that work in mills of the United States Steel Corporation is easy, are prevailing upon colored laborers to accept shipment to these mills.

Several of the thousands of colored men who are being sent to the corporation's works at Homestead, Pa., to perform hard labor at 40 cents an hour claim they were told they would have "easy, sitting down" jobs. They were to have good pay, ideal living conditions.

For several weeks these men have been migrating from mill to mill of the corporation searching for the easy work. They have found only labor of the hardest nature.

One of the Hot Jobs.

One of the men said he had been promised a "two lever" job in Tennessee by an agent of the corporation. All he would have to do would be to sit on the cushion of a crane and operate the two controlling levers, the agent said.

The man, Washington, found himself helping bricklayers, in the open hearth department, repairing the big furnaces. Gas in them is at such high pressure that it burns through the brick walls. It is the duty of the bricklayers to replace bricks in these holes while the heat is on. The job is said to be hot as any in the steel business.

The white hot blast pushes from the hole, burning, scorching, searing.

Washington passed bricks to the craftsmen two days. Then he was sent to help two men who were patching a hole on top of one of the furnaces. The same blast was coming through the hole, but there was no escaping to fresh air, as when on the ground. The bricklayers had the hottest job. Washington stood back from the blast and handed them the bricks.

Perspiration flowed from him in a steady stream. Two-inch pine planks on which the men were standing blazed into flames. Washington came down and got transferred to the common labor gang. Working on this two days, at shoveling bricks and other objects out of a hole, he tired and lay down flat on his back.

The foreman argued, swore and then threatened to fire. Finally he took Washington to the office of Supt. John S. Oursler to effect his discharge.

In ten minutes Washington returned and again lay down, this time unmolested.

"The other boss wouldn't let him fire me," he told the reporter. "They're afraid I'll tell the others back home what work here is like."

Men of the machine shop declared that company officials either were inspired, as Washington claimed, by a desire to keep the nature of mill work secret or were showing favoritism to the man because of his race.

"If he had been a white man he'd have gone out in a hurry," one. "They're favoring [redacted] because they want to fill [redacted] mill with cheap labor."

In several departments of the Homestead works colored laborers compose 40 to 50 per cent. of the labor forces. Most of the labor gangs are made up exclusively of them. They are coming and going all the time. Forty of them quit the day I got a job.

Industrialist on Hot Job.

Working with the colored laborers, I helped pit bricks at the sides and on top of big furnaces under reconstruction. We supplied materials also for the bricklayers in the pits beneath the furnaces. For hours the work continued. The laborer brought his wheelbarrow filled with bricks to a point near where they were required and pitched them two at a time to the men piling them up. Constant bricklaying is required, because, of the many furnaces in the long mill shed, there always is at least one furnace that has burned out and must be rebuilt, and one or more to be repaired while hot.

In a day I caught and piled up thousands of bricks. They came as fast as the laborers could pitch them from their wheelbarrows, and disappeared as fast as the bricklayers could use them. It was a case of bricks and bricks and bricks. They would never stop coming it seemed. All the time the boss was within sight work would be continuous. Then he would go to another part of the furnace and the laborers would loaf until his return.

Sitting on the handle of his wheelbarrow the colored man would light his cigarette and pray for the boss to prolong his absence. Suddenly he heard the tooting of a locomotive on the tracks on which he was sitting. The engine was pulling a load of material to be dumped into the furnaces. The laborer, scrambling to escape, occasionally spilled his load on the track and there was much swearing.

On the hot jobs I stood in the blast of melting steel to pound away with crowbar the unsound portions of the brick wall. When the hole was sufficiently large we shoved away the broken bricks and debris from the ground below. This brought our faces close to the full heat of the furnace. We would hand bricks to the bricklayers as they stood there repairing the red-hot wall.

The bricklayers, having by far the hottest jobs, receive 84 cents an hour and laborers get 40½ cents.

Competition is keen among the laborers to see who can escape the eyes of the boss when he announces a "hot job," especially one on top of a blazing furnace. To reach the roof, ten feet up or higher, requires climbing over a door through and around many hot pipes. I helped lay planks on the roof to stand upon near the burned out portion. Red heat from steel and gas came through the hole. The boards smoked.

Bricklayers dripping with perspiration started calling for bricks of certain sizes and shapes. I repeated the call and the laborer on the ground pitched them to me in twos.

The boards blazed and I shouted for a bucket of water. But the boss had departed and the helper refused to budge from his seat. We threw one of the blazing boards down at him. He dodged and laughed "What the hell?"

Labor—1923
Occupation, Wages, etc.,

General.

WHY FARM LABOR IS GOING TO INDUSTRIAL CENTERS.

HIGH wages with plenty of jobs offered in the cities is the magnet drawing the farm laborers away from the farms. With hod carriers demanding $7 for an eight hour day what chance of securing help can the farmers have in offering $1.50 to $2.00 for a twelve or fourteen hour day?

The last quarterly survey made by the Department of Agriculture shows that as an average for the country, day farm laborers are receiving $1.98 a day without board and $1.47 with board. Farm labor by the month is being paid $40.30 a month without board, and $27.81 with board.

Every geographic division except the South Central Division reported falling average farm wages during the three months covered. The largest declines ranged from 9.1 to 13.9 per cent in the West North Central States: the smallest declines were in the North Atlantic and South Central States.

The highest average monthly rate without board was $62.71 in the Western Division, and the lowest was $30.71 in the South Atlantic States. The highest monthly rate with board was $42.78 in the Western Division and the lowest was $21.06 in the South Atlantic Division.

In hiring by the day without board, the highest average rate was $2.82 in the North Atlantic States, and the lowest was $1.40 in the South Atlantic States. With board, the highest day rate was $2.13 in the North Atlantic States, and the lowest was $1.05 in the South Central States.

NEGRO WORKERS FOR ARMOUR WILL KEEP JOBS.

(By A. N. P.)

Chicago, Ill., April 1.—The recent merger of Armour & Company, involving millions of dollars, was of interest to the thousands of Colored employees who worked for both firms. An announcement has been made which assures these workers of their positions. The companies will continue to manufacture the same lines under the same labels and the employment offices have adopted a policy of sending any surplus men who apply to Morris & Company branch over to Armour where there is still a steady demand for men. The percentage of Colored men employed by these firms is as high now as during the war when it reached its peak. The pension system of Morris & Co., will be carried on by the Armour interests.

Increase of 255,389 Negro Employes in Labor Industry

Transportation and Trade Show Increases Which Total More Than 76,000, With More Than 30,000 in Clerical and Professional Occupations.

(BY CHARLES E. HALL).

Washington, D. C.—For a second time in less than two years the call of industry has been heard in every hamlet and at every cross roads by the wage earners of our group, and they are hurrying from every direction by the thousands to accept employment in productive industries of the country.

They are again being given opportunities that were closed to them prior to the World's War, but in which they shared and generally made good during that conflict of arms, a conflict that awakened this nation to its domestic responsibilties and to the necessity of preserving its ideals through Congressional legislation restricting the flow of European immigration to this country.

As a general proposition, the fact that we did "make good" in industry during the war cannot be denied, but if proof is necessary one needs only to consult the U. S. Census occupation statistics taken January 1, 1920. As this was about fifteen months after the signing of the Armistice and at a time when the unemployment situation was acute, a brief comparison for the purpose of indicating our gains in industry over the previous census taken in the year 1910 will be both interesting and informative.

Increased Number of Employes.

In the manufacturing and mechanical industries there was an increase of 255,389 Negro employees, including 37,016 females. In the transportation service of the county, which includes water, railroad, express, road and street facilities there was an increase of 56,452 in the number of persons employed. Those engaged in trade in all capacities from bankers to meat cutters increased by nearly 21,000. There was an increase of 17,675, including 5,169 females, in the number engaged in clerical occupations, and in the professional service there was a substantial increase of 12,938, of whom 9,482, or nearly three-fourths were females. The only general classification that showed a net loss was domestic and personal service, and although there was an increase of 5,134 males, the decrease of 62,726 females gave a net loss of 57,641. The decrease of female domestics was more than offset by their employment in increased numbers in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, in professional and clerical occupations, and in trade and transportation.

While it is improbable that this increase of 305,813 gainfully employed persons, which does not include those in agricultural and mining pursuits, survived the industrial depression that prevailed during 1920, 1921, and several months in 1922, the fact that they were still employed fifteen months subsequent to the siging of th Armistice indicates that they were not the first to be seperated from the pay rolls, and that their work was satisfactory.

The worker of average intelligence knows that the inefficient ones are always the first to be dropped from the company rolls, and that in this class are the men who fail to make time in the morning; the fellows who insist upon attending every funeral, and those who waste raw material and waste power while running around the shop telling their companions about the "powerful" sermon Rev. Easy preached last night in the $300,00 Tenth Baptist or Eighth Methodist Church, or about the "last words" spoken by a late and lamented lodge brother. These time killers do not seem to realize that the company that employes them is selling their products in competive markets and that every idle moment spent in "shop visiting" adds to the cost of production and delays the delivery of the finished product upon which the size and regularity of their wages depends.

If the ministers and welfare associations will drill this into the minds of the new-comers there will be no doubt about the permanency of their jobs and the continuance of the restriction upon foreign immigration, which if resumed will send many of our workers back to the cotton fields of the South. The manufacturer wants dividends upon his invested capital and the only way he can get them is through quantity and quality production.

If our men make good on the job there will be more opportunities for our females in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, but if they fail they will retard the economic prograss of the entire race.

Giving afficient service in industry, however, depends largely upon comfortable sleeping quarters, and if the colored citizens who reside in the industrial centers will appoint committees to investigate, and, whenever possible, remedy unfavorable conditions, many of the better class of migrants will become permanent and useful citizens.

The most serious complaint at the present time appears to be the activities of the "church builders" who are more interested in conducting "drives" for the purpose of building costly places of worship than they are in providing adequate housing facilities for the newcomers. These workers require bodily comforts nightly, rather than spiritual comforts in the near or remote future, and it would be quite consistent to call off a few of these many financial church drives until the men get decent places in which to live and until they make permanent pay roll connections.

Churches are not lodging houses, and men will not remain on a job longer than one pay day if they can find no comfortable place to rest after a day of hard work. Buy or build boarding houses, not churches, if you really wish to help the strangers.

CITY CAN ABSORB SOUTHERN LABORERS

Minimum Wage Now Stabilized At About 45 Cents Per Hour, Says Labor Bureau

Some of those 8,000,000 Negro workers said by Dr. Emmett J. Scott to be available for employment in the Southern states can find jobs waiting for them here in Baltimore according to George B. McAllister, Director of the Municipal Employment Bureau.

"There can be no doubt," Mr. McAllister told the AFRO-AMERICAN, "that Baltimore can absorb much labor. There is a lack of efficient labor in practically every field of local industry.

Wages too have been on the increase until now they are stabilizing itself around 45 cents per hour for common labor. There are some places offering 50 cents and many calls coming in from places outside of Baltimore for workers.

THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER.

Negro wage earners can hinder or help our race far more than they realize. Very few of them are regarded by their employers as mere individuals. It is the rule to regard and treat them as representatives of a group. If they are intelligent, competent, conscientious, self-respecting, our race is helped by their contact with the white man. If they lack these qualities, they hinder us. There are thousands of white homes and business and other establishments where Negroes might be working today had it not been for one Negro who failed. The servile, fawning type of Negro has caused many white people to regard our race as a group unworthy of the respect and opportunities due men and women of other races in this republic. In truth, the white race looks at every angle of the race problem largely through the character and manners of the Negro who works for wages for the members thereof, as a rule, never come in contact with other classes and do not care to.

Therefore, it is the duty of our wage earners to take themselves more seriously. Give the lie to the accusation that we are unreliable by reporting to work promptly and regularly and giving due notice before quitting. Cease trying to hold a job by flattering and fawning and hold it on meritorious service and gentlemanly and lady-like conduct. Cease telling the white people about the petty bickerings and jealousies that exist among us, for they have enough of their own to think about. Cease referring to the Negro race in terms of derision. Tell the white man about Negroes who have risen in life in spite of prejudice and poverty when he seeks a conversation on the race problem for a half-way intelligent, successful Negro is still an enigma to the average white man. We urge Negro wage earners to think less of themselves and more of their race. Let each job done count in the mission of making friends for our struggling people and lifting them higher in the respect of all men.

NEGRO IN NORTH IS HUDDLED IN ROOMS THAT COST EARNINGS

Dr. Foster Burnett Says Cramped Quarters Breed Tuberculosis; Fill Hospitals

The white plague is taking its toll from the southern negro lured to the north by the mirage of higher wages, according to Dr. Foster Burnett, prominent local negro doctor, who has just returned from three months spent in post-graduate work in northern hospitals.

While in the north Dr. Burnett had ample opportunity of observing the conditions there, which the negroes from the south have to contend with. In fact, owing to the recent migration of southern negroes to northern cities, Dr. Burnett gave much time to the investigation of the opportunities offered there as compared with the advantages for the negro in the south.

In Washington, and many other northern cities, where the southern negroes have recently gone in large numbers, as common laborers they are paid from $3,50 to $4 per day, said Dr. Burnett, but the rent which they are charged for a small room in which they have to house their entire family is exorbitant, as is the cost of food and other living expenses, and when the end of the week comes the negro has less than he did when he was located in the south, working for slightly less, but with a smaller living expense.

Dr. Burnett declares that the housing conditions in the north for negroes is very acute. Many have to live in a single room, and as a result the tuberculosis rate has greatly increased. The Wilmington physician attributes this situation to the fact that the negroes who have recently gone north lived a life in the open, lived and slept in houses well ventilated, which they do not now enjoy.

The negro who hopes to get along can get much more co-operation in the south than he can ever hope to have in the north," declares Dr. Burnett. For that reason Dr. Burnett's advice to Wilmington negroes who are now being prevailed upon to migrate northward to remain right here and cooperate in the movement that is being made by the whites and blacks to better local conditions for the negroes.

While away Dr. Burnett did special work at the Freedmen's hospital and St. Elizabeth's hospital.

Negroes in the Federal Employ

Washington, July 13.—A recent canvass shows that there are more than 20,000 Negroes in the employ of the federal government in the postal department. They are classified as follows: 15,000 carriers, post office clerks, 2,000 R. P. s and about 700 laborers.

U. S. CENSUS REPORTS NEGRO INCOMES INCREASED

$300,000,000 PER YEAR

Over Million Farm Workers and Servants Now In Industry

Washington, Sept. 20.—That the Negro is making good in industry is attested by the increases as indicated by the last U. S. Census report covering the years 1910 and 1920, as follows:

	Number 1920	Increase since 1910
Manufacturing Industries	886,810	255,433
Transportation	312,421	56,452
Trade	140,467	20,976
Mining	73,229	12,100
Professional Service	80,183	12,938
Total	1,493,110	357,899

Assuming a conservative general average wage of but $15 per week this increase would mean an added income of nearly Three Hundred Million Dollars per year to be largely distributed among our business and professional men, our churches, in the buying and building of homes, and in other activities that bespeak material advancement.

WHY WE CONTINUE TO SUFFER IN THE SOUTH

We clipped this one from a Wilmington, North Carolina, paper. The article was written by a Negro physician—we are ashamed to admit. We shudder to think what chance some of our people have against the oppression of the South, when men of their own race aid and abet the southern cause like this: Read this rot, and ponder our future—

The white plague is taking its toll from the southern Negro lured to the north by the mirage of higher wages, according to Dr. Foster Burnett, prominent local Negro doctor, who has just returned from three months spent in post-graduate work in northern hospitals.

While in the north Dr. Burnett had ample opportunity of observing the conditions there, which the Negroes from the South have to contend with. In fact, owing to the recent migration of Southern Negroes to Northern cities, Dr. Burnett gave much time to the investigation of the opportunities offered there as compared with the advantages for the Negro in the South.

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While away Dr. Burnett did special work at the Freedmen's Hospital and St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Occupations of Negro Women

(Lincoln Service)

—There are seven Negro policewomen in the United States.

—Twenty-four Negro women in the country are mail carriers and nineteen are "newsboys."

—Of the 116 Negro postmasters under Postmaster-General New, forty are Negro women.

—Preferring personal service as a means of livelihood, 12,660 Negro women have found employment as barbers, hairdressers and manicurists.

—While only eleven white females are engaged in shoe shining as an avocation, twenty-two colored women are thus employed.

—If Milady should not like the true feminine finish that her shoemaker applied to her last boots, she may pick among twenty-eight Negro women engaged in the work in the country, to make her next pair.

—Of the 35,442 Negro persons who follow the profession of teaching public schools, 29,189 are women, and 94 of these women have reached the age of 65 years and over.

—Perhaps that last driver of the taxi you used was too reckless and careless. Call a woman taxi driver. You know there are 113 females among the 38,573 Negro people doing this kind of work in the country.

—Or if you are entertaining special preferences for women you can have Negro females build your new house, with the exception of the plumbing and gas-fitting. There are in the United States thirty-four Negro women who are designers; three brick and stone masons, twenty-six carpenters, three plasterers, eight painters, glaziers and varnishers and eleven paperhangers. After it is finished you might have it insured by any one of the 447 Negro female insurance agents. That stubborn and unsightly stone ledge which obstructs your view of the street—remove it. How? That's simple! Just engage one of the eight Negro women who work in powder and dynamite factories to blow it up for you.

Labor — 1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc..

Georgia.

NEW YORK CITY RECORD
JUNE 8, 1923

Southern Mill Reports Negro Help Experiment Was Failure

Special to DAILY NEWS RECORD

Savannah, Ga., June 7. — The South Georgia negro as a cotton mill hand is a failure, according to G. H. Tilton & Son, who operate a cotton knit goods mill here. This mill reached this decision after giving the plan of using negroes a fair and impartial trial.

The mill has been experimenting with negro help for years, G. H. Tilton said, and has found it to be as unreliable as unsatisfactory.

"We have at present," Mr. Tilton said, "machinery enough at the Savannah mill to employ a great many more hands than are now working, but we have not the help to keep the machinery running, nor have we been able to get enough during the last six months to warrant us in making any further efforts at Savannah. We had planned if we could get the help needed to make a number of changes, but we find it is no use to go further as the help is unreliable and simply will not work.

"So if we do make any further changes we shall have to move somewhere outside of the city of Savannah. At present we have have two places in view in Georgia, but we have made no decision as yet. Our experiment with the negro labor in Savannah has been unsatisfactory. There are some good hands, but the bulk of them are of no value. We cannot rely upon any production, for we never know when they will be at their work.

"Consequently, we have given up our experiment, and unless conditions change we shall undoutbedly move our knitting machinery to another point away from the seaboard where we can find help that will work."

OBSERVATIONS OF MELVIN J. CHISUM, TRAVELING NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT AND ECONOMIC WRITER.

Recently, having read a story to the New York Times by Dr. R. R. Moton on the great migration of the colored brother northward, and receiving an invitation shortly thereafter to deliver an address at the Georgia State Industrial College at Savannah, influenced by Dr. Moton's story that things were getting better for colored people in the south, I was moved to accept the invitation, and journeyed to Savannah with certain apprehensions, withal, because "I reads."

At Savannah, the week of June 11th, at Georgia State College, I viewed a great concourse of anxious friends of Negro education, and interviewed many of these. From those who lived in the rural sections, I learned that, instead of conditions being roseate, the plantation owner and Negro drivers are paying from fifty to seventy-five cents the day for workers on the farm and scant rations; that in the turpentine camps and pine forests, the hands are being paid a dollar a day as a maximum, while many work for less. In the cotton seed oil mills (and I visited two of these and talked with the men) they are receiving from seventy-five cents to a dollar and a quarter per day, for twelve to fourteen-hour work days, and I am not impressed that the Negro is earning much money in the southland. In the sugar refinery at Savannah, I discovered that the colored workers probably received better treatment than in most places in the south, but the wage scale is inadequately low.

In visiting the Negro places of business in Savannah, moving about among the professional men and women of the race, and meeting them in their homes, one is impressed with the fineness, frugality and thrift of the very remarkable colored people of Georgia; remarkable, because in spite of disadvantages and untoward conditions, superinduced by intensely unsympathetic local governments everywhere, local governments, the hostility of which a stranger both sees and feels on every hand, certainly the Negro of Georgia came from gods, for men of lesser origin could not survive.

From a remarkable speech delivered by Dr. C. C. Strickland on Wednesday, it came out that the great and wealthy State of Georgia which spends millions annually for the maintenance of hundreds of higher educational institutions for white boys and girls, spends one thousand dollars the year, and one thousand dollars the year, for the maintenance of the Georgia State and Industrial College, the annual budget of which is $25,000, and twenty-four thousand of this money comes from the Morrell Fund, paid by the Federal Government.

When one reads that conditions were never so good in the south as they are today, and then faces the fact that here is a college that is not allowed to grow, because the government of Georgia is willing to pay back from the great tax fund gathered from the Negroes, just one thousand dollars, it is difficult then to reconcile the statement: that things are much better than they were in times gone by.

On the invitation of Dr. W. H. Wright, a physician and surgeon of Waycross, Georgia, I visited and spent three delightful days in this busy, bustling, throbbing beehive of industry and thrift. I found here a group of the most forward looking colored men that one could hope to meet anywhere. Gaines, the President of the Laborers Penny Savings and Loan Company, is both a philosopher and financial wizard; Dr. Scarlett, long-headed, far-seeing, all that the Hypocrites Oath supposes doctors to be he proved a refreshing treat; Lester, District Manager of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, a real insurance magnate; Dr. Wells, splendidly carrying on from whence his father left off; Colonel McGraw, sound, hard-headed, a successful business man, than whom one would find no better, and a host of others of the likes of these just mentioned, all who go to make Waycross a place worthwhile. The local branch of the National Negro Business League here, is far-and-away the livest branch I have ever visited.

And this brings the writer to Atlanta, the Gate City of the South—truly the gates of the brethren swing open to the stranger with a welcoming wideness characteristic of the best southern traditions. One making a rendezvous with Ben Davis of Atlanta is fortunate, indeed, in the enjoyment of all the finesse, comforts and necessities, which spell civilization. And this is Atlanta.

In the last ten days, in company with four different groups of men I have driven near a thousand miles over country roads in Georgia, and Alabama, looking for those improved, sanitary homes being provided for colored people, about which Dr. Moton wrote in the New York Times, on May 6th, but we must have hit the wrong road in every instance.

Negro Who Has Moved To North Presents Interesting Views

Editor Constitution: I notice in reading your paper that a great deal is being said about the negro leaving Georgia.

I was a citizen of Georgia for several years and would be now if I had employment at living wages, which I could not find in Georgia.

Although conditions here are not what suit me, neither do I find congenial friends like in the south. I must work for a living, and as I have three children, we all have to work here, for rents are high, as well as every thing else, and wages are just as little. So many [illegible] as experience as they can hire you for, and they think you will be compelled to continue working as you can not save enough to last long while hunting something better.

The negro is in demand because they can use him shoveling dirt or rolling a wheelbarrow or carrying a hod, and his wages are from 50c to 80c an hour, generally working nine hours a day. His wife also is in demand and she receives the modest sum of $3.50 and her dinner, together with her car fare paid both ways for doing the family washing of a family of three or four people.

But the negro from the south is not satisfied here. He likes to make the money and have a good living and many no doubt are glad to have the white merchants call them "Mrs. Jones or "Mrs." Brown instead of Bill or Sambo, yet very few of them want their bodies buried north of the Ohio. They receive fair treatment here, and get their pay regularly.

Passing laws to keep the negro there I don't think will help, but if the south will furnish him employment at living wages he will stay and a great many who are north will come back.

Little tightwad loan sharks in the smaller towns of Georgia are doing more harm to Georgia than all the labor agents. They are not willing to loan money to buy cattle, hogs or sufficient for a man to exist while raising a crop, but they will squeeze a poor borrower to the limit on a 100 per cent basis if they can.

The negro who has been forced to raise cotton has tired of the boll weevil eating up his crop and, with nothing to do, he pulls out for the place where work is offered.

Georgia, with all its opportunities, has made very little effort to locate white people or to help those who are satisfied to live there through hard times.

If one half the noise wasted about trying to force the negro to stay there were spent in finding suitable employment for him at living wages he would be satisfied, but he is not going to work for $10 a month, a bushel of meal and 15 pounds of dry salt meat when he can make $4.00 to $5.00 a day, even though he pays $25 to $30 a month house rent and meets higher living expenses.

The white people do not want the negro here except those people who are bent on making money. As negroes begin to rent in a district they gradually crowd the whites to hunt another location or pay higher rents. The northern negro generally does not want him either, because he looks on him as ignorant, yet he soon mixes in if he has been used to work. They don't lay off two or three days a week from work here, if they do, they lose their jobs.

J. G. M'CUE.

2982 Gilbert Avenue, Cincinnati, O.
August. 9. 1923.

Labor - 1923
Occupation, Wages etc.

NEGROES EARN $166,400,000 YEARLY WAGES, FOR LABOR IN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15.—(Lincoln Service)—In a recent address before the American Iron and Steel Institute of which he is president, Mr. Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, said in part: "The prosperity of this country will apparently have cordial, appropriate and effective assistance from the national government limited only by the established rules and principles and the general welfare of the people." He paid tribute to President Harding as the man whose words did more to bring the eight-hour day into the steel industry than anything else. Epitomizing the above statements, from a man who heads a productive industry that gives employment to a minimum of 600,000 men and transacts a business of more than two billion dollars annually, even a child can see that the future prosperity of this great industry depends largely upon the continuation of the economic policies fostered by the Republican party, the party whose leaders are trained business men, and furthermore, that the reduction in the wage hours from 12 to 8 was made effective through a President who was the chief and the spokesman of the Republican party.

500,000 Fed by Iron and Steel Industry

Engaged in the iron and steel industry are nearly 160,000 colored men who with their families aggregate a population approximating nearly 500,000 persons. A conservative estimate of the wages received by these men would be $6,400,000 per week or $166,400,000 per year, and no small part of this considerable amount flows into colored newspaper offices and our churches, into the cash registers of our 23,526 retail dealers, our banks, insurance companies and building and loan associations, into our bakeries and moving picture theaters. It helps to maintain our 3,493 physicians and surgeons and contributes to the prosperity of our 1,109 dentists; while a considerable amount finds its way to our 910 druggists, to our 34,243 carpenters, 3,516 plumbers, and 1,342 electricians.

Prosperity Knocks Pessimists

Yet, there is an element of croakers who are ready and willing to kick prosperity in the face, to scuttle the ship of industrial opportunity, to send many of these wage-earners back to the cotton fields with only seasonable employment, to take thousands of children out of the schools, and to further retard the industrial and economic progress of their group through the preachment of nebulous theories which if embraced by our voters will result in a check to the aspirations and ambitions of our entire racial group whose progress depends largely if not wholly upon the general prosperity of industry and commerce rather than upon the individual success of ward politicians.

The men of our race are principally employed in the iron and steel industry as laborers and semi-skilled workers in blast furnaces, steel rolling and tin plate mills; as furnacemen, smelermen, heaters and pourers; as forgemen, hammermen and welders, iron moulders, founders and casters; as machinists, millwrights and tool-makers and as filers, grinders, buffers and polishers. Included in this army of wage-earners are 1848 colored females whose employment, not unlike that of the men, can continue only through the maintenance of sound government policies upon which the industrial and commercial life of the nation depends.

Unusual Occupation For Colored Women.

Mobile

There are 7 colored police women in the United States.

Weekly Press

Twenty-four colored women in the country are mail-carries and 19 are news-boys." 11-3-23

You will be surprised to know that of the 116 colored postmasters under Postmaster-General New, that 40 of these are colored women

Preferring personal service as a means of livelihood, 12,660 colored women have found employed as barbers, hairdressers and manicurists.

Mobile

General.

While only 11 white females are engaged in shoe-shining as an avocation, 22 colored women, are thus employed throughtout the United States.

Ala.

If milady should not like the true feminine finish that her shoemaker applied to her last boots, she may pick among 28 colored women, engaged in the work in the country, to make her next pair

Of the 35,442 colored persons who follow the profession of teaching public schools in the United States, 29,189 are women, and 94 of these women have reached the age of 65 years and over.

It is surprising to note the scarcity of colored stenographers in the United States. There are only 2,310 of these, of which 1,970 are women. Of the book-keepers there are 2,284 colored, with 1,611 females.

Prehaps that last driver of the taxi you used was to reckless and careless. Call a women taxi driver! You know there are 113 females among the 38,573 colored people doing this kind of work in the country.

Or if you are entertaining special preferences for women, you can have colored females build your new house, with the exception of the plumbing and gas-fitting. There are in the United States 34 colored women who are designers; 3 brick and stone-mason; 26 carpenters; 3 plasterers; 8 painters, glaziers and varnishers and 11 paper-hangers. After it is finished you might have it insured by any one of the 447 colored females insurance agents. That studborn and unsightly stone ledge which obsure your view of the street. Remove it. How? That's simple! Just engage one of the 8 colored women, who work in powder and dynamite factories to blow it up for you.

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY.

A news article from Cincinnati relates that a large rolling mill plant near there is employing 1,000 negroes along with 3,000 white men in its operations. This concern has found as the South long ago discovered, that there are good negroes and bad negroes. The latter they call "floaters," presumably because they float in, work a few days, and then float out. But the better class of negroes have been assimilated into the plans successfully and have caused no friction with the white workers. They are earning from $1,200 to $2,000 a year. The company has constructed a village for them and provided comfortable homes. In the efficiency tests the negroes have proved to be not as capable as the Slavs who comprise the bulk of white employes, however. When the Slav establishes a 100 per cent. mark, the negro makes about 70.

This instance seems to be the exception rather than the rule, and we are not surprised to learn that the North is finding that "the negro's proneness to work a few days, get a small suply of money on hand and loaf is telling against him in hard driving, regular hitting industries." That probably means, as one man puts it, that when the cold weather comes and the industries slacken in orders the negroes will be the first to be discharged.

The Greenville News is of the opinion that "the negroes can fill a true niche in the North as servants, common laborers, chauffeurs and in other occupations which do not require extraordinary dexterity or elaborate mental equipment, but the North will discover that they cannot be used extensively and profitably in skilled industries. And the negroes will find that their labor is treated as a commodity, subject to seasonal fluctuations."

Inclusion of Negro Workers Into Northern Industry

Baltimore
Herald-
Baltimore Md.

An unexpected phase in the placement of Negro labor passing from the South to northern industries is the inclusion of skilled workers of this class. The Department of Labor made this announcement today from a survey conducted by Phil. H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation who has been detailed as an observer of the migration now in progress. The results accrue from a careful analysis of payrool statistics of 273 employers of Negro labor in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusets, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma and Wisconsin. Returns from these firms indicate a heavy intake of Negro labor, but difficulties were encountered in discriminating as to whether those employed were recent migrants or from the class that were already located in the North. However, sufficient specific classification is given to suggest that the South is not only yielding up a great mass of unskilled workers, but a remarkable number of skilled hands are finding employment.

Distribution is difficult as to the source of the present Negro labor utility, whether it is directly from the South or is a left-over from the 1916-1919 shift; but the conslusion is safely drawn that the mass of this labor emerges from the Southern sources and its entire movement is movered in less than five years. Many employers replying to requests indicated that they were placing Negro labor, but were without definite information as to the number that were purely of Southern origin. Allowances are made for drifters, who are already North, seeking change of locative employment, a disposition, a disposition strongly characteristic of this labor.

Along the New England coast many cases were disclosed wherein Portuguese black men are employed These, o course, are rare under present immigration restrictions and are represented ony by a few hundred units.

Inclusion

Comparisons were made between 42,371 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 10,794 skilled and 31,577 unskilled workers, as of April 30, 1922, and 60,421 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 14,951 skilled and 45,470 unskilled employees as of April 30, 1923, as reported by 273 firms engaged in such typical pursuits as are necessary to produce iron, and steel, foodstuffs leather, machinery, tobacco, automoiles, paper baks, copper goods, pollers, blliard tables, brass articles, chain, bricks, oil, saws, wire, railroad equipment, rubber glass textiles, chinaware, cement, paper and varied other articles of necessity and comfort, together with numerous occu-

pations in construction work, railroad work, and transprtation.

During the year for which observations were made among the 273 firms listed with the Department, Negro workers were increased on payrools by 18,050 men, of whom 4,157 and 13,893 were skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. The total per cent. of increase was 42.60 and the per cent. of increase of skilled and unskilled workers, respectively, was 38.51 and 44.

Based upon a descending scale, the total increase in percentage of Negro workers taken on in the various States were: Connecticut, 88.74; New Jersey, 74.82; Indiana, 70.17; Ohio, 69.93; California, 66.67; Pensylvania, 64.91; Micigan, 63.77; Wisconsin, 58.24; Maryland, 55.48; Illinois, 54.14; Kansas, 40.42; New York, 37.19; Massachusetts, 25.00; Kentucky, 24.00; Missouri, 18.30; Oklahoma, 14.10; Delaware, 2.63. West Virginia showed a slight decrease in the per cent. of Negro workers.

High marks were reached in the increase of Negro skilled workers, who advanced by 186.86 per cent. in Maryland; 90.48 per cent. in Connecticut; 70.73 per cent in Michigan; 68.97 per cent. in Kansas; 68.04 per cent. in Ohio; 60.00 per cent in Calforna; 43.68 per cent. in Pensylvania; 39.94 per cent in Illinois; 33.33 per cent in Wisconsin; 30.00 per cent. in New York; 18.18 per cent. in Indiana; and 13.93 per cent. in Kentucky. New Jersey and Oklahoma showed respective increases of 12.96 per cent. and 3.85 per cent. in the number of Negro workers taken on in the skilled occupations during the year, while West Virginia showed a loss of 1.82 per cent.

Negro unskilled workers are slightly ahead of thei rskilled associates in a remarkable increase during the year.

Migration

Accurate figures describing the migratory phases of Negro labor coming direct from the South during the year ending April 30, 1923, were nearly as difficult to acquire as they were during the intensive migration during the war-time shortage. Nevertheless, the department was able to observe 19,747 Negro employees among the whole number of 60,421 on hand April 30, 1923, and to make estimations as to the number inculded therein whom employers could positively identify as having moved northward into employment during the past year. Of the 19,747 thus observed it was found that 4,707 or 23.81 per cent. had come direct from the South during the year.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.,

Georgia.

AUG 16 1923

Negro Who Has Moved To North Presents Interesting Views

Editor Constitution: I notice in reading your paper that a great deal is being said about the negro leaving Georgia.

I was a citizen of Georgia for several years and would be now if I had employment at living wages, which I could not find in Georgia.

Although conditions here are not what suit me, neither do I find congenial friends like in the south, I must work for a living, and as I have three children, we all have to work here, for rents are high, as well as evey thing else, and wages are just as little t men who have business experience as they can hire you for, and they think you will be compelled to continue work as you can not save enough to last long while hunting something better.

The negro is in demand because they can use him shoveling dirt or rolling a wheelbarrow or carrying a hod, and his wages are from 50c to 80c an hour, generally working nine hours a day. His wife also is in demand and she receives the modest sum of $3.50 and her dinner, together with her car fare paid both ways, for doing the family washing of three or four people.

But the negro from the south is not satisfied here. He likes to make money and have the white merchants call them "Mr." Brown instead of Bill or Sambo, yet very few of them want their bodies buried north of the Ohio. They receive fair treatment here and get their pay regularly.

Passing laws to keep the negro there I don't think will help, but if the south will furnish him employment at living wages he will stay and a great many who are north will come back.

Little tightwad loan sharks in the smaller towns of Georgia are doing more harm to Georgia than all the labor agents. They are not willing to loan money to buy cattle, hogs or sufficient for a man to exist while raising a crop. but they will squeeze a poor borrower to the limit on a 100 per cent basis if tney can,

The negro who has been forced to raise cotton has tired of the boll weevil eating up his crop and with nothing to do, he pulls out for the place where work is offered.

Georgia, with all its opportunities, has made very little effort to locate white people or to help those who are satisfied to live there through hard times.

If one half the noise wasted about trying to force the negro to stay there were spent in finding suitable employment for him at living wages he would be satisfied, but he is not going to work for $10. a month, a bushel of meal and 15 pounds of dry salt meat when he can make $4.00 to $5.00 a day even though he pays $25 to $30 a month house rent and meets highet living expenses.

The white people do not want the negro here except those people who are bent on making money. As negroes begin to rent in a district they gradually crowd the whites to hunt another location or pay higher rents. The northern negro generally does not want him either, bxcause he looks on hi[illegible] ignorant, yet he soon mixes in [illegible] has been used to work. They don't lay off two or three days a week form work here, if they do, they lose their jobs.

J. G. M'CUE,
2982 Gilbert Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio,
August 9, 1923.

Labor — 1923.

Occupation, Wages, etc.,

Illinois.

MANY NEGROES LOAF INSTEAD OF FEASTING

Chicago Crowded With Idle Blacks Seeking Work.

BY W. S. ATKINS.

Commercial Appeal

Memphis, Tenn.

11-8-23

CHICAGO, Ill., Nov. 7.—Around the employment agencies in Chicago the sidewalks daily are crowded with jobless men watching the bulletin boards of the various "Help Wanted" agencies. Negroes are there; colored and white, ready to take any job that may be offered. Wages of $4 are as to 40 cents an hour for unskilled labor.

Reports from the steel mills in the South Chicago district indicate that many negroes have been and are being let out daily, because the managers assert that one white man is worth two negroes at steel mill labor. The negroes are put on the payroll only when there is no foreign white labor available.

With steel buying slightly in excess of 50 per cent of producing capacity and another substantial decline in pig iron prices, the operation of the steel mills, not only in Chicago, but in Ohio and Pennsylvania will be restricted and some mills will close down.

So the demand for negro labor soon will be a negligible quantity, at least for this winter.

Those Memphis negroes who are thinking about coming to "the promised land" should think twice before coming to Chicago and adding themselves to the large numbers of unemployed negroes now being augmented daily.

Employers here admit that the negro laborer is the last to be given employment and the first to be discharged when business becomes slack. Also many shops cannot employ negroes over the objection of the white employes.

Chicago housewives certainly are not availing themselves of colored help as cooks and housemaids, preferring the Swedish, French and German girls. Negro girls here are working mostly in garment factories.

Maryland.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.,

LONGSHOREM'N WORK ONLY 3 DAYS A WEEK

Survey Shows These Workers Average Other Three Days In Idleness

3,151 IN BALTIMORE

Only 1,039 White Long Shoremen Found In the City

By CHARLES JOHNSON
In Survey of Baltimore Industries

(Note: Last week's article dealt with workers in fertilizer plants.)

The longshoremen, have a most interesting history in the city.

Before the Civil War practically all the longshoremen were Negroes. With the entrance of many white laborers into this field immediately following the war there was serious competition which at first threatened to drive out Negroes entirely. At one time this competition was marked by strikes and boycotts.

An outstanding example of this period was the strike of white workers because the dock superintendent persisted in employing Negroes. Temporarily the Negroes were ousted and in a desperate effort to insure regular employment bought a shipyard and marine railway with the hard earned money of these ousted longshoremen and other Negroes and went to work.

They were duped in this, for whereas they supposed they were buying the property in fee, a cleverly inserted clause specified that it was merely leased for 20 years. At the end of the 20 years most of which time was required to pay for it, the shipyard was taken away.

However, the very natural adaptability of Negroes to this work soon brought up their numbers again at first to an equal proportion with the whites and later to a majority which they have since held.

At present there are 4,290 men employed in the city as longshoremen and stevedores, of which number 3,151 or 73 per cent,. are Negroes. Employers agree that, considered as a group, they are superior to any class of workers available for this type of labor. They have the physical strength, agility and dexterity of the larger muscles necessary for the work, and familiarity with longshoremen work acquired over a long period of employment in this field.

Their ready adaptability and selection for this kind of work, however, suggests an outstanding feature of their general industrial status. Dock work is extremely irregular and uncertain. It demands a large body of casual labor and casual employment is for the ordinary worker demoralizing. The work depends upon the arrival and departure of ships. In this case of very heavy cargo ships this is determined first by the season.

Even in normal shipping times there is a considerable element of uncertainty. First may come a long period of idleness, then an exhausting stretch of continuous exertion. Irregularity and uncertainty of income and consequent ill-organization of family life.

The excessively large per cent of Negro women employed is a reflection of this abnormality. Thrift is impossible. Further, the excessively long continuous hours of feverish work when it is available and the enforced idleness which inevitably follows result in chronic ailments and aid in bringing about early disabilities.

The average of the most regular workers is three days a week for the year around.

UNION'S BID FOR NEGRO ...MENT WORKERS

Seventy Employees of H. K. and W. Company Asked to Affiliate

Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Association are making a strenuous effort to organize the colored employees of the H. K. and W. Company, a cloak making plant at Lexington and Fremont streets, where more than 70 men and women of the race are employed.

This concern is one of the largest non-union plants in the city and has maintained an open door policy both as to unionism and color.

According to Jenn F. Broening, president of the local Federation of Labor, there will be a fight to unionize this shop in order to raise the of work and the union is honest in wages and standards of this class its effort to take their colored associate into the union on the same economic terms as the whites.

A colored employee of the clothes trade here told the AFRO-AMERICAN that the colored workers will gladly join the union when conditions make it possible to get the same employment in union shops as they do in non-union shops. "Somehow, he said, it is harder to get employment in the union shops."

"It is believed now, however," he continues, "that the unions see that it is to their advantage to include colored workers in their program and when this occur in an honest-to-goodness way, the colored workers will gladly join.

COMPANIES FIGHT TO AVOID PAYMENTS

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.
8-31-23

Warner T. McGuinn Broadcasts Warning To Workers Engaged In Dangerous Employment

GETS $4,160 DAMAGES

Insurance Heads Fought Hard To Keep From Paying Widow of Coal Cart Worker Killed

Dependents of workers who are killed while engaged in their daily occupations or workers themselves who are injured should see to it that they get the full amount of insurance coming to them under the State compensation act, Warner T. McGuinn declared today.

Mr. McGuinn's statement followed the three month's fight to secure the compensation due Mrs Anna Sugars, 1027 Carey street whose husband was killed on a coal cart of the Enterprise Fue Company when it collided with an automobile driven by a woman.

Under the law, declared, Mr McGuinn, employers of labor in dangers enterprises are liable when their employees are killed or injured. To save themselves any risk, these companies insure their employees against injury in regular insurance companies. When workers are injured these companies not only use every legal means to avoid payment, but also offer dependents smaller sums in order to compromise the case.

In the Sugars case, the American Mutual Liability Company nearly had the claim for damages ruled out on the ground that the couple was not legally married. At first North Carolina authorities could find no records, but when white friends came to Mrs. Sugars' rescue, the record of her license was found among those of the whites.

The law requires in case of death that the widow or dependents be paid $10 a week for eight years. Lesser amounts must be paid by the company when the worker loses a limb, is internally injured, or otherwise rendered unfit to work normally.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.

Massachusetts.

WILL NOT MOVE COTTON MILLS TO THE SOUTH

BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 8.—New England manufacturers of cotton goods, who contemplated moving their mills to Southern States, where they would be close to the source of their raw material and where they expected to find an abundance of cheap labor, have decided to remain in the North. The decision is due in a large degree to the report of Tilton & Son, of Savannah, Ga., that it would be impossible to operate their mills with colored help, after, as claimed, they had given this labor a fair, extended and impartial trial. Wages paid for this labor is said to be from 47 to 59 per cent cheaper in the South than in the North.

Labor—1923.
Occupation Wages, etc.,

Mississippi.

NEGROES' QUEST FOR "FAIR PLAY" EXODUS FACTOR

Wages and Right to Vote Are Motives.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 11, 1923

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

Vicksburg, Miss., Sept. 10.—[Special.]—The big urge in the Negro migration is economic, high wages in the north, but in the background are other factors of old standing. The ballot as a motive seems negligible, except in the case of the educated Negro. The plantation hands are not moving north because they want a chance to vote, although the colored politicians insist suffrage privileges are a chief reason for the population shift. The desire for better educational facilities, for fairer treatment in the courts, and for a "square deal" in the settlement of labor's return from its work all propel the black man northward.

The high wages and the labor vacuum in the industrial centers, until the recent slackening, have served as opportunity. The exodus of the Negro laborer has brought noticeable improvement in the dealings between the two races.

Planters "Square" Now.

"Whites and blacks have exploited each other," said one leading citizen of Greenville. "The unprincipled planters stole from the plantation Negro in settling at Christmas, and the Negroes stole all they could lay hands on. It's changing. The best planters had no trouble keeping their hands, but the bad ones found their fields deserted, and they have had to mend their ways.

"The great majority of the planters now give settlements instead of handing the tenants what they feel like at Christmas time. But get this straight. Whatever stealing has been done, both sides have played to an even break."

"Brutal treatment has been the fundamental cause of the exodus; the labor demand in the north was just an opportunity to escape," said a recognized Negro leader in one delta community. "But," he added, "a change has come. The white folks have become wondrous kind. It means, I believe, the giving of opportunities for advancement long denied to the Negro."

"Legree Way Out of Date."

A planter in another town put it thus: "Undoubtedly many planters treated their Negroes unfairly, just as the unprincipled exploit the ignorant and helpless everywhere. But they've stopped it. Sentiment is strongly against it, and if they kept it up they couldn't get labor for their fields. The old Simon Legree stuff went out long, long ago. Doubtless in districts remote from the cities there have been rough ones who bullied their Negroes and sometimes treated them with violence.

"But it's too easy for the Negro to get away for that to prevail any longer. There are too many roads and too many flivvers on the pike. Legree is as out of date as is old Uncle Tom himself."

Mississippi has just finished a state political campaign in which the racial problem was not paraded as an issue for the first time in many years. As one talks with planters they invariably ask for information on wages in the north. Down here at present plantation wages are running $1.25 and $1.50 a day, cabin and food furnished. All necessaries are free except clothing, and two pairs of overalls are habiliments sufficient for a year for the ordinary cotton hand.

In some upper delta towns cotton pickers are making $2 a day, and $2 is paid for other unskilled workers. This might perhaps be compared with $60 a month offered for experienced help on some dairy farms within 100 miles of Chicago, according to Canal street information two weeks ago.

Labor — 1923.

Occupation, Wages, etc.

Nebraska.

THE NEGRO IN NEBRASKA.

Commercial Appeal

Omaha, Neb., Aug. 27.

To The Commercial Appeal:

If the southern negro who is preparing to come "north" for a job knew the reception which he will meet he would not only think twice but would think four or five times before he started. That is, if the situation in Omaha is a criterion of that existing in other northern cities.

9-1-23

There has been a big influx of southern negroes in Omaha for a number of months. But most of them have gone on to other places, after unsuccessfully looking for "jobs" around Omaha. Many of them said they had come on to Omaha after first trying one or two other cities without success. There is little room in Omaha for negro workmen. One labor agency last week reported between 75 and 100 negroes each week applying for jobs.

"But we have no jobs for negroes; we don't want to handle them," says the manager of the agency.

The big South Omaha packing houses are the biggest employers of negro labor in this part of the country. About 1,000 negroes are employed in the packing houses—as compared with some 10,000 or more white men in the same packing plants. But with the exception of the packing houses, about the only work negroes secure in Omaha is that of porter, janitor, etc.

Not all the packing houses will employ negroes.

Memphis, Tenn.

The regular wage of a negro laborer in Omaha is 35c per hour—after he lands the job. And by the time he finishes paying his weekly bills, he hasn't very much left.

For instance, coal, cheap coal, sells in Omaha at about $7 per ton. And when the temperature drops to away below zero, the stoves and furnaces simply eat up that coal. Fires usually are started up in September and are kept going until the following May. The negro, unaccustomed to the terrific cold of a northern winter, finds he has a mighty hard time to keep warm, no matter how much coal he shovels in.

While the negro, as a race, is looked upon with a kindlier feeling in the north than in the south, the individual negro does not meet with as good a reception in Omaha, or any other northern city, as he does in those southern cities where he is known. In Omaha the law sends negro children to school with white children; it permits a negro to sit where he pleases in a street car; but the negro cannot go into a white man's restaurant, he cannot step up to a white man's soda fount and drink, and some years ago, when Will Brown, a negro, was accused of an assault on a white woman, the mob which surrounded the jail for hours finally burned the building, causing a loss of about $500,000, got possession of the negro, shot him, hanged him to a telephone pole in the heart of the city, burned the body in a fire on the street at one corner of the post office and for hours dragged the remains through the principal streets of the city.

On Nebraska farms, negroes are practically unknown. There is no demand for negro farm hands in this state. At times farm hands are very much in demand in Nebraska—but never the negro farm hand. Of the 10,000 negroes in Nebraska, practically none are on the farms. There are no negro farmers in this state.

More than half the negroes in Nebraska are in the city of Omaha. And the packing houses are the principal employers of negro labor. At present there is absolutely no demand, even in the packing houses, for negroes, so employment agencies report. In fact, there is no demand for any kind of labor in packing houses at this season of the year.

Very few negroes are used in the building trades in Omaha. As mortar mixers or hod carrier, some of them find employment, but that is about all.

T. R. PORTER.

Missouri.

Labor- 1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.

PULLMAN CO., EMPLOYS NEGRO MECHANICS IN THEIR SHOPS HERE

In studying the industrial and employment situation of the Colored people of St. Louis, a representative of the Argus visited the Pullman Shops located at Bircher Street, near Union Avenue.

This plant covers several acres of ground and employs nearly a thousand men, the majority of whom are Colored. In this shop the Colored and white work side by side, seemingly in perfect harmony pursuing the same trades, such as machinists, plumbers, painters, carpenters, cabinet makers, upholsters, etc. In fact, every line of work required in such shops.

The management is well pleased with the Negro workers and the production is "satisfactory."

And while the experiment is less than six months, the organization is working fine. Everything is being done to help those who will work.

A few days ago, by a vote of all the workers, both white and Colored, eleven Colored men were chosen to represent the workers at a three-days' Conference with the officials of the Company on working conditions, etc. The results were satisfactory, according to reports. On this committee were: Thos. J. R. Wilson, E. K. Boyd, Boyd L. Wilson, Geo. W. Shaw, Burt Oggs, J. A. Madden, C. B. Newton, J. L. Simms, W. Moore, L. Adams, H. Fluis and E. C. Gaither.

An interesting feature about this plant is that a Colored man is found in every department. Several foremen. A clerk in office and Thos A. Crenshaw, as Conciliator. Mr Crenshaw holds what is regarded as the most important position, in that it is his duty to see that workers are on the job and to keep up the morale. He is called a "diplomat" because that while he enjoys the confidence of the Company, he also enjoys the full confidence of the men.

The Pullman Co., employs more Colored men than any other industry in the world. They have been faithful along other lines and why not in this new field

URBAN LEAGUE ISSUES FACTS ON EMPLOYMENT

Outlook For Negroes In St. Louis Industries During Coming Month Unfavorable According To Present Indications.

HANDLE JOBS WITH CARE

Persons Employed Are Urged To Hold Fast By Giving Good Service. Winter Lull Is Seen In Business Activities.

By Wm. V. Kelley, Industrial Sec'y.

From all previous records the Employment Department of the Urban League, September of this year was the heaviest month in its history. 659 persons, 293 males and 366 females, were employed through our office. The number of placements, however, was exceedeed by the number of requests for help, this number being 744. From these figures one would take it that the demand was greater than the supply. This is not true. Our total attendance for the month was 1,274.

These figures plainly indicate a serious problem. This problem is furnished by both employer and employee. Fully 87% of the men applying for work are seeking jobs as porters or janitors and refuse to take any other kind of work. In this instance the supply is greater than the demand. In the case of chauffeurs: most employers are looking for a chauffeur and houseman in one man. Here the demand is greater than the supply; and the task of placing those willing to serve is made harder because of the fact that all employers insist on the person sent them furnishing city reference. This cannot be done by newcomers.

The case with the women is slightly different. About 75% of the women apply for work as maids and general houseworkers. The demand and supply in this line of work are more nearly balanced than in other branches of industry; but here the trouble comes as a matter of wages. A large number of employers include room and board as part payment for general houseworkers; consequently they are unwilling to pay enough to interest the person who prefers to live at home. General housework alwas goes begging in our office.

The supply of skilled labor is always inadequate to the demand. Skilled labor is so much in demand, a man with a trade finds a little need for our office. Unskilled laborers are finding it a bit harder now than during the past three months. Men without trades are being laid off in most of the industries. The saturation point was reached in a number of the factories early in September.

To the thinking element of Negroes and whites, especially Negroes, the labor situation in St. Louis is regarded as extremely vital with the approach of winter. The seriousness of the situation is aggravated by the flood of Negroes from the South, which to date gives no indication of an ebb.

Although it is generally agreed that the country is nearer normal economically than it has been since 1915-16, the late war has left the Negro with an intensified social, economic and political restlessness. The Urban League concerns itself largely with the social and economic phases of the situation.

Under normal conditions work is less plentiful in winter than in other seasons, because of the very nature of our industrial life. This is true where the population is more or less constant, or fixed; but in St. Louis the population is constantly growing, and the disturbing element is that this growth is labor and not capital. The question which we face is whether or not this labor can be utilized this winter, and if it can be, will it be?

If asked for an answer we can make a statement of facts from which one can draw his or her own inference. Our records show a slight cut in wages within the past thirty days. A government bulletin issued October 8th tells us that the cost of food in St. Louis increased 4% between August 15th and Sept. 15th, 1923, and 6% since September, 1922.

It is interesting and highly encouraging to note the willingness of the white people of the St. Louis Industrial District to co-operate with us, and at times, we are quite embarassed when reports come to us relative to the service of a few of our clients. This, we feel, is a concomitant of the heavy influx from the South, and will be diminished with the adjustment of migrants to their new homes and new modes of living.

Labor—1923.
Occupation. Wages. etc.

New York.

Red Caps Form One of the Largest Groups of Negro Labor Employed in North

252 Men Are Employed in This Capacity at the Pennsylvania Station Alone, Serving Also Long Island R. R. —Men Perform Splendidly a Varied Line of Duty.

The Pennsylvania and Long Island Railroads are among the largest employees of colored labor in the North, and one of the most important and interesting groups of their colored employees is the Red Caps empyoled at the Pennsylvania station. This group numbers 252 men who are employed primarily to assist passengers to and from the trains. But in addition to their regular work, these men do a great deal toward directing and helping colored visitors coming into the city. As they are the first colored persons a stranger sees upon arriving at this station, they are readily called upon for all kinds of favors and advice.

The present system of employing Negro Red Caps at the Pennsylvania station began about eight years ago with W. H. Robinson and Fred N. Carter as captains and W. C. Boyd as assistant. Mr. Robinson is a former North Carolinian and for eighteen years was a Pullman porter before taking up his present position. Mr. Carter was formerly from Norfolk, Va., and was employed as a messenger before he became a Red Cap, and Mr. Boyd, who is a graduate of Tuskegee, has been in the employ of this company for more than twenty-five years.

The Red Caps have a peculiar status with the Pennsylvania road, as they are not actually employees. Up to May, 1921, they received a wake of $20 per month and the tips they could earn, but since that time this sum has been discontinued. The only compensation they now receive is in tips. However, the men are bonded by the company, and by paying the sum of 75 cents monthly became members of the company's relief association, from which they receive a death benefit of $250, and 50 cents per day for any disability.

The men at this station are kept very busy, as there are more than two hundred Long Island trains daily, and the trains with six or eight Pullman cars cominb from the South usually have a lot of baggage. They are divided into six shifts with an average of forty men on each shift, and are assigned to a particular section of the station. Most of them are married and have been in the railroad's service for a number of years. However, there are a number of men employed during the summer woh are taking professions in some of the leading schools during the winter. Howard, Lincoln, Columbia, New York University, Amherst, and a number of smaller schools are represented among the Red Caps this summer.

Most of the men like their jobs, but all have one fault to find with the company. This fault was summed up by one of the Red Caps recently when he said:

"During my time here, I have seen white men come here with little ability and without any training for their jobs who have been advanced to positions of authority, but however much the colored employee may know, he is not given any opportunity for promotion."

By their conduct on or off the job, the Red Cans have won the respect and admiration of the general public. During the World War they contributed to all of the drives and are always ready to contribute to any charitable purpose.

Labor—1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.,

Pennsylvania.

NEGROES TEND TO INDUSTRIES

HARRISBURG PA TELEGRAPH
AUGUST 22 1923

Not Many of Those Coming From the South Are Going on the Farms of Pennsylvania

As a result of the special survey made by the State Bureau of Employment in regard to the influx of negro labor from Southern states, of which Pennsylvania gets a very large percentage, it is found the trend of these people is toward the industrial communities and that comparatively few go to work on the fields. While there are quite a few native negro laborers who work on farms in this section only a very small number of the newcomers take to the fields. The opportunities open to them in any event are seasonal. And most of them are well filled by the native negroes, some of whose fathers worked for people who employ them.

Reports from the bulk of the counties show the same conditions as in this part of Pennsylvania. Negro labor, however, is in demand in industries, such as steel mills, brick plants, paper mills and quarries.

The report of the Harrisburg district transmitted by Director R. J. Peters to Secretary Royal Meeker, shows skilled labor in demand in many lines, but a decrease in demands for unskilled labor unless "steady and reliable."

Reports on various lines show the following:

"Building and Construction—Residential building has shown a very pronounced improvement, many of which are being built in all sections of this district. We have received information from authentic sources that there are more homes being built in the suburban and rural sections than in the cities. Very few operations of any magnitude have been started recently. In fact, the only new work started in the past few weeks has been State road and municipal work. All the larger operations of industrial concerns and public utility corporations are in full swing absorbing all available competent mechanics. Conditions in the building and construction line are more stabilized and have reached a point where only real competent mechanics and laborers are employed.

"Domestic, Personal Service, Hotel and Restaurant—The supply of domestic day workers exceeds the demand. Institutions are seriously handicapped because female help cannot be procured. Hotels and restaurants request dish washers occasionally, while the supply of other help exceeds the demand.

"Food and Tobacco—Very few regular factory workers requested. Occasional demand for boys and girls to do seasonal work such as candling eggs and help in the shipping department during the rush period. Most of the requests received from the food houses have been for bookkeepers, stenographers and clerical workers. Tobacco factories are still in the market for experienced packers, bunch makers and strippers.

"Lumber — Lumber wants and planing mills report business more regular. Heretofore, at times the wants were so heavy and pressing that it was necessary to increase the working forces and working hours.

"Metal and Machinery—Metal industry, as well as the steel mills, are working to capacity. Their present wants are mostly for the laboring class. Although skilled and semi-skilled men are needed, the demands are not as urgent as they have been for this type of men.

"Mines and Quarries—All qualified miners can readily be placed providing they can pass the State examination. The supply of applicants for this work is limited. Those who do apply are mostly from the Southern states. Quarries are unable to operate fully because experienced and reliable help cannot be procured.

"Transportation and Public Utilities—For a very long time we had been receiving urgent demands from the railroads for workmen of all classes. Recently, the railroads called us and advised that until further notice, no workmen except truckers and track hands would be hired. Public utilities are co-operating and at the present time only have openings for construction workmen, such as laborers, linemen, pipe fitters, etc."

Negro Printer Wins Promotion.

(Preston News Service)

PITTSBURGH, PA., Aug. 17—There has been a lot of talk about the Negro not getting a chance, but this has been recently disproved by the promotion of John L. Clark, who set out 14 years ago to become one of the best Negro printers in the country. Mr. Clark worked in the shops by day and attended school at night studying the art and science of the printing craft. He learned the trade from printer's devil to assistant layout man, both by practice and theory. He was content to work hard and study, fitting himself and perfecting his knowledge of the printing craft without complaining of the odds against him on account of his color.

He told a reporter of this service that: "I never felt it just or even fair to the white man to complain that he does not give the Negro a chance. I knew that I did not know enough about printing to demand a job in a first class shop; but when I was satisfied that I knew my trade thoroughly I made application for a job in the best shop in Pittsburgh. They needed a printer and told me that they would give me a job. I was given a very difficult piece of work. I noticed that the manager smiled when it was handed to me. After I had been with this concern for several months one of the foremen told me that they had expected to be like most Negroes, not fully prepared. I am still studying for as long as a man is a printer he must study to keep abreast with the fine points of the craft. I am also making a special study of advertising."

He finally admitted that among his clients were the Strait-Tex Chemical Company, and then handed me some of the recent literature and advertisements he had produced for them. They were certainly master-pieces of art-printing.

STEEL MILL NEGROES FIND HOPES BLASTED

Work in Blazing Furnaces, Sleep Six in a Room.

GET $5 DAILY—WEAR RAGS

Reporter Works With Those Who Ride "Prosperity Special" and Tells of How "Sitting Down" Jobs Never Materialize.

BI INDUSTRIALIST.

(The following article, describing conditions met with by negroes from the south who ride the "prosperity special" to the mills of the United States Steel Corporation at Pittsburgh and Gary, is written by a special investigator for the Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal. The reporter worked with the negroes in order to get the real facts.)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., July 10.—Employment agents throughout the south, capitalizing Judge Gary's speeches that work in mills of the United States Steel Corporation is easy, are prevailing upon colored laborers to accept shipment to these mills.

Several of the thousands of colored men who are being sent to the corporation's works at Homestead, Pa., to perform hard work at 40 cents an hour claim they were told they would have "easy, sitting down" jobs. They were to have good pay, ideal living conditions.

Newspaper clippings of statements made by Judge Gary are posted conspicuously about employment agencies in Charleston, S. C., Birmingham, Ala., and Cincinnati, Ohio, the new arrivals claim.

From Mill to Mill.

For several weeks these men have been migrating from mill to mill of the corporation searching for the easy work. They have found only labor of the hardest nature.

One of the men said he had been promised a "two lever" job in Tennessee by an agent of the corporation: All he would have to do would be to sit on the cushion of a crane and operate the two controlling levers, the agent said.

The man, Washington, found himself helping bricklayers in the open hearth department, repairing the big furnaces. Gas in them is at such high pressure that it burns through the brick walls. It is the duty of the bricklayers to replace bricks in these holes while the heat is on. The job is said to be as hot as any in the steel business.

The whitehot blast pushes from the hole, burning, scorching, searing.

Washington passed bricks to the craftsmen two days. Then he was sent to help two men who were patching a hole on top of one of the furnaces. The same blast was coming through the hole, but there was no escaping to fresh air, as when on the ground. The bricklayers had the hottest job. Washington stood back from the blast and handed them the bricks.

Perspiration flowed from him in a steady stream. Two-inch pine planks on which the men were standing blazed into flames. Washington came down and got transferred to the common labor gang. Working on this two days, at shoveling bricks and other objects out of a hole, he tired and lay down flat on his back.

The foreman argued, swore and then threatened to fire. Finally he took Washington to the office of Supt. John S. Oursler to effect his discharge.

In 10 minutes Washington returned and again lay down, this time unmolested.

"The other boss wouldn't let him fire me," he told the reporter. "They're afraid I'll tell the others back home what work here is like."

Keep Nature of Work Secret.

Men of the machine shop declare that company officials either were inspired, as Washington claimed, by a desire to keep the nature of mill work secret or were showing favoritism to the man because of his race.

"If he had been a white man he'd have gone out in a hurry," said one. "They're favoring him because they want to fill the mill with cheap labor."

In several departments of the Homestead works colored laborers compose 40 to 50 per cent of the labor forces. Most of the labor gangs are made up exclusively of them. They are coming and going all the time. Forty of them quit the day I got a job.

A statement made public June 24 by the Georgia Bankers' Association says that 77,500 colored workers have been shipped away from that state in six months.

Two colored laborers and I were helping a bricklayer repair a soaking pit. This was a large furnace like structure beneath the floor in a building containing many of them. Redhot ingots of 25 tons were carried by crane from moulds to the pits to be superheated for rolling. The laborers found an off moment while the boss was absent and reclined on benches. George slept. "Don't you get any sleep at night?" I asked.

How They Live.

"How can you in that dump?" responded Clitus. "Six men in one room, children squalling, women yelling, in the other hootch, crowd yelling and piano going upstairs. Fighting in the street."

"Why live in such a place?"

"Where you going to get any better?" he asked, looking down at ripped shoes, torn 'rousers. "I moved four times. I ain't making money here enough to do any better. Time I pay $8.50 a week as it is and send $8 to the wife and children, pay for laundry and one thing and another my $24 salary is spent."

The bricklayers having by far the hottest jobs receive 84 cents an hour, laborers 40¼ cents.

SOUTHERN NEGROES CROWD HOMES HERE

The Pittsburgh Courier
8/11/23

The steadily increasing number of Negroes arriving from the South was discussed at a meeting of the Philadelphia Housing Association, held at 120 South Fifteenth street.

Representatives of welfare agencies reported the influx is causing great congestion in certain sections of the city, principally in South Philadelphia.

The outstanding inducement for the Negroes is the higher wages paid in the north, although the campaign of terror waged by the Ku Klux Klan was cited by one skilled workman, who said he gave up a lucrative position in the South to accept a job here. The prevailing wage scale for laborers in the South was reported $12 a week, with a ten-hour day. Housmaids get $6 a week in Georgia and $10 in Pennsylvania. Negro building mechanics do not receive as high a wage here as do white mechanics.

Recent allegations as to the increase of crime here among the Negro migrants was denied at the meeting and it was reported that 50 per cent are affiliated with churches. Fraternal affiliation has shown a decrease during the last month of about 20 per cent. The greater number of people come from the small towns and rural sections of the South.

The agencies represented at the meeting were the Armstrong Association, the Travelers' Aid Society, the Philadelphia Health Council, the Society for Organizing Charity, the Octavia Hill Association, the Council of Negro Agencies and the Welfare Federation. Representatives of the department of public health present assured the agencies that any necessary steps to bring about a correction in sanitary and health conditions in the crowded district would be taken.

Labor — 1923.
Occupation, Wages, etc.,
South Carolina.

Greenville, S. C., News

SEP 29 1923 S. C. 1

PHILADELPHIA'S ATTRACTIONS

A Greenwood negro who is above the average in intelligence and has no mean power of observation makes this comment on the exodus to Philadelphia: "Colored people go to Philadelphia because of the good pay and some of them go because it is as wet as any place can be. Blockade or bootleg whiskey can be had at thirty cents the half pint and pretty good whiskey can be bought by the drink in saloons that are always open." It is but fair to him to say that he does not drink. His pay as a driver for a packing concern was twenty-five dollars the week and he says he saved nearly fifteen dollars each week by "watching himself close." He has no desire to go back, however, as he says living conditions are too "rough" for him. Housing conditions are bad, awfully crowded everywhere—despite orders of the Health officers as many as six persons, and often more, are occupants of one room. Cheap houses to rent to negroes are being run up day by day, the rents offering large returns to the builders but these houses, he says are no better than what can be had cheaper here and the weather up there makes them unbearable in winter.

"Greenwood and South Georgia" are known in every police court in Philadelphia, he added. More representatives of this town seem to be there than from any other place. "The ones that loafed down here are loafing up there," he concluded.

He is more than satisfied to finish his days in Greenwood.—Greenwood Index-Journal.

Virginia.

Labor — 1923.
Occupation. Wages. etc.

Greatest Shipbuilder Praises Race Skilled Labor

When the reconditioned liner Leviathan points her prow to the Chesapeake Bay and passes out of the Virginia Capes for Boston navy yard there to receive the finishing touches that will make her the emblem of workmanship in American yards, there will have been added another chapter to that ever increasing volume of the skilled Negro laborer's contribution to American industry.

Since the Leviathan was berthed at the Newport News ship yard about a year ago, then a mammoth army transport, to be transformed into the most majestic merchantman ever traversing the seas and flying from her mainmast the stars and stripes, there have been employed upon her as many as 5,000 artisans at an average of 2,600 per day, putting upon the giant craft the magic touch of American ingenuity.

Of this army of workers that wrought so splendidly to the pride and glory of the nation in converting the huge hulk into an ocean palace the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot in a news comment Sunday said in part:

"The men have gone about the work of making the Leviathan the greatest vessel afloat with as much interest as if they owned her. Mechanics, plumbers, electricians, steamfitters, boiler makers, painters, carpenters, and whatnot,, working by the hundreds have shown a real patriotic pride in rushing the big ship to completion.

"On a recent inspection of the vessel by shipping board officials, Homer Ferguson, president of the shipyard, said the men had learned to love the Leviathan. These men wish to remain with the vessel. They have learned everything about her construction to a point where they can keep it in perfect condition while in the crew.

"The Newport News shipyard is the largest employer of color skilled labor in the world, and these men handle every part of the Leviathan as a mother would a child," Mr. Ferguson said. "Only American or naturalized labor has been employed.

"In making the job what it should be, Mr. Ferguson explained that men in high official positions, who have not worked with their hands for 20 years, have spent day and night aboard the liner in some particular position. Just now more than 2,500 men are working day and night so that the vessel can sail from the yard on schedule."

Of this army of patriotic workers are hundreds of colored men skilled in the trades of steel fabrication and erection. And whatever shores America's finest ship shall touch in the future to that land will be carried the highest testimony to the efficiency of Nero skilled labor.

Mr. Ferguson's splendid comment on the quality of his colored employes' work comes at a most significant time. It, with the reverberation of the Newport News Negro mechanics' tool will be heard in the ears of the captains of industry in the North and West. And in the rendering of the service that the shipbuilder credits them with having rendered at this particular time it is conceded by colored people of the entire South that the Newport News men have contributed immeasurably to the enhancement of the opportunities of their thousands of brothers who have recently migrated North and who must be molded from cotton hands into skilled laborers.

Colored skilled mecnanics are no experiment at the Newport News shipyard. They have been employed there for years and America's finest battleships bear the marks of their handiwork. Mr. Ferguson has praised them before. But at no time in the history of the race could his remark concerning the competency of his colored employes have a greater significance than at present. Now is the first time in the history of the nation that in peace times, northern and western industry has opened wide its doors to race skilled labor. Its general employment in those sections is yet in the experimental stage, and any statement on the question of its efficiency coming from the world's greatest employer of that kind of labor is significant indeed.

Labor — 1923.
Peonage.

Georgia.

ESCAPED PEON TELLS OF MISTREATMENT ON WILLIAMS' FARM

(Special to Pittsburgh American)

ATLANTA, Ga., June 29.—A story of whippings by night behind padlocked doors and other ill treatment of Negro laborers on the Williams "murder farm" in Jasper county, was told to the Fulton county police Thursday by John McMillan, a Negro, who says he escaped from the farm three weeks ago.

McMillan was arrested Wednesday afternoon when he attempted to sell a cow at the Atlanta stockyards. Stockyard employes became suspicious when he agreed to accept $10 for the animal and notified the county police. McMillan was arrested and lodged in the Fulton county jail on a charge of cow stealing, when he could not explain how he came to possess the animal.

Thursday morning he was questioned by Chief Mathieson and other county officers, and bit by bit the story of his alleged experiences at the Williams farm came out.

He said that eight months ago he and his brother went to the farm when an agent named Jenkins came to Atlanta and offered them $100 each. He said six or eight other Negroes were carried to the farm at the same time.

Three weeks ago, he said, he and his brother determined to escape, and instead of going to the field in the morning, they made their way into a swamp, where they hid all day, making their escape after nightfall. Their mother was still on the farm, he said. He said he and his brother walked all the way from Jasper county to Atlanta.

County officers declared they doubted the Negro's story, and were contemplating plans to send him to Jasper county for identification. The Negro protested vigorously against being returned, declaring he would be killed if the farm operators got hold of him again.

He declared that he and his brother were lodged in a small house with eighteen other Negroes, and that at night the doors of this house were padlocked. He declared he and his brother and the other Negroes were whipped unmercifully whenever they faltered in their performance of farm duties

NEGRO PRISONER CLAIMS HE LIVED ON DEATH FARM

John McMillan Pleads Against Return To Georgia Plantation Of Williams

ATLANTA, Ga., June 21.—John McMillan, a negro, held by the county police on charges of cow stealing, today told county officers he had escaped from the John S. Williams farm in Jasper county, where 11 negroes were alleged to have been put to death several years ago.

According to Chief Mathieson of Jasper county McMillan protested vigorously when informed he was to be taken back for identification, declaring he would be killed if the farm operators got hold of him.

McMillan alleged, Chief Mathieson said, that he and his brother were lodged in a small house with 18 other negroes and that at night the doors of this house were padlocked. He declared the negroes were whipped severely when they faltered in the performance of their work.

County officers stated they doubted the negro's story and contemplated sending him to Jasper county for identification.

Says Many Are Held On Ga. "Murder Farm"

ATLANTA, Ga., June 28—Agents of the department of justice may conduct an investigation into the story told county police Thursday by John McMillan, of conditions under which he claims to have been held to work on the Williams farm in Jasper county.

The man gave Chief George Mathieson, of the county police, the names of other persons whom he stated were held in a condition of involuntary servitude.

No Truth in Negro's Story of Ill-Treatment On the Williams Farm

Editor Constitution: I am writing you in regard to a news item which appeared in some Georgia papers which does some innocent and helpless people a very grave injustice. I refer to the statement of a negro who, under arrest in Atlanta, in which he told very horrible tales of being whipped and otherwise cruelly treated at the Williams farm in this county.

As a matter of fact there has been on the Williams farm no negroes at all for nearly twelve months, with the exception of an old cripple negro man who has steadfastly refused to move for the sole reason that he feels a sympathy for Mrs. Williams and her little children. He is there now and has told me that he expects to stay there and if necessary starve with them. There were no farming operations on the farm last year and there are none this year.

Mrs. Williams is there with four little children, the oldest of which is 12 years old, trying to keep body and soul together. She is as consecrated a Christian as it has ever been my pleasure to know, and neither she nor these little children with her are responsible for what has been or has not been done. Her life has been wrecked. She has but one hope, and that is that she may keep these little ones together until they are old enough and able to feed themselves. No one knows or can know how her sensative woman's heart hurts when some newspaper reporter, with no purpose other than to print some yellow sensational story, rushes into print with a lie that he thinks is news.

This is not the first time I have raised my voice in appeal for this family. I am their friend and shall continue to be, but I want to say in the same breath that my sympathy is not maudlin sentiment. The courts have said that Mr. Williams is guilty of crime and, though I am their friend, I would not if I had the power release John Williams today. But I would to God that the papers would put a stop to the publishing of articles that hurt to the quick these helpless and innocent ones.

The people here are asking that you, because your words carry weight and force, write the truth in regard to this poor, crushed, broken and ruined family.

J. J. WINBURN.
Ordinary Jasper County.
Monticello, Ga., June 22.

Escaped Man Tells Of Acts Of Brutality

White Overseers Seduce Young Girls as Helpless Parents Look On, Letter States—Both Men and Women in State of Nudity.

NEW YORK, Nov. 15.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, is taking up with the Federal Department of Justice a communication from a Negro escaped from the State of Georgia, telling of peonage conditions there. The letter answers the questions as to why colored people are leaving the South. It is as follows:

11-17-23

"Gentlemen:

"As I can not read or write I got a friend to write this. Never in school in my life. I worked on this man's (name withheld for Federal action) farm all my life. Never did get a cent for my labor until I ran away. I am 35 years old. All we Negroes got to eat was corn bread and bacon and few clothes. Four to 10-12 lived in room shack. His overseers carried stick, whip and gun. They whipped children, women and men. They would make men and women strip their clothes down and get on their knees and sometime tie them to plow and whip them from 25 to 100 lashes at time. You dare to ask for money or anything else! I am getting paid once every week and buying a house; my wife has a job also, and children going to school.

"I did not know there was living in the world for Negroes. If I send you my name would it be any danger of carrying me back to Georgia? My own children never, never got any clothing scarcely.

"The overseers ordered all the boys last of March or the first of April, 15 years and down to leave off their pants and stay in their shirt tails until cold weather, about the first of November. So what do you think of the Negroes leaving? Shirts generally come to the top of the knees. Girls could not hide their nakedness. Overseers seduced any young girl they wanted and parents could not help themselves. I would send my name, but I don't want to go back this farm. I did never commit a crime."

The white man accused of peonage lives in Atlanta, Ga., and has a farm from which many Negroes are reported to have fled in recent months.

Negro Claims Mother Is Held in Servitude On Williams' Farm

Agents of the department of justice may conduct an investigation into the story told county police Thursday by John McMillan, negro of conditions under which he claims to have been held to work on the Williams' farm in Jasper county.

The negro gave Chief George Mathieson, of the county police, the names of other negroes whom he stated, were held in a condition of involuntary servitude.

McMillan was jailed by police in connection with an alleged attempt to dispose of a cow to a live stock dealer. It is said by the police that the negro tried to sell the cow for the small sum of $10, which aroused the suspicions of the dealer.

Investigation of McMillan's story was begun Thursday by Chief Mathieson. The chief stated that he doubted the negro's story. Further investigation will be made today.

Mississippi.

1923.

Peonage.

HUNT PEONAGE CASE.

Affair At Hattiesburg Arouses Activity of Federal Agents.

JACKSON, Miss., June 1—Federal agents are on the look-out for cases of peonage in pursuance of alleged to occur in the wake of the labor exodus. The only case thus far reported, however, is the alleged holding in peonage of a white man named A. J. Walley by Bryant McDevitt, a well-to-do planter near Bassfield in Jeff Davis County. Walley claims that he was intimidated and held against his will by McDevitt because he owned McDevitt a debt. No violence is claimed but he alleges that he was afraid to leave the place because of threats made by McDevitt.

A habeas corpus proceeding to secure his release was instituted at Hattiesburg recently and a government agent investigated the matter and arrested McDevitt and had him placed under $2,000 bond to await the action of the federal grand jury here in October next.

Peonage cases involving negroes were not uncommon several years ago, and caused considerable government activity, but none have been reported recently. The Walley case is the first on record involving a white man.

Labor—1923.
Peonage

Louisiana.

Colored Woman Victim Of Louisiana's Slavery

A report made public by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, gives details of the recent Louisiana peonage case exposed through the investigation undertaken by the New Orleans Branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

The victims of the peonage were Mrs. Emma Johnson and her two nine-year-old daughters, of Picayune, Miss., who were enticed to Tangipahoa Parish in Louisiana, with the promise of transportation and board and pay of 1 cent for every box of strawberries picked. A labor agent and a colored woman enticed them.

When they had arrived at Tickfaw, La., they were carried to the strawberry farm of Benjamin Kincheon, nine miles from the station, and held in a state of slavery, with no sleeping accommodations and poor food, chiefly of corn bread and syrup, and were forced to work from sunrise until sundown. Hezzie Pringle, the woman's brother, found his way to the farm and offered to pay whatever debt his sister and her children owed Kincheon if he would release them. Mr. Kincheon beat Pringle with a club and would have shot him if his wife had not begged him to spare Pringle. The wife hid the revolver, enabling Pringle to escape to New Orleans where he reported the case to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The association presented the facts to United States Attorney Burns, who ordered Federal agents to bring the berry pickers on the Kincheon farm to New Orleans for questioning and to arrest the colored woman who had enticed them. These orders were carried out and Mrs. Emma Johnson, her two nine-year-old daughters, and several other people were brought before the Federal courts in New Orleans.

This case was handled by Dr. G. W. Lucas, president of the New Orleans Branch, N. A. A. C. P. and by the grievance committee of the branch, composed of Messrs. Jas. F. Gayle, F. B. Smith and Jas. A. Sample.

United States Deputy Marshal Kinler and two department of justice men who left here late today for Independence, to serve the warrant also were instructed to arrest a negro woman who is alleged to have enticed berry pickers to Tangipahoa Parish with promises of transportation, board and a wage of one cent for each box of berries picked.

Women Reported In Peonage In South

Pittsburgh Post
5-19-23

NEW ORLEANS, La., May 17—Dan Pitchen, white, strawberry king has been arrested charged with holding colored women in peonage, and compelling them to pick strawberries.

PEONAGE CHARGE LAID AT BERRY KING'S DOOR

5-5-23

Louisiana Case Brings Warrant by Federal Officers.

Commercial Appeal

(By the Associated Press.)

NEW ORLEANS, May 4.—Reports received by United States District Attorney Burns that strawberry pickers in Tangipahoa Parish were being held in a state of involuntary servitude resulted late today in the issuance by United States Commissioner Browne of a warrant for the arrest of Benjamin Kinchen, of Independence, one of Louisiana's strawberry kings, on a charge of peonage.

It was charged that Kinchen is holding Emma Johnson, a negro woman, of Picayune, Miss., and her two daughters in "a state of involuntary servitude" in violence of the fedral law. The district attorney announced he had ordered a sweeping investigation, and the department of justice agents had been instructed to bring all pickers in the Kinchen fields to New Orelans.

Labor—1923.

Peonage.

Maryland.

Cheltenham Is Under Fire

Organized Labor Heads Tell Governor Boys' Labor Is Exploited at Institution; Peonage Charged—Boys Hired Out For 16 Cents A Day

Governor Ritchie will thoroughly investigate charges of exploitation and peonage said to exist at Cheltenham, a State aided reform atory for colored boys he told labor leaders Tuesday.

Following a complaint of a group of labor chieftains comprising Henry L. Broening local president; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; H. L. Eichelberger, president of the State Federation of Labor and Charles R. Weigand, secretary of the local Federation, that the labor of these boys was being exploited in the interest of a few men and firms and that virtual State of peonage existed, Governor Ritchie promised a sweeping investigation.

Complaints Long Standing

For some time complaints of mistreatment, exploitation of the boys labor, lack of educational advantages, improper food and brutality have eminated from this institution which is partially supported by the State of Maryland. Boys coming from there have told harrowing tales of mistreatment and excessive hard work on farms on which they had been hired by contract.

According to President Broening these outside contractors are allowed to work these boys at 16 and 18 cents per day in outside broom factories. Although officers of Cheltenham profess that the boys are thus being taught trades it is pointed out that such is the treatment they receive that none of them follow the trade after leaving. This is also true of the farm work.

Instead of educating these boys and teaching them useful trades, said Mr. Broening, they are being utilized to beat down ligitimate labor values to the enrichment of a few individuals and forms.

We feel that this should not be allowed in a state aided institution. Governor Ritchie has asked for a complete brief of the complaints.

Raise Question In Court

Last week in Part Two of the Criminal Court Lewis Marshall, an inmate of Cheltenham was brought in on a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Stanton when his attorney Ephriam Jackson told the Judge that Lewis had been placed out on a farm. Lewis also testified to this, whereupon Judge Stanton, declaring that if he found that the education of these boys were being neglected in the interest of outside employers he would take cognizance of the fact. Lewis was placed under jurisdiction of the Criminal Court in order that the case might be investigated.

Labor — 1923
Peonage

General.

Federal Government Finds No Way To Prevent Peonage in the South

WASHINGTON, April 2.—The Department of Justice, while keeping close tabs on the "peonage" system in the South professes to have found no way in which the Federal Government can interfere with the penal system of a State. New York Amsterdam News

The brutality of the system indicated by the recurrence of such incidents as the death of Martin Tabert is recognized everywhere but it will probably require a constitutional amendment to put an end to it, unless public opinion compels action by the States that farm out their prisoners. New

Senator Sterling of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor intimated the Florida case might be the subject of a special investigation by the Labor Committee in the next session. He said he had just returned from Florida, where he had been interested in observing evidences of the system as exemplified in the use of men bound out to private contractors.

"I am utterly opposed to such a system," he said. "It ought to be stopped. It is against public policy and is a threat against personal liberty." 4-4-23

Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, expressed keen interest in the exposé.

"The exposure of this case is a splendid thing," he said. "The Florida peon system is wrong in principle and should be abolished."

[illegible] CALL
MAY 1, 1923

The Constitution and Peonage

IT is reported that the Federal government will take action to end the involuntary servitude that prevails through the system of peonage in the South. This follows revelations of what has occurred in Florida in the sale of petty offenders to private corporations. The latest case is the beating to death of an aged Negro by an agent of a corporation. The Negro was not even convicted of any offense. He was under bond to keep the peace.

The 100 percenters will obtain some good instruction by relating this system to the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. . . ."

It is a notorious fact that the courts have strictly construed this amendment in relation to property, and a whole body of judicial decisions has grown up around it. Judges have been able to see the one word "property," but the words "life" and "liberty" have not existed for them during all the years that this abominable system of servitude has existed in the South.

The amendment, originally adopted for the specific purpose of protecting Negroes against slavery, has come to be the most important bulwark of big property interests.

Working class judges would always look to the two more important words that have been neglected, and until we get them, these important words will be ignored and property interests will be stressed.

Labor — 1923.
Peonage.

Alabama.

PEONAGE IS CHARGED TO MONROE COUNTY FARMER

J. B. McPherson Indicted by Federal Grand Jury in Mobile.

MOBILE, ALA., June 1.—Special to The Advertiser.—Indictment of J. B. McPherson, Monroe County planter for peonage was one of the eighteen true bills returned by the federal grand jury for May which adjourned Friday. Ernest Cadd was foreman.

The other bills were eight violation of prohibition laws, one for cutting government timber, three white slave cases and one violation of the narcotic law. Most offenders are already in jail. Fifty cases were investigated.

PEONAGE IN ALA.

"DOG HOUSE" PUNISHMENT USED ON PRISONERS — HOSPITALS FILLED WITH MAIMED VICTIMS —LASH ABOLISHED AND CLUBS SUBSTITUTED

(Crusader Service)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July, 1923—Out of every 80 convicts sent to work in the privately owned coal mines of Alabama, one man loses his life each year.

For peonage still exists in Alabama and convicts are farmed out by the thousand to grinding, blood-sucking capitalists.

Alabama is one of the few remaining States in the Union which leases its prisoners out to private companies. The State has about 3,000 prisoners, of whom about 1,400 are leased out to coal companies and about 200 to lumber companies. Most of the prisoners leased out are colored, many of whom have been picked up on the most trivial charges.

The net profit to the State from the convicts thus farmed out for the current year will be about $870,000.

The "Dog-House"

While the lash has been abolished by executive order in 1919, wooden clubs, metal pipes and other weapons have been substituted. The worst punishment of all, however, is the "dog-house"—a coffin-like box or enclosure, so small that a man cannot move inside it, in which convicts are fastened by their hands, their feet scarcely touching the floor.

One prisoner, investigators were told, was suspended in the "dog house" for having defied a guard and kept there so many hours that his flesh puffed through the laces and eyelets of his shoes, the shoes having to be cut away before they could be taken from his feet.

Hospital A Relief

But it is within the hospital of Kilby Prison that one sees the final class of Alabama's convict slaves.

This class is made up of convicts who have gone to the mines and who can never work again. Unfortunate? Well, that's a question. The loss of a [illegible] or a hand, tuberculosis or a general breakdown means that the prisoner goes to the hospital—and has escaped the mines. And prisoners look on this as well worth the price.

Labor — 1923.
Peonage.

Kentucky.

FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD GIRL RESCUED FROM PEONAGE

Brought From Kentucky, Young Girl Says She Was Forced to Work 18 to 20 Hours Per Day—Was Given a Nickel "Once in a While."

NEW YORK, June 21.—Rumor that a 15-year-old Colored girl had been brought from Kentucky to Jersey City and was being held in peonage reached the Jersey City Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People recently and a committee was promptly appointed to investigate, by Dr. George E. Canton, president of the branch. The committee was composed of Mrs. Anna Seaverns, Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas and Mrs. Anna Harper.

During the investigation, the girl became ill, and was removed to the City Hospital. From the hospital the girl was taken into the home of Mrs. Seaverns. The girl, Anna Belle Wilder, then appeared before the Jersey City N. A. A. C. P. in the Lafayette Presbyterian Church and thanked the association for her release, saying:

"I am fifteen years old. A white minister, Rev. V. D. Humphry, in Milburn, Kentucky, raised me from a baby. I finished the eighth grade in school. A little over a year ago a Jersey man told Rev. Humphry that he was coming North and wanted to take me. He said I could finish my schooling here. But since coming here I have not been allowed to go to the public school or Sunday school. I had to get up at 6 A. M., attend to the baby, cook breakfast, wash and iron, run errands and do other work, and retired about 11 or 12 at night. I have slept on the floor for over a year. Once in a while I would be given a nickel or a dime."

Labor— 1923.

North Carolina

Peonage

Escaped "Slaves" from North Carolina Flee to Michigan; Governor Groesbeck Refuses Extradition Papers; Battle Creek Branch ofN. A. A. C. P. Handles the Case

CASE PROVES "SLAVERY" STILL EXISTS

By Mrs. H. A. Lett, Lansing
Staff Correspondent

Lansing.—Stating that his escape into Michigan from the life of a peon in the South was the sole reason for the attempt of North Carolina authorities to return him to that State, the attorneys engaged by the Battle Creek Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People succeeded in releasing John Rowland from the clutches of Southern Law.

Rowland, who with his wife and four months old babe, had reached Battle Creek in quest of relatives, was taken into custody in that city upon presentation of warrants by a North Carolina peace officer, charging bribery, bootlegging and two or three other minor charges.

According to the evidence presented by Mr. and Mrs. Rowland, both of whom are the ignorant and unsophisticated products of the system employed by Southern planters, they were virtually sold from a Georgia plantation owner into North Carolina, where they were operating a small farm on the crop-sharing plan. Crop after crop still leaving them in debt according to the land-owner's books, Rowland determined to seek better opportunities in the North, but met with discouragements and even threats. With the assistance of a friend with funds he was able to entrain for the North with his family, arriving in Battle Creek, where a father and brother were supposedly living, in a destitute condition. It was later learned that Rowland's relatives had moved to a more northern point in Michigan, presumably Flint.

Attorney James C. Davis, assisted by David Cleary, ex-Prosecuting Attorney, both of Battle Creek, so ably presented the case before Governor Groesbeck that the request that Rowland be returned to North Carolina was denied and he was released from custody.

The case was conducted throughout by the Legal Redress Committee of the Battle Creek branch, of which Mr. George Tillman is chairman, and marks another epoch in the life and works of the N. A. A. C. P. in Michigan. Rev. Mead of Battle Creek accompanied Mr. Tillman and the attorneys to Lansing where the interest and assistance of Charles Campbell, special State Agent on Negro Labor, and H. A. Lett, President of the Lansing Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., was secured.

THE STORY AS TOLD BY DR. C. L. EVANS, BATTLE CREEK

The Battle Creek Branch of N. A. A. C. P. had occasion to make the city proud of it though it is hardly two months old.

The "occasion" started when John Rowland and his wife and a two months old baby arrived in the city late on the night of May 17th. Mr. Rowland came to Battle Creek under the impression that his brother was residing here. Early on the morning after his arrival he started down town to locate him. No sooner did he arrive in the down town district than the local officers seized him and put him in jail. He informed them of his supposed relative and the officers called up ("Bud") Henry Rowland, who went down to see him but found him to be a stranger.

That evening the story came out in the Evening News and was read by Rev. Spencer, President of the B. C. Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. He called up several of the executive board, also Traffic Officer Patterson, and told them he believed it was a case worth investigating.

Early the next morning Mr. Patterson interviewed the prisoner and reported to Rev. Spencer. He in turn called the Legal Redress Committee, Mr. Geo. Tillman and Rev. V. M. Meeds, and met them at the jail the same morning. The story obtained from the prisoner was very pathetic indeed.

Mr. Rowland said that he and his wife had been transported by employment agents from Georgia into North Carolina and there "sold" to a white planter for $15.00 each. In a couple of months this planter died and his widow transferred their "legal" slaves to a cousin. This was in December last and Rowland and his wife worked until May without pay. At first the planter gave them daily "rations" consisting of meat and bread, but in the latter part of April they had a rainy spell and the work could not be carried out as usual, and so the "rations" stopped. Mr. Rowland went to the planter and told him that the food had run out and his wife and baby were hungry. The planter told him he'd have to wait until it stopped raining so he could estimate his future crop, as Rowland was supposed to be working shares. Rowland was forced to go back to his cabin without his "ration." It was then that he had some one write his brother in Georgia, who sent him $60 and instructions to go to Battle Creek where his brother was supposed to be. One night about 12 o'clock the couple took their baby and in a steady downpour of rain walked 12 miles to the railroad station and bought tickets to Battle Creek (the "promised land"). The planter when he discovered they had gone the next morning, traced them to the railroad station and telegraphed to Battle Creek for the officers to arrest him, as he was wanted in North Carolina for "bribery" and "false pretense." Thus it came about that on Rowland's arrival he was thrown into jail. Rowland also told of how the Ku Klux Klan would visit the cabin three times a week to see that the "employees" were on the job and furnish the necessary persuasion that caused them to arise at 2:30 in the morning, cook their breakfast and "dinner," walk two and three miles to work. Then Mrs. Rowland would nurse her babe, lay it in the bushes, cut briers and wait until the boss gave permission to go back to it.

When the committee who interviewed Mr. Rowland learned of these things a lawyer was employed and Dr. Evans called a hurried meeting of the Executive Board, where it was decided that Rowland should not go back. The Committee on Legal Redress was instructed to go the limit. Geo. Tillman as chairman and Rev. Meeds made a team that had no limit. Besides the able John Davis as attorney, the services of Attorney James Cleary were secured.

The Sheriff from North Carolina arrived on the 21st but had no extradition papers. He telegraphed for them and they arrived on the 23rd. They were fixed up strong enough to take back any "nigger," as N. C. supposed, but they failed to reckon with the N. A. A. C. P. and Gov. Groesbeck.

The Governor was called on long distance telephone and appointment made for the next morning. On the morning of the 22nd Mr. Tillman, Rev. Meeds, Mrs. Rowland and the two attorneys drove over to Lansing and went into conference with the Attorney General. He proved to be a fair man and wrote a letter advising the Governor to deny extradition papers, which the Governor did.

The party returned to Battle Creek and gave the Chief of Police the necessary paper to permit Mr. Rowland to walk out a free man. Another victory for the N. A. A. C. P.

Labor — 1923.

Peonage

Florida.

SHERIFF FACES ARREST ON PEONAGE CHARGES

Indicted for Florida Prison Camp Outrages.

ARREST EXPECTED TODAY

Former "Whipping Boss" and Lumber Camp Official Will Also Be Taken Into Custody on Indictments by Federal Grand Jury.

Commercial Appeal.

(By the Associated Press.)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 13.—Sheriff J. R. Jones, of Leon County will be placed under arrest here tomorrow on a warrant charging peonage, according to United States Deputy Marshal Mickler, late today. Sheriff Jones, Walter Higginbotham, former whipping boss, and William Fisher, superintendent of the Putnam Lumber Company at Cross City were indicted yesterday by a federal grand jury at Pensacola. May 13, 1923.

Warrants for the arrest of the trio arrived there today from the office of District Attorney Fred Cubberly in Pensacola, with instructions to Deputy Marshal Mickler that they be served at once.

The federal official said this afternoon he would wait until tomorrow for the service, first arresting Jones and then journeying to Cross City, where he would arrest Fisher and Higginbotham.

Dismissed From Office.

Sheriff Jones was recommended for dismissal from office by Gov. Hardee two weeks ago and the recommendation was approved by the senate. It was stated at the county building today that Jones is still serving as sheriff, the governor not yet having appointed his successor. Under the law he remains in office until his successor qualifies.

The dismissal of the sheriff was ordered following testimony by himself and other witness in the point legislative committee investigating the death of Martin Tabert. Sheriff Jones admitted he made a personal profit of $23 on each prisoner he carried from Tallahassee to the Putnam Lumber Camp as the result of an agreement made between Superintendent Fisher and himself.

Conspiracy Is Charged.

The federal indictment against Sheriff Jones charging peonage contains three counts. It involves transporting Ned Thompson, 64-year-old negro, to the Putnam Lumber Company to serve a sentence of three months, without any formal charges having been docketed against the negro. Fisher and Higginbotham are charged with having entered into a conspiracy to kidnap Thompson.

Thompson, according to federal authorities, was arrested here Sept. 9 1921, on a peace warrant taken out by a negro woman. He was placed in jail on default of bond. According to state laws, Thompson could have voluntarily worked while being held in jail, but he could not be transported to another county to be worked.

On Sept. 20, according to a receipt the sheriff obtained from W. H. Young, an agent for the lumber company, he was transferred to the lumber company's camp. After having served 30 or more days, he was brought back to the Leon County jail, where, after a few days' confinement, he died.

Witnesses appearing before the legislative committee have testified that Thompson, because he was physically unfit to perform hard labor, was whipped by Higginbotham so severely, witness testified, that the negro was unable to move and was sent from the logging camp in a truck. 5/14/23

Peonage

See Also: Labor, Condition of

Labor — 1923.

Unions, Strikes etc.,

West Virginia.

Colored Railway Trainmen To Fight Discrimination

St. Louis Argus

Positive Sentiment, Created At Ann'l Convention, To Maintain Strong Stand Before The Railroad Governing Bodies

St. Louis Mo

Associated Negro Press.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 12.—Outstanding among the many achievements of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen who just ended their annual convention at Bluefield West Virginia, was the creation of a positve sentiment endorsing support for Negro trainmen in their efforts to maintain a strong stand before the railroad governing bodies of the country to the end that Negroes shall not be shut out from employment in remunerative work on the roads.

The necessity for such an attitude was stressed by J. H. Eiland, grand president of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and president of the convention. Eiland was unanimously elected. In a speech accepting the position to which he was reelected, Eiland stressed the necessity of the trainmen's organization, being the one strong Negro body with power to make itself felt with the United States Railway Labor board, doing all in its power to make its influence truly effective. To this end it declared it imperative that all the rail workers of the South band themselves together into a responsible body whose voice, when heard, would be authoritative.

9-17-23

The convention agreed that an immediate campaign should be put on to enlist the interest of all the men in the south, southeast, and southwest. This drive, an intensive one, is to continue up into October. Already there are 51 locals of the order in 14 states of the south and southwest.

One of the busineses of the order in the next year is to support the fight of Congressman Martin B. Madden, Illinois, who has promised to reintroduce in congress his bill amending the Transportation Act which will make it unlawful for railroads to discriminate in the pay and service of its empoyees in any manner.

Directly after the convention, Eiland was called to Chicago to consult with the genera manager of the Illinois Central railroad in regard to matters concerning employes represented by the president of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen.

Negro Trainmen Hold Convention

Pittsburgh American

9-14-23

(By The Associated Negro Press)

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14.—Outstanding among the many achievements of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen who just ended their annual convention at Bluefield West Virginia, was the creation of a positive sentiment endorsing support for Negro trainmen in their efforts to maintain a strong stand before the railroad governing bodies of the country to the end that Negroes shall not be shut out from employment in remunerative work on the roads.

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Directly after the convention, Hiland was called to Chicago to consult with the general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad in regard to matters concerning employes represented by the president of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen.

Labor—1923.
Unions, Strikes, etc.,

CONTRACTORS FORM BUILDERS' ASSO'N.

Norfolk Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

Eighty Colored Contractors From Thirty-Seven Cities Attend Hampton Conference.

2-10-23

Hampton, Va.—More than eighty leading colored contractors and builders from 37 cities and towns and from 12 schools attended the first annual Hampton Institute Builders' Conference held at the institute for three days last week.

Out of this conference was formed the "National Builders' Association" which has for its objects: Dissemination of information; self improvement through study, local organizations, and national conferences; propaganda for the training of mechanics; the fostering of all trade schools and the placing of trade graduates.

The next meeting of the association will be held in conjunction with the Hampton Institute Builders' Conference which will serve as a clearing house for the association.

Colored Builders Make Good

Among the conference members were forty colored contractors, who during the past year completed work valued at $1,280,000.

Albert Farwell Bemis, of Boston, prominent merchant and manufacturer, whose gifts have made possible the establishment of the Hampton advanced builders' course and the new department of building construction, was present and expressed the hope that this builders' conference would prove helpful, not only to those in attendance, but also to those living in distant places. He expressed his appreciation of the co-operation of many groups that had made the first conference a success.

FIRST BLOODSHED IN DOCKMEN-STRIKE

Atlanta Constitution
10/21/23

Norfolk, Va., October 20.—First bloodshed of the longshoremen's strike now in effect here, resulted late today when a party of negro laborers, returning home from work at the piers were fired upon. Three non-union laborers were wounded. The attacking party is said to have escaped in automobiles.

OFFICERS CONTINUE HUNT FOR NEGROES

The State

Reward Offered for Slayers of Longshoreman at Norfolk by Employers.

Norfolk, Oct. 13.—Persons responsible for the violence of Wednesday night near the army base when one longshoreman was shot to death and another wounded by negroes in an automobile are being sought by the police. 10-14-23

Employing stevedores and steamship representatives in conference at the rooms of the Hampton Roads maritime exchange have offered $1,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the murder.

The loading of ships at local docks was proceeding at a normal rate today, there being little evidence in the manner in which longshoremen were working to indicate that a strike was under way. The only indication that there was any trouble was the presence of police giving protection to the workers.

Columbia S.C.

Seventy cents an hour, which the longshoremen's union refused to accept, precipitating the strike last Saturday, will be paid by the shipping board to longshoremen working their vessels, it has been announced, but the board will not deal with the union in employing workers. Those union longshoremen who as individuals want to take work on shipping board ships at that rate will be employed as individuals and not as members of the union, according to the statement of A. G. Malone, district director of the board.

LONGSHOREMEN DETERMINED IN LABOR DISPUTE

Virginia.
Journal
Guide

Decline To Fall For Increase Without Union Recognition And Stand Firm to Principles of Organized Labor.

10-20-23

CONSIDER THIS TIME THEIR ZERO HOUR

The longshoremen's strifle in the port of Hampton Roads has passed thru its second week with the men still out and both sides claiming satisfaction over the situation. A new wage scale has been put into effect by the Stevedores following the announcement of the United States Shipping Board that it would effect a 75 cents hourly rate for handling cargo of ships under its control in this port. Shipping agents and operators filed a protest with chairman Farley of the Shipping Board against the increase at time when they claimed to have had the strike won. They asked the co-operation of the government shipping agency in holding to the rate of 65 cents an hour which was in effect at the expiration of the contract between union longshoremen and stevedores. It is not believed that the Shipping Board intimated any intention of withdrawing its announcement, which probably accounts for the promptness with which the private operators met the board's rate by announcing an increase to 75 cents at all wharves of the port.

Accompanying the Shipping Board's announcement of the new wage scale was a statement to the effect that the increase was not to be construed as a concession to union labor, but was the outcome of a policy agreed upon before the strike was called; and that the board would sign no agreement with the union representatives and would maintain an open shop policy here. In meeting the raise of the Shipping Board, private stevedores and operators took a similiar position and announced an open shop policy.

Strikers Hold Out

The strikers have not fallen for the 75 cents an hour rate without union recognition and thru their vice-president, George Milner, informed the press that they had no idea of accepting the sop and would hold out for the original demands. Mr. Milner also stated that notwithstanding press statements to the contrary, there had been no material defection in union ranks and the percentage of disloyalty had been negligible. "We are standing just as we walked out," said Mr. Milner," and every man is loyal to the principles of organized labor. Mr. Milner declined to make any further statement regarding the situation, but it is learned that the union men consider it the zero hour for their organization and the ten cents raise without union recognition an attempt to force to the walls unionism by handing a sop to the men.

The longshoremen's local is regarded as the strongest group of colored workmen affiiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it is said by them that they believe now is the time if ever, to effectively prove to organized labor that race organization and can be depended upon to uphold those principles.

It is alleged that many of the younger men and some of the older ones, too, are seriously considering the probability of going to other shipping centers where the demands which they are striking are enjoyed by longshoremen.

There has been no disorder of any kind in connection with the strike since the incident of last Wednesday night a week ago

Striking Longshoremen Disclaim Any Responsibility for Violence

2,000 MEN HOLD OUT FOR DEMANDS; SHIP SAILINGS DELAYED

Truck Load of Non-Union Workers Fired On. —One Man Killed, One Injured.—Police Rush Union Hall.

Members of the International Longshoreman's Union of this vicinity who went on strike last Saturday afternoon, when negotiations to adjudicate a new wage scale came to an end as a result of disagreement between the stevedores and union officials, are still out. The old contract under which the men received an hourly rate of 67 and 97 cents expired recently and the men presented demands for a new contract providing an hourly rate equal to what is paid to affiliated members at all northern ports, 80 cents and $1.20.

There has been much dissatisfaction among members of the International Longshoremen's Union of the port of Hampton Roads for some time on account of the preferential enjoyed by longshoremen of the ports of New York and Boston engaged in similiar work and affiliated with the same organization. Representatives of the longshoremen contend that investigation has disclosed that the ultimate difference in the cost of living in the Hampton Roads district and the New York district does not justify such wide disparagement in the wages paid to men of the different ports. About 2,500 men are members of the Hampton Roads local included in Norfolk, Pinners Point, and Newport News. 10-13-23

MARKED BY VIOLENCE

The strike was called in an early Saturday afternoon and was marked by peace and quiet thru the week until Wednesday about 5 o'clock in the evening when the shooting occured on the Hampton Boulevard and in Titustown.

An auto truck load of non-union men was returning from loading ships at the Army Base, having taken the places of strikers, when it is alleged a big touring car drove along side with four or five occupants who opened fire in the crowded truck. William Ashley, 107 Dolphin street, was fatally wounded, dying later in the Public Service Hospital; Ernest Jackson, 242 Kent street, was shot in the knee. The remainder of the men leaped from the truck and scurried for shelter in the schrubbery along the boulevard. the members of the load of non-union men shot a few minutes later were shot at, a few minutes later on the Titustown road escaped uninjured.

Quite a bit of excitement was precipitated at the Longshoremen's hall on the corner of Wide street and Princess Anne avenue as a result of the shooting. A meeting had been called for the night, which was rushed by more than a score of cops and plain clothes men in an effort to fix responsibility for the shooting.

Officials of the union disclaim any responsibility for the violence, stating that their men have been specifically instructed to abstain from all forms of lawlessness in connection with the strike. They are instructed to keep away from all waterfront piers and exert every effort to convince the public and the stevedores of the fairness of their position. It is denied that there has been any material defection in the union ranks, the men remaining loyal to the principles of organized labor, exercising their inalienable right to quit work and of peacable assembly.

At a meeting Thursday morning the president of the local again impressed upon the men the necessity of acting in an orderly manner and deporting themselves as citizens. He assured them that such is the best way to hold public sympathy in a cause which they are convinced is just. The officials also deplored the incident of Wednesday night and felt inclined toward the belief that strike sympathizers or some irresponsible persons did the shooting.

Longshoremen's Strike

The action of the Norfolk Chamber of Commercce in sending to Chairman Farley of the Uuited States Shipping Board at Washington a supplementary telegram to the one sent by the stevedores and shipping agents of this port requesting that the board withdraw its recently announced proposal to put into effect at the port of Hampton Roads an hourly rate of seventy-five cents for the loading and discharging of ships under its control, seems to have been an unusual and unprecedented proceeding on the part of the Chamber. 10-20-23

Chambers of Commerce are quasi public bodies and their utterances are invariably construed as being representative of prevailing local sentiment. When the chamber speaks, it is generally understood that the city, itself is speakink thru a semi-official medium.

Union longshoremen of this port are on strike for an increase in pay; and, as a matter of course, the shipping agents and operators propose to break the strike without acceding to union demands. Should the Shipping Board put into effect its announced intention of a rate increase here, this action would seriously weaken the hand of the private ship men in the controversy, at a time when they claim to be winning the strike. Their efforts to forestall such action in Washington and to prevent the weakening of their case was a legitimate move looking to the conservation of their own interests. But for the Chamber of Commerce to throw its influence as a public body to the support of one side and to inveigh against the other side in a labor dispute of private interests seems to constitute a radical departure from its former procedure in like situations. We do not recall an instance in which the United States Chamber of Commerce ever has definitely aligned itself with one side or the other in the mauy national labor disputes with which our country at various times has been afflicted. We are accustomed to witnessing the able men who make up these bodies adhering closely to a neutral policy in so far as concerns the questions at dispute; using their influence whenever sought in an arbitrary capacity, and jealously guarding the public interests And in this instance it appears that the Norfolk Chamber of Commerce acted inadvisedly in throwing its weight to either side in the longshoremen's strike without giving due consideration to all the interests involved.

The argument may be advanced that our Chamber in acting as it did was actuated purely by a consideration of the best interests of the port; and that the lower cost of handling ship cargo creates a differential decidedly favorable to future port development. Argument along this line overlooks the fact that labor supply is also a potent factor in accentuating the increase in ocean tonnage passing thru this port. If other shipping centers should be permitted to deplete the labor supply of cheap southern ports thru the allurement of higher wages and union recognition, Norfolk would still be among the sufferers even with its lower loading and unloading costs. And in that event the lower costs would yet be the higher costs, as time in dispatching ships is the most important factor in the expense bill. It is doubtful if we will always be assured of sufficient number of dock workers to handle our increasing shipping business, if the longshoremen should become convinced that they may never hope to enjoy the same status here as that enjoyed by affiliated men in other ports.

For the best interests of the port of Hampton Roads, there is much to be considered on both sides of the present labor controversy.

Labor— 1923.
Union, Strikes, etc.,

American Federation of Labor

Steel Men Want Cheap Labor

Norfolk Journal & Guide

Persons engaged in the iron and steel industry have been making a brave effort to get the Senate Committee on Immigration to allow more unskilled labor to come into the country for their benefit under the proposed Colt bill, which would "admit contract labor for urgent needs in excess of the present quota limits," the bill being supported mainly by manufacturers engaged in the steel and iron industry; but the arguments have not had a great deal of influence with the Committee. The Senate is about satisfied, as the House is, that there is plenty of unskilled labor in the country, and that what the manufacturers are striving for is to get cheap labor, which they can bring in "under contract" and control as they wish. Norfolk, Va

Corporations do all they can to convince the people that the charges against them, that they are soulless, is substantially true, and that so as they get their pound of flesh the wage-earners and the consuming public may bleed to-death. That is the way the coal mine owners and the railway managers acted last summer when the coal shortage and misery of the present winter were being piled high. 3-3-23

The American Federation of Labor is opposed to letting down the immigration restriction bars. The Department of Labor shows that there is plenty of unskilled labor in the country, much of it unemployed, and labor surveys of States show the same thing. What is needed is not more unskilled labor from outside but a proper listing and apportioning of the supply we already have at home. Charity begins at home, in the employment of labor as in most other things.

D.C.

Labor – 1923.

Unions, Strikes, etc.,

Colored Federal Employees Meet

Washington Tribune 10-20-23

A meeting of messengers of the federal service was held Tuesday evening, October 16, at the headquarters of the National Federation of Federal Employees, 1423 New York Avenue Northwest, for the purpose of discussing the Reclassification Law as it affects this group.

Washington,

The meeting was presided over by Mr. Woolsey W. Hall of the Treasury Department. Mr. James D. McKeon, secretary-treasurer of the National Federation of Federal Employees, addressed the meeting, telling of the constructive work done by the Federation since its organization, and describing the Federation's program. He spoke with particular reference to the allocation of the messenger group, and stated that the Federation has always been most active in behalf of the lower paid employees in the service. He invited all present to become members of the Federation, so that they may not only support the work of the national officers, but also have something to say as to what the policy of the Federation shall be.

Mr. Harris of the Internal Revenue Service also addressed the meeting, and was the first one to sign an application card for membership in Federal Employees Union No. 71. Mr. Stevenson of the Veterans' Bureau spoke of the benefits of organization. Mr. William H. Davis at the Navy Department told of the efforts of their small group of messengers to better their conditions, and stated that he felt that the messengers from that unit would come into the Federation so as to be able to make their collective influence felt in getting better conditions for federal employees. Mr. James Otey of the Treasury Department also spoke.

Dr. Benjamin Anderson, President of Federal Employees Union No. 71, told the meeting about the work of his union, and invited all those present to attend the next meeting of Local No. 71 which will be held at 1423 New York Avenue Northwest on Friday, October 19. This local, he explained, is composed of the colored workers of the federal and district services, and has been represented in the conventions of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

Their regular meetings are held the third Friday of each month at the headquarters of the Federation. A special meeting of this group of messengers will be held on Thursday, November 1, at 8 p. m., at headquarters.

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Unions, Strikes, etc.,
Europe.

NEGROES LEAD

BRITISH STRIKE

Colored Seamen Tie Up Elder Dempster S. S. Line, and Give Thrilling Lesson in Class Solidarity.

London, May 28.—(By Mail)—Colored seamen are now in the van of the fight against Havelock Wilson's wage cut.

Five hundred colored men struck on the Elder, Dempster ships, "Appam" and "Ebani" at Liverpool yesterday. Led by well known labor leaders, they marched in procession to the company's office, and were only driven away by a large force of mounted policemen.

The firm tried to find substitutes among other colored men working at its engineering shops. All workers approached refused to scab on their fellows and were fired.

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General

FREE SPEECH COUNCIL TAKES STAND IN DEFENCE OF NEGROES

Pittsburgh American

The sinews, blood and tears of the Negro workers helped to make this country what it is. For two hundred and fifty years, the Negro toiled in the U. S., helping to clear the forests, build the roads, raise the cotton and lay the railroad tracks. The Negro is entitled to the rights as guaranteed to the people of this country by the constitution of the U. S.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania, emphatically condemns the act of Mayor Cauffiel of Johnstown in committing such an outrage against the civil rights of the Negroes by ordering them to get out of Johnstown immediately. The Mayor had no just reason for ordering out the resident Negroes of Johnstown.

10—12—23

The Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania, is always ready to defend if necessary all Negro workers in Western Pennsylvania, who are persecuted and arrested in the exercise of their civil rights. The Council makes no distinction as to race or creed.

The fifth conference of the Labor Defense and Free Speech Council will take place October 28th, 1923, at 805 James street, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa., at 3 p. m. All Negro organizations interested in the principle of free speech, press and assemblage are invited to send their delegates to this conference.

Come and lend us your advise so that the work of defending all workers irrespective of race or color may be more effective.

All organizations and individuals who may be interested will write to the following address for more information. Labor Defense and Free Speech Council, 805 James street, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa., or come personally any day except Sunday between the hours of 2 and 10 p. m. Telephone for appointment. Cedar 8287-W.

LABOR DEFENSE AND FREE SPEECH COUNCIL OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

THE American Civil Liberties Union stands for a principle embodied in the Constitution of the United States, that of freedom of speech, press and assembly. It is no respecter of persons. Necessarily its assistance is invoked most frequently by upholders of unpopular causes, persons who are loosely termed radical. But oppression makes strange bedfellows. Now comes the Ku Klux Klan, victim of outraged public sentiment at Carnegie, Pennsylvania, invoking the aid of the Union in making good its right to "peaceable assembly, free speech, and free movement." The American Civil Liberties Union does not refuse its services but it makes the request the occasion of an enumeration of the violation of civil rights which are laid at the door of the Klan:

The New Republic

1—19—23

In January of this year a railroad worker in Harrison, Arkansas, a town run by a Citizens' Committee of Klansmen, was lynched because he refused to confess to sabotage of which he was not guilty. . . . The Klan in Harrison recently lynched a man named Lean. Frequent letters from the district inform us that peaceable assembly as well as every other right is still denied to all but "citizens." Interference with the right of labor unions to organize workers has been one of the principal activities of the Klan. In January of this year, J. E. Marsh, a speaker for the Farm Labor Union of Atoka, Okla., was severely beaten by your members and ordered to stop his work for the farmers. . . . Religious hatred scarcely consistent with your recent defense of free speech, caused Klansmen of New York to burn churches and admit their participation in a bold attempt to prevent by threats the passage of the Walker bill. School teachers have been dismissed and left without positions in West Virginia and Georgia, because of their Catholic faith, and attempts are constantly being made to limit the freedom of children to attend sectarian schools, as witness the recent legislation in Oregon, fostered by the Invisible Empire.

The Union might close its sermon with the text: They that take the sword should perish by the sword.

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TRAIN PORTERS RESENT ATTACK ON PERRY PARKER

Declare It Is Stupid for Enemies to Seek to Hinder Good Work He Does for All

By JOHN W. DUNCAN

It is next to impossible ever to learn the source of misinformation. During the past few weeks a public attack has been launched against the Pullman company for its alleged mistreatment of porters, and against certain of the porters for what was held to be their meek submission to tyranny and discrimination.

This latter phase of the attack was most recently directed at Perry Parker, a Pullman official representing the interests of the porters in the councils of the company. Mr. Parker's character and reputation are above reproach. His Race loyalty and Christian character are never questioned by those who know him.

He, through his agency as a representative of the Pullman company, has benefited not only porters, but also thousands of Race men and women in the mechanical departments of the Pullman service.

Pullman porters who have read the attack on Parker have expressed disgust with the intent of such character of assaults. They declare that such publicity creates a false impression, and that it is only calculated to stir up dissension and retard the progress of a group of workers who are trying to overcome obstacles and get ahead. These men say that these attacks hinder and do not help.

They resent and condemn the tactics employed to besmirch the name and character of the man who, they say, has been the guiding star and promoter of the best interests of their group, and who has placed his own personal interest in jeopardy to better the condition of his people.

9,000 Back Parker

Nine thousand loyal and worthy men are backing Parker in his efforts to carry on the good work of uplift that has characterized his purpose for the Pullman porter and the Race at large. They declare that they pray for the success of that part of the press which is striving to enlighten and educate the rank and file of the Race in pointing the way to uplift and advancement, but fail to see where such attacks as have been published will do any good, especially when the character assailants get personal and abuse those about whom they know the least. These men ask that the attacks be based on facts, rather than false, misleading statements and misinformation.

Mr. Perry's critics are invited to call at his office, 79 East Adams St., where he will be glad to meet them and give them all the information they desire for publicity or other purposes. He works as he lives—in the open, ready to meet all comers.

POOL TABLES CAUSE RUMPUS

Sen. Underwood Nominater For Presidency

Savannah Tribune

Chicago, Ill., April 3 (Associated Negro Press) When the Pullman Company employed six colored riveters and sent them to work this week at their Michigan City shops, 200 white men promptly went on strike in protest. Although the workers were unorganized as the Pullman Company operates an open shop, the white workers found little difficulty in getting together to fight the entry of black faces. For a time it looked as though the whole shop employing thousands of men might be affected, but the company promptly put its foot down on the uprising, declaring any men who did not wish to work with the newcomers might leave, with the result that the men all went back to work.

The Pullman Company has been employing colored men in increasing numbers in its Chicago shops and as common labor in the Michigan City plant and it is said that through the influence of Perry Parker, the veteran employee of the local executive office who heads the Pullman Porter's Protective Association that plans are being perfected to use colored mechanics in large numbers wherever they prove themselves qualified.

Two days after the strike was settled, a disastrous fire of unknown origin broke out in the 111th Street Chicago shops with a loss estimated at $300,000.

Illinois.

Labor Board Rule Favors Race Worker

Chicago Defender
4-21-23

After almost two years of fighting on the part of the organization of railroad employees headed by B. L. Mays, the United States railroad labor board has ruled favorably in three instances in the past 60 days. First the basic eight-hour day was sustained by the board against the Chicago & Northwestern Railway company's request for a basic 10-hour day. The men were thus saved 60 hours' pay a month.

Then the long-fought case of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road took a new angle when the $60,000 back pay claim filed by Mays was ordered before the board.

Monday afternoon officials of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroad were required to appear jointly with representatives of the Railroad Men's association to work toward a settlement of their differences. The railroad company contends that its employees are not behind Mays' organization. It has now been decided that a sealed ballot shall be returned to the representatives of the company and the organization in the near future, this ballot to express the will of the men. Both the company and the organization have promised to abide by the result.

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Indiana.

THE NEGRO INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

An Organization With An Enviable Record.

This organization calls the attention of the public to a few facts relative to its principles, aims and its rapid tho firm growth in this city.

Its principles and aims are to cultivate a closer relation among men who follow industrial channels for a livelihood and for development along industrial, social, economic and business lines. Will you not admit these are sound and progressive aims? Certainly you will.

Your next question would naturally be, what have you accomplished?

In two years and a half we have grown from three persons to an enrollment on our books of five hundred men in various parts of our city and in many lines of industry and professions. We have to our credit in the Railroad-mens' Building and Loan Association approximately $1,000.00 in cash, drawing 6 per cent interest, and this money is safely guarded by a Finance Committee, without whose signature accompanied by the President, Financial Secretary and Treasurer, no monies can be withdrawn.

How have we and by what method secured this sum? Let us tell you that our initiation fee is only twenty-five cents and our dues are twenty-five cents per month. Isn't that economical and within the reach of every man?

But it is contemplated that on and after April 15th these rates may be increased in view of the fact that the association is seriously considering attempting business ventures of a profitable yet economic nature.

Now a word as to its officers: A. C. Swanagan, President; J. H. Ford, First Vice-President; G. H. Gayhart, Treasurer; Jas. A. Bryant, Recording Secretary; Eugene Bess, Financial Secretary; Tilford McAlaster, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Jos. H. Broyles, Chairman of the Board of Directors. The remaining members of the Board are Richard Churchill, Josh. Simpson, James Edson, Morton Jones, J. W. Kemp, John Tatum and H. H. Able, each man a citizen of your no mean city, reliable, truthworthy, deliberate and cool-headed as to their actions, and whose character is irreproachable.

And now that you have some knowledge of this new but progressive organization, we appeal to all men of Indianapolis and the state who, as our constitution states, "Must be above the age of eighteen, of good moral character and show a visable means of livelihood," to join this body which means so much for the future progress of our race along entirely new and undeveloped lines, namely, industry.

We are seeking for 1,000 men by April 15th, which means as you can readily conceive $250.00 per month or $3,000.00 per year, and with such a substantial foundation the association will be ready to take its place in line with other great Negro enterprises, and yet pause a moment to recall that caution, economy and patience are our watch words, so do not imagine a million dollar project being realized over night at twenty-five cents per month dues.

In conclusion we earnestly invite each and every man to attend our meetings at Jones' Tabernacle, Michigan and Blackford Streets, the first and third Wednesdays of each month.

The last meeting of the month is given over to lectures, addresses and business talks to the members.

No password, no signs, no secrecy.

Illinois.

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NEGRO WORKMEN IN PULLMAN SHOPS CAUSE STRIKE

(By A. N. P.)

Chicago, Ill., April 7.—When the Pullman Company employed six Colored riveters and sent them to work this week at their Michigan city shops, 200 white men promptly went on a strike in protest. Although the workers were unorganized as the Pullman Company operates an open shop, the white workers found little difficulty in getting thousands of men might be afblack faces. For a time it looked as though the whole shop employing thousounds of men might be affected, but the company promptly put its foot down on the uprising, declaring any men who did not wish to work with the newcomers might leave, with the result that the men all went back to work.

The Pullman Company has been employing Colored men in increasing numbers in its Chicago shops and at common labor in the Michigan City plant and it is said that thru the influence of Mr. Perry Parker, the veteran employee of the local executive office who heads the Pullman Porter's protective association that plans are being perfected to use Colored mechanics in large numbers whatever they prove themselves qualified.

Two days after the strike was settled, a disastrous fire of unknown origin broke out in the 111th Street Chicago shops with a loss estimated at $300,000.

Mob Victim in Chicago Wins $3,000

October of last year Henry Mobley, who resides at 3127 Federal St., was attacked by a mob at 31st St. and South Racine Ave. while he was returning from work. Mr. Mobley was then, and had been for several years, employed at the stock yards. The mob attack was due to labor troubles and dissatisfaction among white laborers who had been replaced by Race men.

Mr. Mobley employed Attorney William H. Haynes to represent him and advise him in the matter. Mr. Haynes filed suit against the city of Chicago for $5,000 damages.

The matter came on for hearing in the circuit court of Cook county before Judge Kickham Scanlan, at which time there was a finding in favor of the plaintiff and the damages against the defendant corporation was fixed at $3,000. Judgment was entered on the verdict.

In delivering the opinion of the court Judge Scanlan said:

"Mob violence of this kind in the state of Illinois will not and must not be tolerated. The legislature has seen fit to squarely place the burden on the shoulders of the taxpayers to see to it that mobs are suppressed and citizens are protected, and if they fail in this duty they must pay such damages as are sustained by citizens at the hands of mobs allowed to assemble."

William L. Dawson was associated with Mr. Haynes in the trial of the issue.

GETS A "KLAN" WARNING.

Strike Leader Told to Leave Hillsboro, Ill., at Once.

HILLSBORO, Ill., Aug. 18.—Demands for an armed bodyguard to assure the personal safety of Edward Carbine, organizer of the International Union of Mine and Smelter Workers and leader in the strike at the American Zinc Company plant at Taylor Springs, which began Aug. 7, was made today by strikers, following receipt of a threatening letter by Carbine, signed "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Illinois."

"Better men than you have met their death," for less "than your actions in the past trouble at Taylor Springs," the letter said. "We will give you until Monday, Aug. 20, to get out of this part of the country, and advise that you do so without fail."

An official of the Hillsboro Klan denied that the letter was from that organization.

Carbine said he would not leave town because of the threat.

PULLMAN EMPLOYEES MEET

The national convention of Pullman shop and yard employees was held in Chicago this week. The meeting opened at the Pullman headquarters Monday and lasted for three days. Matters affecting future chances of our men getting better positions and better pay were discussed. Thirty delegates were present. The above, reading from left to right, top row, are: R. S. Brown, B. R. Pullen, J. Johnson and Robert Armstrong. Seated: Boyd L. Wilson, Perry Parker and Bert Ogg.

I. W. W. REPLIES TO KLAN

CHICAGO.—Unlike the members of the Ku Klux Klan, the I. W. W. "carry their membership cards and credentials openly and wear neither mask nor camouflage." This is the retort of Harry Feinberg, secretary, I. W. W. General Defense committee, to dispatches quoting Rep. Dave Stovall and other supporters of the hooded K. K. K. in the Oklahoma legislature as calling for an investigation of the I. W. W. as an alleged secret organization. Feinberg has been handling the cases of oil and agricultural workers arrested in Oklahoma for their activities in I. W. W. unions.

"Stovall is trying to draw a red herring across the demand for an investigation of the klan which has arisen since the recent orgy of whipping outrages in his state, and the scandals incidental to the Walton affair," declared Feinberg. "There is nothing secret about the I. W. W. and he knows it. It is an established labor union, its books and meetings are open and its industrial aims are clearly stated. The I. W. W. will welcome such an investigation as it always welcomes investigations of its activities. The inquiry into the organization conducted by the federal commission on industrial relations several years ago brought it thousands of members."

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International Labor Organization.

LABOR QUESTION AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Manufacturers Record 2-15-23

IN the early days of the discussion of a League of Nations, in the plan proposed, the MANUFACTURERS RECORD repeatedly called attention to the fact that if carried out according to the plan, the League would become, in addition to many other things, a dominant power through its labor department to control the labor situation of the world, and that this meant a rising tide of socialism which in time would completely dominate our country. As dangerous as were some other features of the League of Nations, this phase of that proposed organization was one of its most dangerous, especially for this country. Commenting on the fact that the labor department of the League of Nations is now really a system for subsidizing the spread of Socialism throughout the world, the Wall Street Journal presents the following interesting discussion of the subject: Baltimore, Md.

"It was timely for Percy R. Barbour, in Mining and Metallurgy, to point out how the League of Nations, through the International Labor Organization, is playing into the hands of the Socialists, pink and red. The budget of the League in 1921 allotted to this labor organization 7,000,000 gold francs out of a total budget of 21,250,000. For 1922 the budget again called for a third of its total expenditure of 20,748,455 gold francs for this international Socialist debating society.

"Even the French delegates of that body are almost wholly Socialist. The subjects for debate at present is not increased efficiency to meet international bankruptcy. It is not more conscience and industry on the part of the worker. It is, of all follies of the present day, the enactment of an international eight-hour law. One temerarious employer puts in a petition in which he points out that labor, so far from giving its share, has undeniably reduced its effective output. To this the French delegates make indignant replies, one of them being that "it was a political question and if the labor bureau was unable to help the workers they would apply other means. Ratification of the eight-hour convention was insisted upon by labor or there would be a return to force."

"Eight hours a day of labor may be oppressive, and even dangerous, in some callings. That would certainly be the case in digging tunnels under compressed air. No driver of an express locomotive could stand eight hours of consecutive work. It would be dangerous to the traveling public to let him try. An eight-hour shift for a man who has to open and close the gates of a level crossing half a dozen times a day is nonsense. Hours of labor in agriculture are seasonal. And what is much more important, eight-hour laws are made to be broken. They are made to promote overtime, as in the rottenest case on record—our own Adamson law of 1916.

"British unions succeeded in enforcing the eight-hour law logically, forbidding overtime in some cases, as for instance, in woolen manufacture. The consequence is that Germany, which has also an eight-hour "law," is flooding the English market with German cloth manufactured from English wool, by breaking the eight-hour law. The workers in a factory in Germany, after completing eight hours in one factory, work another shift in the factory next door, drawing a new set of wages from a nominally different employer. But the mischief of the League of Nations becomes apparent when this subsidizing of socialism is understood. The "International Labor Organization" is the lineal descendant of the Karl Marx Communist League meeting in London in 1847.

"At its best it is a successor of the Second Internationale of 1889. Its present conference in Geneva "threatens force" exactly after the manner of the Moscow Internationale. And the people of civilized countries, working far more than eight hours to pay taxes, are paying for this pernicious nonsense!"

News Briefs of General Interest

New York City

Among the 179 delegates in attendance on the twenty-sixth annual session of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association, which was held in Denver, Colo., at the Shirley-Savoy Hotel, September 10 to 18, there were four colored men, namely: H. G. Nelms of Birmingham, Ala., Local 62; W. M. Hazel, jr., Jacksonville, Fla., Local 401; Thomas Dexter, Indianapolis, Ind., Local 532, and Richard Winston, New York City, Local No. 60.

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Louisiana.

SOUTH FEARS I. W. W. AS NEGROES GO NORTH

Louisiana Institutions Join in a Warning Against Menace of an Army of Reds.

Special to The New York Times.

NEW ORLEANS, July 7.—Aroused by the steady exodus of negroes to Northern cities, and menaced by the increasing strength of members of the Industrial Workers of the World, a full page advertisement appeared in an afternoon daily here today warning the South that 'northward the negro laborer winds his way and leaves the Southland cropless and to me.''

The advertisement is under the heading, "Peace and Prosperity or Pillage and Perdition," and at the bottom it says that it is the first of a series of frank talks on the on the general labor and business situation by a group of leading Louisiana institutions.

"Massed cheek by jowl and shoulder to shoulder 3,500 members of the Industrial Workers of the World are marking time in New Orleans," says the advertisement.

"Watching the trek of the negro laborer to the North, East and West, they wait confidently the time when they shall step forward and fill the vacancies in the cotton and sugar fields and lumber industries created by the exodus of the Black.

"Kept on the 'qui vive' by the exhortations of their Red leaders, they are preparing to treat the South and its resources as they treated the forests of Washington and the wheat fields of Nebraska and Kansas.

"Since the first 'Black Birder' touched the shores of North America and discharged its living freight, the negro industrially has been the wheelhorse of the South.

"Long the Wobblies studied him and then card indexed him as of too low intelligence to see red. Now the activities of labor agents in other sections of the country and high wages promised him are playing into the Wobblies' hands.

"Radical labor agents and the Reds squint down the same gun barrel. They disagree only on the pointing and discharging of the piece.

"'Look where you're aiming,' cautions the labor agent. 'Aiming, hell,' says the wobbly, 'pull the trigger!'

"In the exodus of the negro laborer from the South let us remember we can stand anything but the substitute offered by the wobblies. The lack of snap and jazz in old black Joe and his repeated promises of 'I'm coming' is much better than the raw red notes of the Internationale."

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Maryland.

LABOR TO TAKE HAND IN COMING ELECTION

Henry F. Broening Tells Afro Unions Want Better Conditions for All Races

COLORED WORKERS PRAISED

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

"Wherever They Join Unions, They Are Loyal," He Says

4-6-23

"Organized Labor will use every available ballot in the coming election to further its fight for standard living conditions for working men without regard to race or creed" said Henry F. Broening, local labor chief in an interview with an AFRO-AMERICAN representative this week.

The Conference Committee of the local Federation consisting of representatives from more than a hundred organizations, including the colored locals, have formulated a slate by which union men will be guided in the coming election and this slate has been made out solely on the records and present attitude of the various candidates as to important policies and measures affecting the status of labor.

Local Colored Folk Awakening

Considerable progress has been made of late in organizing colored workers especially in the building trades. There is one thing that can be said of colored men, continued Mr. Broening. Whenever they become bonafide members they are loyal.

"Are there still some opposition here in Baltimore among white crafts to including Negroes in the labor program?" Mr. Broening was asked.

"In so far as the joint organization of colored and white men in the same union there is still some opposition," admitted Mr. Broening, "but there are no trades in which they are not welcome in their own locals. The fact is we have tried to organize groups nearly in all of the crafts. All labor people now realize that the affiliation of colored men and women is imperative to the best interests of unionism. Like any other group they are in competition with the unions.

"Some time ago an organizer in the clothing industries was called into one of the large Baltimore concerns manufacturing overalls to organize the workers. This was desired by the concern in order that they could use the union label on their products.

There was one department in this concern given completely over to Negro workers and were unable to carry out the plan because the Negro group would not join the union.

Workers Lose Jobs

"When it was found that the colored workers would not organize in this plant the management tactfully let them out in order that he might use the union label on his products.

"We have found that in some cases the experiences of colored people in ogranizations militate against unionizing them. Often they have gone willingly into organizations only to have some official make off with the funds and this has produced much scepticism.

"On the other hand it must be admitted that the attitude of the white crafts has not always been what it should be. And when you add to this the fact that a large number of white employers wish to keep the Negroes unorganized in order that they may keep wages low, it is easy to understand the slow progress of unionism among this class.

Negro Wages Low

"Where the colored people are not affiliated with the unions their wages are invariably below th standard.

"There is for instance a colored man I know employed in one of the clothing manufacturing concerns now that is getting $15 per week as a trimmer. The union wage for this very work is $40 per week. White union men through out the city doing this kind of work are getting not less than this.

"Is it sensible that colored men should still be willing to be made the tools that fetter not only themselves in economic slavery but help to keep the general standards low?"

NEGRO LABOR STANDS PAT IN WAGE STRIK

Turn Down Cheap Wage Offer To Replace Italians as Strike-breakers

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
4-20-23

Negro common labor is standing pat in the fight of the local affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to raise the pay of common laborers to a minimun of 50 cents per hour says representatives of the Baltimore Council.

This fight which has been brewing for sometime came to a head last week when 200 Italian laborers went on strike crippling the work of several contractors on municipal jobs.

The Arundel Construction Company was compelled to completely suspend operations when all sixty of its employees went on strike.

Immediately following the strike the contractors began arrangements to employ Negroes to fill the gaps, but to their surprise the employment agencies were unable to supply them. Few of the colored men seemed willing to go on the job at less than the wages demanded by the Italians.

Face Labor Shortage

While the labor shortage which is evidenced by the wide range of calls for laborers from other sections and the case with which jobs are now obtained at fairly good wages in the local field may have something to do with the unwillingness of colored workers to take these jobs at less than 50 cents per hour, it is known that a large number of colored men have become members of the Federation and are working with the white laborers for a higher wage.

Negro Laborers Stand Pat

While the employers throughout the country are sending out much propaganda setting forth the existence of a labor shortage, union men say that this is untrue and that there are plenty of laborers that can be had for proper wages.

Up to the present the Negro laborers are standing pat.

OPPOSE UNIONS

Employers Of Colored Labor Are Against The 50c Hr. Wage

Baltimore Sun
4-26-23

Employers of colored labor are obstructing efforts to unionize them, the Baltimore Federation of Labor was told Wednesday night.

Organizers who have gone to various plants have met with rebuffs. It was asserted unions are contending for a minimum wage scale of 50 cents an hour for laborers. Most employers are against this.

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Mississippi.

Workers Complain So Plant Is Closed

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 22.—A miracle was performed here this week when the Federal court ordered the closing of the Buckeye Cotton Oil mill here, one of the largest in the state, because of its unsanitary condition. The complaint against the mill was filed by its Negro workers, led by Mrs. Mary Raglan. The mill will be idle until the conditions complained of are remedied. The management, it is learned, began the expenditure Monday of $38,000 for alterations to eliminate the smoke and dust in the plant.

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Missouri

COURT REFUSES TO PROTECT CITIZENS

Pittsburgh Courier 3-9-23

(By The Associated Negro Press)

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 9.—"Without jurisdiction," is the reply of District Attorney Carroll to complaints received here about efforts to drive colored people from Pemiscot and Dunklin counties in southeast Missouri. There have been a number of shots exchanged, and warnings given the people.

Large numbers of planters using colored labor, have also been "warned." The colored workers are not demonstrating any fear, but there is a desire to avoid trouble, is possible. They declare, however, "If it comes to a show down, we propose to 'stand pat' and defend ourselves."

RACE RIOTS SCOUTED.

Missouri Prosecuting Attorney Says Sporadic Trouble Caused By Whites.

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. 3-3-23

CARUTHERSVILLE, Mo., March 1.—Prosecuting Attorney Stiles of Pemiscot (this) county, today issued a statement expressing the opinion that there is no possibility of race rioting in this southeastern section of Missouri. The statement was prompted by reports that negroes were being harassed, some of which were received by United States District Attorney Carroll at St. Louis.

Mr. Stiles stated that sporadic disturbances of a minor character have occurred in the past few months but that none had occurred in the last weeks. The few disturbances were prompted by whites, who had been displaced in the fields by negro labor, Mr. Stiles added.

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New York.

TO THE COLORED EMPLOYEES OF THE THEATRES OF NEW YORK

Fellow Workmen:

After fifteen years on Broadway with Keith's and now at The Palace, I've often thought—as a body of men, why shouldn't we get together and form a club as other organizations have? Why shouldn't we have a society to help one another along in time of need? 3-4-23

When a man is wanted, or a woman wanted as a maid or cleaner why couldn't those places be filled by the club's own members? I personally believe that when the managers and superintendents see that we are in earnest in this movement they will gladly help us in getting together. It will better conditions for all.

I'm heart and soul in such a movement, and if this will interest you—first, to begin with, what we will need is real men; those who expect to make this movement a success; those who are willing to let all benefit from it, and some day we may be powerful as other organizations are.

We meet every Sunday afternoon until further notice at 2 p. m. at the residence of Mr. Wm. Hines, 342 West 59th street. Please attend this meeting without fail.

Sincerely,

GEO. H. CALDWELL,
Keith's Palace Theatre,
Broadway and 47th St.

Members to date: Mr. W. Hines, Palace Theatre; Mr. C. Tibbott, 48th Street Theatre; Mr. J. C. Collins, Lyceum Theatre; Mr. J. Atkinson, Cort Theatre; Mr. D. Manning, Lyceum Theatre.

Negro Labor Forward In Conference

NEW YORK, April 6.—For the first time in the history of Negro conferences, the tremendous mass of Negro workers was actually taken into consideration when the A. B. B. and F. N. E., were invited into the conference of civil rights organizations held in this city, March 23-24.

Both of these organizations are staunch advocates of the rights of Negro Labor. Both have strong economic planks in their program. The program of the A. B. B., for instance, calls for consumers co-operatives, and abolition of economic exploitation, declaring that the A. B. B., seeks liberation for the Race "not merely from alien political rule, but also from the crushing weight of exploitation which keeps the many in degrading poverty that the few may wallow in stolen wealth."

In the coming all-Race Conference, Negro Labor will have equal representation with the other sections of Negro life on account of the fearless advocacy at the March 23-24, Conference of such champions of Negro Labor as Richard B. Moore, Otto E. Huiswoud, Cyril V. Briggs, George S. Schuyler, and W. A. Domingo, all of whom were outspoken in their demands for equal representation for the workers of the Race and were generally supported in these demands by the representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. and the N. E. R. L.

LABOR AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Trade Union Leag u e For Square Deal

New York, May 14 (Crusader Service)—The Eastern District Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, an important factor in Organized Labor today, went on record in its meeting Sunday last as against all "discriminatory practices and debarring clauses against Negro workers" and passed the following resolution calling upon militants in the Labor Movement to energetically attack such practices. The motion reads:

"Whereas: Genuine working class solidarity is a burning necessity, if the working class is to better its condition and achieve its final emancipation from the exploiting class, and

"Whereas: The employers have brought about a steady and growing migration of Negroes from the South into Northern industrial centers where unorganized and influenced by the appeal to racial hatred, they become the tools of the employers in their ruthless attack upon the trade union movement, and

"Whereas: Discriminatory practices and debarring clauses in certain important unions, aimed at Negro workers, serve to aid the Bosses in their efforts at keeping alive the spirit of race harted, therefore be it

"Resolved: That the Eastern District Conference of the Trade Union Educational League calls upon the militants to demand the complete abolition of all discriminatory practices and debarring clauses aimed against Negro workers, and, be it further

"Resolved: That as a part of our general campaign to 'organize the unorganized' we pay particular attention

10th Biennial Meeting Of Hotel Head Waiters Held In New York City June 7

Treasurer Reported Cash Balance of $4,442.36, With Death Benefits Paid Totalling $2,700 Since Last Session—Where Headwaiters Will Be This Summer.

The tenth biennial convention of the National Association of Headwaiters was held at the headquarters of the association, 436 Lenox avenue, June 7 to 9.

The sessions were largely attended and communications from headwaiters in all parts of the United States, Canada and Cuba, were received, expressing regret because of their inability to be present.

This association was organized twenty years ago by the late Frank P. Thompson, who was one of the most famous colored headwaiters of his time. Although formed primarily for fraternal purposes, it finds works for a large number of men seeking hotel employment, without any cost to be met.

The report of the treasurer of this organization showed that there is a cash balance of $4,442.26 in the bank and death benefits to the amount of $2,700 have been paid during the past two years. Plans were made at the convention to begin a drive for the purpose of purchasing a home for the organization. The members hope to have the home paid for within the next year.

A. M. Thompson was reelected president, and the other officers are J. S. McLane, M. G. Skelly, F. J. Pierce and W. A. Gillum, vice-presidents; Dr. B. C. Waller, secretary and general manager, and J. T. Brown, treasurer. The board of governors are: J. T. Brown, chairman; James Queenan, Thos. H. Alston, W. Lee Smith, W. H. Dill, R. L. Chisholm, Morris Cowan, Nat T. Goodwin, H. H. Finlay and W. H. Wilkinson.

Some of the headwaiters who are members of the association will be located for the summer at the following places: J. S. McLane, (Lawrence Wil-

Labor—1923.
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Pennsylvania.

News Briefs of General Interest

The New York Age.
1-30-1923

William Pickens, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., spoke at the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Blue Mountains, Pa., and urged white and colored men to unite in fighting the prejudice which is dividing their ranks. He urged that colored artisans should be admitted to the ranks of organized labor with no shadow of difference, and that there can be no success for labor while the Negro laborer is a tool in the hands of those who oppose the advance of labor.

Labor — 1923.
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Houston Texas.

OCT 19 1923

UNION NEGROES AGREE TO LOAD SHIPS AT ISLAND

Galveston Local May be Outlawed by International

Galveston Bureau
The Houston Post.

GALVESTON, Texas, Oct. 18.—Disregarding action taken here this week by Galveston longshoremen in refusing to work ships arriving from ports affected by the longshoremen's strike, Local 329, a negro branch, Thursday signed an agreement with R. P. Williamson, Galveston stevedore, to work all ships handled by his concern for a period of one year.

Immediately following the signing of the contract, members of the local began loading the steamer Jolee at pier 32. The Jolee has been lying idle for several days pending a settlement in controversy between longshoremen and stevedores and shippers.

Members of other longshoremen's locals here refusing to work vessels arriving from ports affected by the longshoremen's strike are expected to outlaw the negro organization.

Frank J. Mellina, secretary of the Gulf division of the International Longshoremen's Association, and Captain Edwin Goudge, president of the Master Stevedores' Association of Texas, local heads of the conflicting organizations, Thursday declined to make a statement on the waterfront labor controversy.

Approximately 60 non-union men were busy Wednesday and Thursday loading the steamship Southseas which longshoremen refused to handle because the vessel arrived here in ballast from New Orleans.

I. W. W. SEEK NEGRO RECRUITS IN SOUTH, DETECTIVE ASSERTS

Houston Post

Is Effort to Increase Membership of Organization

Houston, Tex.

9-22-23

In an effort to materially enlarge their organization, represntatives of the I. W. W. are operating throughout the South in large numbers seeking negro recruits, according to Martin W. Williams, division superintendent of the Burns Detective agency. He was in Houston Friday conferring with M. H. Lyday, manager of the local agency.

From information placed in his hands by operatives during special investigations, Mr. Williams is in touch with the I. W. W. and is acquainted with the movements of several officials in this section of the country. For two weeks he has been watching the movements of one official who, he said, has made repeated trips between Houston and Lake Charles, La., stopping at intermediate points.

"The American Federation of Labor at the present time is inactive," he said. "That is, as far as the South is concerned. But in the North it's different. A great menace to the oil and timber industry in the South is the I. W. W. situation. In many instances it is known that they have gone as far as to place their men in the different plants, both in the oil fields and the timber industry. Everywhere they are sowing the seed of discontent, with a view of getting these workers organized into one big union—the I. W. W.

"One I. W. W. organizer came to Houston about two weeks ago. He is still in this section, plying between Houston, Beaumont, Orange and Port Arthur."

Mr. Williams has charge of Burns agency operations in Memphis, Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, New Orleans and Miami, Fla. He left Friday night for New Orleans.

Labor—1923
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United Mine Workers of America.

Must Open Unions To Negro, Says "Worker"

New York, July 2.—Clarissa S. Ware, writing in "The Worker," the organ of the Workers' Party of America, vividly describes the negro exodus from the barbarous south and strongly advises northern organized labor to let down its bars and enlist and accept the negro on equal terms, declaring that negro workers have proven themselves staunch union men in the case of the United Mine Workers and in other unions where they have been admitted. The article follows:

"Toting their few belongings, often live chickens and pigs, in sacks thrown over their shoulders, a race is moving out of bondage to the soil in the south into the industrial bondage of the north.

"During the last six months a stream of over 100,000 negroes has flowed from the old plantation lands into the industrial centers, into the mnes, mills, and factories.

"South Carolina reports that over 50,000 have migrated from forty-one counties alone, that each county has lost an average of over 1,000 farm workers and that over 400 farms on an average have been abandoned. From Alabama and the south comes the wail of the cotton, sugar, rice, corn and tobacco growers, who have counted on the negro to stick to his hoe.

"Two or three months ago labor recruiting agents coming from the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Ohio appeared and signed up the negro farm hands for free rides to the 12-hour day and the industrial salvery of the non-unon mines and mills.

"Today Alabama has lost 3 1-2 per cent of its total negro farm population. In Georgia the conditions are even more extreme. More than 32,000 farm hands or over 13 per cent of the total negro farm labor of the state have "moved north." They have left their crops planted in the ground, their shack doors idly banging to and fro, to seek freedom, high wages and a steady job in the promised land of the north.

"They are passing through Chattanooga, Tenn., in gangs of 500 each in charge of the northern industrial labor agents. In Jackson, Miss., groups of three and four hundred are starting on the same journey.

"The exodus from Egypt is on. The whole vicious system of peonage, share cropping and tenantry which have enslaved the negro to the field boss, landlord and plantation owner—the white man's law courts and mob rule—the lynchings—the utter mockery of all legal and political rights, these coufled with the short cotton crop of the last two years have prepared a fertile field for the labor recruiting agents. Except for the war-time exodus of 50,000 nothing like the present migration has occurred. Today the negro migrant is answering the call of the steel mills for cheap labor. Some time ago Babson advised northern employers to go south and bring negro laborers.

"The negro farmer of the south has never been beyond the limits of the nearby village. The woods, mine, mill or factory mean little or nothing to him. He does not know what a union is and he has never heard the word scaf. Because of his illiteracy, vecause of his utter ignorance of the conditions of modern industry he offers a source of unorganized labor, which is being exploited to an extent comparable only to the extent to which the foreign workers are exploited and oppressed. Labor agents are traveling through the southern states offering free rides to an easy job, with high wages and short hours and a people so long in bondage to cotton are throwing off the yokes of serfdom and taking their free rides to enter bondage to steel.

"And from Atlanta comes the definite statement by Connors of the Negro Welfare association:

"'They are leaving Atlanta for the north by the car load and are going to the steel mills of Pennsylvania and Ohio!'

"Cotton is King no longer. It has abdicated to steel. The development of American imperialism has reached the stage where the investment of capital in other lands is calling for the production of steel, steel and ever more steel. And the negro laborers is laying aside his hoe and answering the call of the steel king for new recruits to his army of twelve-hour day slaves"

UNIONS MUST OPEN TO SOUTHERNERS, SAYS "WORKER"

Labor Union Should Take in the Colored

NEW YORK, July 7.—Clarissa S. Ware, writing in "The Worker," the organ of the Workers Party of America, vividly describes the Negro exodus from the barbarous South and strongly advises Northern Organized Labor to let down its bars and enlist and accept the Negro on equal terms, declaring that Negro workers have proven themselves staunch union men in the case of the United Mine Workers and in other unions where they have been admitted. The article follows:

"Toting their few belongings, often live chickens and pigs, in sacks thrown over their shoulders, a race is moving out of bondage to the soil in the South into the industrial bondage of the North.

"During the last six months a stream of over 100,000 Negroes has flowed from the old plantation lands into the industrial centers, into the mines, mills and factories.

South Carolina reports that over 50,000 have migrated from 41 counties alone, that each county has lost an average of over 1,000 farm workers, and that over 400 farms on an average have been abandoned. From Alabama and the South comes the wail of the cotton, sugar, rice, corn and tobacco growers, who have counted on the Negro to stick to his hoe.

"Two or three months ago labor recruiting agents coming from the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Ohio appeared and signed up the Negro farm hands for free rides to the 12-hour day and the industrial slavery of the non-union mines and mills.

"Today Alabama has lost 3½ per cent of its total Negro farm population. In Georgia the conditions are even more extreme. More than 32,000 farm hands or over 13 per cent of the total Negro farm labor of the state have 'moved north.' They have left their crops planted in the ground, their shack doors idly banging to and fro, to seek freedom, high wages and a steady job in the promised land of the North.

"They are passing through Chattanooga, Tennessee, in gangs of 500 each in charge of the Northern Industrial Labor Agents. In Jackson, Mississippi, groups of three and four hundred are starting on the same journey.

Cotton Is No Longer King

"Cotton is King no longer. It has abdicated to Steel. The development of American Imperialism has reached the stage where the investment of capital in other lands is calling for the production of steel, steel, and ever more steel. And the Negro laborer is laying aside his hoe and answering the call of the Steel King for new recruits to his army of twelve-hour slaves.

"Many times the Negro worker has been misunderstood by his white brother. Many times Negroes have been blamed for scabbing when the very union on strike had refused membership to Negro workers. The race riots, engineered by employers in their efforts to keep the ranks of labor divided, have often left bitterness and antagonism between the Negro and white workers. But, as in the United Mine Workers of America, the Negroes have been organized and have proven themselves staunch union men, so in other unions, the realization of the need for solidarity of labor and the unity of interest of all workers is developing apace."

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GRAND JURY BEGINS PROBE OF LYNCHING

1-18-23

Two Alleged Strikers Plead Guilty to Arson at Harrison, Is Claim

(Associated Press)

HARRISON, Ark., Jan. 17.—With the circuit court and grand jury in session early tonight, and no intimation given as to the probable results of their deliberation, speculation centered on the activities of the citizens' court, a self styled tribunal consisting of twelve men appointed yesterday by the "Committee of 1,000" to investigate the recent bridge burning and other destruction of property along lines of the Missouri and North Arkansas railway.

The "citizens' court" late today announced that it would give a complete statement of its "findings" some time tonight.

Deputies have been dispatched for several persons wanted for questioning by the "citizens' court," according to Sheriff Maddox, and he intimated some of his assistants were seeking persons indicted by the grand jury.

Little Rock authorities have been asked, according to unconfirmed report, to take into custody Pete Venable, former employe of the railway, when it was reported he intended to return to his home here, from which he fled yesterday.

Two alleged strikers, "Red" Orr and Luther Wise, are said to have pleaded guilty in circuit court to charges of arson in connection with the bridge burning and sentenced by Judge J. M. Shinn to seven years in the penitentiary. They were reported tonight en route to prison at Little Rock.

Albert Stevens, a former railway conductor, also charged with arson, failed to appear in court this morning and his bond of $10,000 was declared forfeited. His bond, it is said, was signed by George O'Neal, hotel owner, who was publicly whipped yesterday.

Three members of the city council—W. G. Daily, Will Larimer and George Minicus—resigned and their resignations were accepted, but Mayor J. M. Cluet refused to quit office at the request of the "citizens' court." City Marshal Parr, who was reported to have fled town yesterday, returned today and declared "he is still on the job and won't resign."

Gertrude Branham, daughter of John Branham, former Missouri and North Arkansas employe, created a stir when she fired into a group of committee investigators who went to the Branham home in search of her father, wanted as a witness before the "citizens' court." No one was injured.

The general exodus of alleged strikers, their families and strike sympathizers began yesterday with the "armed action" of the clean-up campaign, continued tonight despite the fact that Sheriff Maddox of Boone county had advised Governor McRae during the day he had the situation well in hand.

Armed guards numbering approximately 300 were on duty here tonight.

the governor of Alabama cannot add his signature to an issue of bonds, because there is no provision, it is said, in the amendment for the issuance of bonds. In other words, it is said, the state treasury has not the money in its general funds to appropriate ten millions to the port of Mobile. On the other hand, it is said, the general fund of the state treasury barely suffices to take care of the running and other necessary expenses of the state government.

It is known that the enabling acts for the development of the port of Mobile under state backing have been under careful scrutiny of Governor Brandon. Governor Brandon could not be seen Wednesday night, but it is generally reported that the governor is looking to his legal advisers as to whether or not the state of Alabama can put its credit behind a proposition of this kind without the express command of the electorate. It is known that the governor feels that the general fund of the state treasury cannot sustain the added burden of the port of Mobile.

Senator Charles Teasley, of Montgomery, introduced the Mobile port amendment act in the legislature. He was handed the bill by Secretary Darden of Governor Kilby's administration and introduced it by request of the secretary. He stated Wednesday night that when he introduced it he did not know the contents of the bill or the wording of the amendment proposed. He did state, however, that he had found that the wording followed exactly the wording of the amendment of 1919 which was defeated by the people of Alabama at the polls.

Sidney J. Bowie of Birmingham, a member of the State Harbor Commission and a proponent of the amendment, was called Wednesday night by The Advertiser. He said: "The matter has been called to my attention, but I have not had time to look into it. I feel, however, that there is a way around which will work out satisfactorily."

It is said that the final proposition will have to be submitted to the supreme court of Alabama before anyone would buy the bonds of the state. The buyers of bonds would insist on the question of the right of the state to issue bonds without the express will of the people being passed upon by the supreme court.

The whole matter has created much gossip and not a little consternation in the ranks of the proponents of the development of the port of Mobile.

Arkansas.

BOY CHARGES HE WAS WHIPPED BY CITIZENS

Head Between Posts and Tied With Barbed Wire.

RECOGNIZES ASSAILANTS

Texas.

Nine Men in Band and Each Gave Two Licks, Youth Testifies, and That Then He Was Ordered to Leave Heber Springs.

1-27-23

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Jan. 26.—Not only was he whipped, but his head was forced between a fence post and aled with a strand of barbed wire, causing cuts and bruises, according to the testimony given tonight before the joint investigation committee of the Legislature by Dewey Webb, 18-year-old boy, who declared he was ordered out of Heber Springs by the "committee of twelve."

Taken to Park and Whipped.

Webb told the committee he was taken before the committee and after being questioned, was told to go home. Nine men, however, took him in charge as he left the courthouse and marched him to the ball park. He recognized Jack Carter, Frank Stewart and Otie Logan among the men who whipped him, he said, and Logan wore a black mask. Each of the nine men gave him "two licks" except Stewart, a resident of Pangburn, who gave him three. Then he was released and ordered to leave town, being told not even to stop at his home before going. Webb's brother and H. O. Eads, a striking fireman, testified they also had been ordered to "sign up or leave," and that they spent two nights in the woods with Webb. Both said they saw the stripes left by the last and that Webb was so badly hurt he could not walk good. Albert Raash who testified Thursday night, was recalled and denied that he is an I. W. W. or ever has been and denied also that he sought to overhear a conversation between two members of the investigating committee. J. G. Brown, organizer for the United Farmers, gave the committee the names of several members of the organization who, he declared, had been mistreated.

Will Meet Monday.

The committee will meet again Monday night. J. C. Murray, general manager of the M. & N. A., was here today and informer Adjutant General McAlester he wil be here with books, papers and documents, to apear before the committee Tuesday night. The "Committee of Twelve" of Harrison and other points on the M. & N. A. will also appear before the committee beginning Monday night. The committee will then visit Harrison.

Senator Otis G. Bogle had Albert Rash, a witness, examined last night, recalled. "Isn't is a fact that you are an I. W. W., carry a red card, and came back to Harrison for the sole purpose of raising cain along the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad?" Senator Bogle asked.

"No!" Rash shouted. "It not true."

Then Senator Bogle questioned him regarding his movements. Rash testified he came to Harrison from Ozark Power Company's dam near Forsythe, Mo., with E. C. Gregor, striking railroad employe who was lynched at Harrison. His family lived in Harrison, he said.

H. O. Eades, a striking brakeman living in Heber Springs, added little to testimony already before the committee. He knew nothing about the depredations along the road except the "newspaper stuff." He thought the trouble at Heber Springs started after a "mob" of about 200 came down to Heber Springs from Harrison. He also thought the men who came to his home to bring him before the committee were "pretty fine fellows," until that time.

TROOPS NOT NEEDED, GOVERNOR M'RAE SAYS

Resolution Authorizing Use Is Not Approved.

ASKS ANTI-LYNCH LAW

In Special Message to Assembly Work of Investigating Committee Is Lauded and History of Struggle of M. & N. A. Recited.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Jan. 29.—Gov. T. C. McRae, in a message to the Legislature today commended the work of the special legislative committee now inquiring into violence and depredations along the route of the Missouri & North Arkansas Railway and expressed his hope that the investigation would include a thorough probe into all phases of the trouble and result in remedial legislation if such action should appear necessary.

The message was sent with the announcement of the governor's veto of the concurrent resolution authorizing him to call out the national guard "to restore order at Harrison," which was adopted some time ago. In the communication the executive reviewed at length the long series of disorders and the conditions that led up to them, and said that the necessity of the use of militia had long since passed.

The governor also urged the assembly pass an anti-lynching law.

The governor's message follows:

"To the Forty-fourth General Assembly:

"I herewith return, without my approval, Senate concurrent resolution No. 4.

"During this long, bitter contest between the strikers and the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad there has been no time when it appeared to me that troops could accomplish any good. In my judgment it is unseemly, if not impossible, to guard the bridges and other property and operate trains with the state national guard. If, however, there ever was any necessity for troops in Boone County, it does not exist now. The sheriff has assured me that the situation is well in hand, and that the troops are not needed. I have directed the adjutant general to see that all the requests and orders of the joint investigating committee for witness be promptly complied with and executed. I have requested the fire marshal to render any assistance in his power to the civil authorities in their efforts to fix the responsibility for the burning of the bridges of the railroad. I have urged the courts and prosecuting attorney to have the most thorough investigation of acts of violence by the grand juries. I have welcomed investigation on the part of the department of justice of the United States.

Full and Thorough Inquiry.

"It is my earnest desire that the committee will make a full and thorough investigation as to the alleged depredations upon the property of said road, and also of all alleged mob violence and injury to the property and person of the strikers, with the view of fixing the civil liability for the loss of property on both sides. It is my earnest desire that your committee will spare no efforts to ascertain the truth as to who burned the bridges and committed other depredations upon railroad property, and also who committed the acts of violence on the strikers.

"When you have completed the investigation, suggest what additional legislation is needed to prevent a repetition of such occurences. Let me urge you to enact some anti-lynching legislation before you adjourn.

"Without regard to his guilt or innocence, without regard as to whether he was or was not justified in resisting the search of his house, Gregor was entitled to a legal trial, and the taking of his life without indictment and trial was an outrage and a disgrace. I think compensation should be made to his family by the general assembly, without delay.

"I deem it not improper at this juncture to call your attention and that of your joint committee to another side of this deplorable controversy—that of the public—by giving you briefly the history of the construction, operation, receivership, suspension, sale and reorganization of this railroad. It was built to meet a demand for the development of the Ozark section of the state. This section is one of the finest in the state for agricultural purposes, splendidly adapted for apple orchards and small fruit, and contains great quantities of hardwood timber, marble, stone and zinc. Owing to the fact that it was without railways, and for this reason without access to the markets of the country, its development was retarded and the growth of population very slow.

Thought Road Helpful.

"A few enterprising capitalists of

our neighbor city, St. Louis, thought that the construction of a railway through that section, which would connect it on one terminal with the trunk lines of the west, and on the other with the Mississippi River, would be helpful to the people of that section, and prove in the course of time a profitable investment. They accordingly built the road from Neosho, Missouri, to Helena, Ark., at a cost of several million dollars. This is one of the few roads which was built entirely with the money of the parties at interest. Not a share of the stock, nor a single bond secured by a mortgage on the road was ever placed on the market or sold to investors, the builders owning every bond and share, and upon the final foreclosure of the road, every dollar of their investment was a total loss, the road selling for only sufficient to pay the receiver's certificates, issued by order of the court, and the indebtedness incurred by the receiver in the operation of the road. Nor was there ever a dividend on the stock, nor a dollar of interest paid on the bonds. Owing to the hard times prevailing at the time of the completion of the road, the section traversed by the road did not develop as rapidly as expected, still there was some immigration, thousands of acres of lands therefore undeveloped were gradually brought under cultivation, a large number of apple orchards planted and quite a number of strawberries raised.

RAIL LYNCHING STILL UNSOLVED

N Y C SUN

MARCH 26, 1923

Arkansas Investigators Fail to Fix Blame.

INQUIRY NEARLY FINISHED

Citizens Frank on Other Phases of Harrison Uprising.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 26.—The Legislative committee, under the chairmanship of Brooks Norfleet which has been investigating the recent railroad strike and uprising at Harrison, has nearly ended its work.

Mr. Norfleet said the committee since its return has received requests to hear some union witnesses in rebuttal of the evidence obtained at Harrison regarding the trouble on the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad, and that it stands ready to hear any and all witnesses who may appear on either side of the controversy. However, he added, the committee at its coming meeting may decide to set a definite date limit after which further testimony will not be taken.

During their stay of four days at Harrison the investigators heard about fifty witnesses, representing residents of north Arkansas all the way from Heber Springs to Eureka Springs. Residents of this great stretch of territory, with a population comprising, it is estimated, some 150,000 persons, were given every opportunity to put in the record their side of the transportation and labor controversy which started with the strike of the railroad employees in February, 1921.

Fail to Solve Hanging.

The committee returned without having shed any light on the most sensational incident of the uprising, the case of E. C. Gregor, striking railroader, who, after a shooting affray at his home in Harrison on January 15, was taken by a citizens' posse to the hall of the "committee of twelve," questioned and held for further examination, and whose body was found next morning hanging from a railroad trestle.

The committee while at Harrison tried repeatedly to fix the definite responsibility for this lynching, and just as repeatedly brought up against a stone wall. It never could ascertain from any witness the name of a single man who had been close to Gregor after he went before the "committee of twelve" on Monday afternoon. The one man named earlier in the hearing by John Huie, a striker, as having been one of Gregor's guards was "Bill" Walters of Harrison, and he testified that Huie's statement was absolutely false.

One of the high points at Harrison was reached on the last day of the examination of Sheriff Bob Shaddox of Boone county. During the entire hearing the committee had been trying to discover when and where, if at all, some constituted official had failed during the emergency, and Sheriff Shaddox in a few sentences assumed entire responsibility for any breakdown of civil government there might have been.

"Where were you," Mr. McKeenan asked him, "when the shooting took place at Gregor's on that Monday?"

"Here in the courtroom," he answered.

"And with a fusillade of more than fifty shots fired less than 200 yards away, what did you do? Did you go up there on the hill or send a deputy?"

"No, sir."

Admitted He Did Not Act.

The Sheriff also admitted that during Monday and Monday night, when, testimony showed, at least 1,000 armed men were "milling" in the court house square, he took no action as the chief peace officer of the county.

Sheriff Shaddox volunteered no explanation of his inactivity. And the other witnesses gave the constant impression that north Arkansas is not afraid or ashamed of what happened and desires only to have its fellow citizens of Arkansas and America understand why it happened.

Witness after witness stated emphatically that organized labor as such was not an element in the conflict. The immediate cause of the trouble, they said, was the attitude of the railroad brotherhoods, which was brought to a head the second Sunday in January, when the union chiefs in Chicago met and voted to continue indefinitely the strike which already had put the territory through one winter of hardship and suffering, according to dozens of witnesses, and which through sabotage had brought the line to the point where it must again cease operation, according to data presented by General Manager J. C. Murray.

Only when that point had been reached, according to the testimony, did public tolerance of the activities and militant attitude of the small minority or less than 1,000 strikers cease. But when it ceased it ceased hard, as might have been expected by people who know what kind of Americans populate north Arkansas. Something "busted."

"When men were booted out of the crowd that Monday," one witness was asked, "where were they told to go?"

"Nobody cared much where they went as long as they went somewhere else."

If such impromptu deportations took place, however, the record of the investigating committee shows they occurred without the action or knowledge of the various semi-official citizens' committees. Members of these bodies in every community where one was formed appeared as witnesses and, without exception, swore that no man had ever been ordered to leave his home. Each of these committeemen also was asked whether the railroad company management or officials had taken any share, direct or indirect, in the uprising. Each declared unequivocally that the railroad had no part in it.

In this connection the committee went thoroughly into the question of the special train which on January 15 brought many men from points along the line into Harrison. All said it was furnished by the M. and N. A. in return for payment at the regular rates. Several men testified to having made contributions to the cost of this transportation.

Labor—1923
Unions, Strikes, etc.,

Arkansas.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

Lawlessness Met by Lawlessness.

A "labor trouble" which has developed in a way highly unusual, if not wholly unprecedented, is reported from the State of Arkansas. Two years ago the employés of a small railway serving an agricultural district of some size and importance as its only practicable means of communication with the markets where its inhabitants buy and sell went on strike against a reduction of wages. That was lawful and legitimate, in spite of the general feeling, nowadays, that both the employers and employés of a public utility are under a special obligation neither to suspend nor to stop its operation because of the inevitable inconvenience and almost inevitable loss thus imposed on what has come to be recognized as a third party in interest—the public.

But the railway men did more than strike; they determined that their places should not be taken by other men, and to carry out this determination they from time to time resorted to violences of many kinds, including the destruction of much property—bridges and the like—essential to the operation. By these means they did so reduce the service it rendered that the farmers whose welfare and almost whose lives depended upon the running of its trains gathered in a small army and took action. One striker they hanged, a prominent sympathizer they flogged, and the other strikers they drove away with a vehemence that made resistance as dangerous as it would have been useless.

That done, quiet and order prevailed, and the State militia, which had been mobilized, did not go to the scene of these riotous proceedings.

Was There Any Alternative?

For what these Arkansas farmers did there was, of course, no legal excuse. Whether or not there was for it some approach to an excuse of another kind depends on whether or not a proper appeal to the constituted authorities, State and along the railway line, had been made, and on whether or not those authorities had taken the certainly not impossible measures to protect the road's property and the operation of its trains.

That point has not been made clear, as yet, by the dispatches, but the circumstances as disclosed warrant a suspicion that, if the representatives of the law promptly had done their full duty as soon as the bridge-burning and general sabotage began, the farmers would not have felt obliged to do what they did.

As a class, especially in parts of the country like Arkansas, farmers are not particularly fond of railway corporations, and it safely enough can be assumed that these farmers' affection for the Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad was not the guiding impulse of their lives. Yet they went to its defense at last and made manifest their resolve that interference with its activities should cease. That they would have done this except as a desperate expedient for which they knew of no alternative does not seem likely.

At any rate, the farmers did not wear masks when they went about their savage work, and seemingly they are prepared to take the responsibility for it and to defend it as necessary for the termination of an intolerable situation.

As for the strikers, it is only fair to say that, though they were unionists in what they did, they were not exponents of unionism as its principles and methods are formulated by its only recognized leaders. But what they did, unfortunately, was what too often has been done by other unionists without exciting the amount of union condemnation which such acts deserve from every good citizen in or out of unions.

NEGROES ARE WARNED TO LEAVE PARAGOULD

Workers on Railroad Threatened With Death, Report.

PARAGOULD, Ark., May 23.—A report was current Monday afternoon that a force of negro workmen brought to this city by the Missouri Pacific Railroad to perform repair work on trestles and dumps around this city, damaged by the recent overflow, had been warned by local individuals to leave at once. They have been warned that unless they quit Paragould immediately violence would be done them; that they and their wives would be taken by a mob from the boarding cars and killed.

Sunday night the five boarding cars housing them were run into the Missouri Pacific yards, near the roundhouse, as a precautionary step against the threatened outbreak. Chas. Baldwin, foreman of the 100 negroes, is said to have indicated to local officers that he was not being given proper protection for his force and displayed much ill humor as a result. It is reported that federal officers have been informed of the alleged threat.

It was pointed out that the threats issued by local individuals constituted a breach of the recently enacted federal injunction against workmen of a railroad line being interfered with, and the act of issuing a mob threat constitutes a violation of the federal law against night riding.

N Y C ILLUSTRATED NEWS
MAY 16. 1923

UNIONS BAIT TRAP FOR LYNCHING MOB

Cleveland, O., May 15.—A $5,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of persons responsible for the lynching of E. C. Gregor, secretary of the Machinists' Union at Harrison, Ark., last January, was posted by sixteen railroad unions today. The union offer matches that of the Arkansas Legislature.

Labor—1923
Unions, Strikes, etc.

American Federation of Labor.

THE FUTURE OF THE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

New York News 1-27-23

Until black men are accorded an equal opportunity and until their equal rights are enforced by the American Federation of Labor there can be no industrial peace or justice in America. The recent national convention went on record as refusing to force individual unions to admit colored laborers. Those unions that now admit black members do so, it seems to us, on the theory that the tighter you hold the reins on a bad horse the better you can manage him. The unions do not in many cases accept journeymen laborers until they have served an apprenticeship. The average union craft and shop will not accept colored youths as apprentices. When by some effort colored men enter the union preference is given white laborers, as in the recent New York dock strike, until the black union laborer is starved out and returns to scab, non-union labor. So long as these conditions obtain, so long will colored labor prevent all labor coming into its own of rightful wages and just working conditions.

The American Federation of Labor should unionize the colored laboring men of this country. The times are going to demand in the future that black labor, too, be organized if it is not to be the football of industry, as it has been in the past. It must no longer remain the cat's-paw of captains of industry with which they have pulled their chestnuts out of the fire.

We repeat in part our words to the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor in session in Washington on this score:

"Twenty million hands, in the language of the lamented industrial leader of his race, Booker T. Washington, are going to help you pull the load upward or they, nilly-willy, are going to pull against you, the load downward.

"The law of changeless justice bind oppressor with oppressed,
And, close as sin and suffering joined,
We march to fate abreast."

According to the census of 1910, and I am therefore greatly understating the case:

"Nearly two million black farmers and farm laborers, if you do not touch them with your wand of living wages and enlightenment, are going to help keep up the discouraging high cost of living; and nearly 200,000 laborers, if you do not raise them up, in the building and hand trades are going to help keep those trades down; 100,000 laborers in the saw and planing mills; 100,000 laborers on the steam railroads; 100,000 porters, 100,000 teamsters; 50,000 coal miners; 50,000 road and street laborers; 50,000 carpenters and masons; 50,000 longshoremen and stevedores; 50,000 firemen and janitors, and nearly one million in other occupations—these four million colored male laborers and more than two million colored female laborers, doing everything from operating machines to running elevators, are going to continue the flotsam and jetsam of the labor market, to be pulled here and there to stop the gap of those striking for the right to live better, or they are going to join with you in a steady advance to make all honest labor dignified and worth while. They are going to continue the terrifying mass of thorns upon the brow of organized labor or they are going to be wheel horses in your glorious struggle to secure for labor its just share of the fruits of industry.

"Eighty-seven and four-tenths per cent. of male colored Americans ten years of age and over are gainfully employed, while 77.9 per cent. of native Americans are so employed. Fifty-four and seven-tenths per cent. of the female portion of colored Americans ten years of age and over are gainfully employed, while but 19.2 per cent. of native white female Americans are so employed. Here is a condition and not a theory crying for a thoroughgoing permanent and honest solution by the American Federation of Labor. This labor is spreading to all sections of the country northward in numbers like an exodus. If you organize and unionize this influx it will not add chaos and confusion; it will help and not hurt organized labor.

"The ship of state, with its black and white crusaders, is plowing the briny deep to rescue trampled liberty abroad. Let the American Federation of Labor rescue industrial freedom on the downtrodden black knights of toil at home; let it serve thereby not only the American Federation of Labor, but let it thus save and serve mankind in America."

If the American Federation of Labor is wise and sincere it will force its unions to admit colored labor everywhere into equal membership.

Norfolk Journal & Guide 10-20-23

The American Federation of Labor has had a notable annual convention at Portland, Oregon; notable in that it registered a vote of 27838 to 107 against committing the organization to Communism, then against direct political action and then in denouncing the Ku Klux Klan organization and urging its defeat. The efforts of the Radicals to commit the Federation to direct political action and co-operation with the Radical elements of labor in the United States and Europe has been long and bitter, and the final defeat of these efforts places the Federation on record as one of the most conservative organizations in the country.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEGRO

Taking cognizance of the near approach of Labor Day, particularly of Labor Sunday, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, urges the appropriateness of Labor Sunday as an occasion "to give thought to the aspirations of Labor and to find in what way the soul of Labor may give thought and expression to its longings." To this end the Federation asks that there be the fullest co-operation between the Churches and labor on that day for a great "unison of expression in behalf of a higher nobler life for the masses" and a "concentration to the cause of human betterment."

All of which sounds commendable and highly desirable. But we have at present so impressed on our minds the memory of the American Federation of Labor's inhospitable and hostile attitude toward Negro labor as to make us very skeptical of all its high sounding phrases concerning "nobler life for the masses" and the "soul of Labor" giving "thought and expression to its longings."

The Executive Council, however, sends forth the following document which, in word if not in spirit, summarizes what is the desired plane to which all labor, white and black alike, should sooner or later be elevated.

"Having regard for the need of keeping constantly before the masses of our people the highest ideals of our labor movement and the requirement of our people for the complete fullness of life in all things, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declares as follows.

"The labor movement of America demands for all of our people the full benefit of the life giving forces of our marvelous civilization through constantly increasing wages and improvement of working conditions and through a reasonable and proper reduction in the hours of work.

"The labor movement of America demands for the wage earners and for all who serve usefully in any capacity, a sound and just economic basis for life and freedom in the fullest meaning of these terms.

"The labor movement of America has ever had high regard for the development of the ethical and the spiritual in life, realizing the right of all humanity to partake freely of the great satisfaction that comes to enrich life as a result.

"The labor movement of our country, recognizing the fact that all freedom and all higher development of life, rest upon first providing assurance of the essentials of existence, has first demanded economic justice as a basis for all other things.

"But the labor movement has always taught that the material is essential to something higher, and that the inspiration of our movement has its deepest springs in something above and beyond the material.

"The labor movement strives for economic improvement with unrelenting zeal and fidelity because economic improvement is the first fundamental requisite; but it holds out to all mankind a flaming torch lighting the way to a greater fullness of life, to complete realization of the finer and nobler aspirations of the mind and soul.

"The labor movement fixes as its goal nothing less than the complete richness of life, without limitation of any kind, the attainment of the complete human ideal, in all of its economic, ethical and spiritual implications.

Note the richness of the phrases setting forth what labor wants: "complete fulness of life in all things"; "constantly increasing wages"; "improvement of working conditions"; "freedom in the fullest meaning of the term"; "the right of all humanity to partake freely of the great satisfaction that comes to enrich life"; "economic justice"; holding out "to all mankind a flaming torch lighting the way to a greater fulness of life." These phrases phrase the supreme good of organized Labor but the organization leaves the Negro out of its purview. That is its uniform history. It has voided and equivocated, and proscribed and legislated so stubbornly and consciencelessly against the Negro that he ventures to hope for nothing from and through its high sounding grandiloquent "Spiritual" appeal to the American people.

None of the richness and fairness and fullness of life as set forth herein for the laboring man of America does the American Federation of Labor hold forth for the Negro. If that organization were less Pharasaical it would challenge the cause of all labor wherever it galls, and of all laborers wherever they are handicapped. It would champion the rights of all men to economic justice and would carry the flaming torch of fair play and justice so that it might light the way of all labor to a greater fullness of life. Unfortunately, as with most of the prejudiced American social institutions not excepting some of the Churches, even, the Federation of Labor loses its virtues and breaks down at the point of contact with the Negro and his welfare.

If all of our national and local community organizations and institutions would incorporate the masses of human beings within their programs for human betterment, they could, with a more appropriate sense of expectancy, look forward to the attainment of larger and more permanent results in social upbuilding. But as long as the American Federation of Labor and other institutions strive to lift one sector of the social mass and to deliberately disadvantage another group for class or color gratification so long will the inequalities and defects and disasters of our present social regime abide. All labor must one day, at some stage of America's social evolution, be exalted and rated at its full worth. When that period comes the Negro laborer will perforce be in the equation—a potent factor.

Labor — 1923

Alabama

Unions and Strikes, etc.

THE LABOR UNIONS AND THE NEGRO

The Birmingham Labor Review 8-2-23

The Negro must be greatly concerned in common labor of all kinds. He has made a creditable record in the fields of labor and is recognized today as the most endurable and dependable of any in our American states. Being removed from the powers and not allowed any personal contact with higher officials, much of the credit due him for manning and keeping alive big plants has been taken by other races. He is respected as a cheerful, obedient and satisfied laborer, as well as an endurable one. He has not been given the opportunity he is entitled to to control or direct even members of his own race.

The Negro can hope for no profitable place nor a place of protection in the present labor organizations as they are conducted in our section with reference to him, and he is not accepted in many labor organizations in other sections. Therefore, it is important that the colored man establish his worth and stayability to those who operate plants and concerns and make his contracts and expect his protection from that source.

Race prejudices, distinctions, and jealousies have been as far back as time goes and there is no indication of a change in this direction if we are to rely upon what seems to be the facts today. The one program for the Negro at this hour is race unity, race pride and a solidarity of interest, a devotion to every worthwhile cause to the extent of his ability, a constant, practical and everyday honesty in whatever vocation he may be found. Catering to or siding with our present day labor organizations is but to retard our progress and put under suspicion the Negro who must work with his hands.

Birmingham and Jefferson County have for a long time attempted some kind of labor organization and in some of the fields the Negro has been invited and shared lucratively in paying his monthly dues for the care and keep of white officers. Here and there a Negro has been given some little honor or position, but nothing carrying with it executive authority or administrative force, and in one organization we recall that he represented at one time nearly three-fourths of its membership and was not permitted even with that ratio to exercise any executive function. The union has made it sufficiently plain for the Negro to understand his place and position in all matters affecting his association with white union organizations.

Our Trades Council, according to reports in the newspapers, had a representative last Friday to entertain the Board of Education on the proposition of erecting a high school for the Negro children of Birmingham. The Trades Council, as we understand it, represents several organizations or labor unions. It may be in this very body that the Negro is represented with his money if not with his presence. The gentlemen insisted that the Board should not appropriate money for the building of a Negro high school, but that it should use the money to buy text books for children, evidently white children. It is a sad day and one to be regretted when we must come face to face with a situation of this kind where men, many of them in the humble ranks of society as is the Negro, knowing the pain and stress of poverty, feeling the keen and sharp prick of oppression, would be found before an intelligent board asking it to deny Negroes a chance to house their children in order that they (the white people) may not be required to buy books.

When the lines are drawn between labor and capital they appeal to this very Negro whom they deny an education as being his best friend and the other fellow his enemy, and yet in a crisis, in a serious plight of circumstances the Negro finds his best friend as he has always found him in years past—among that stalwart statesmanlike citizenship as is acting on the Board of Education at present. This should be a good lesson for Negroes that they might guide aright in all of the affairs affecting their interest and the welfare of our common country. This leads us to the thought that many times the Negro is denied what he is justly entitled to not because of any disposition direct on the part of our several administrations, but because of the threats made against the administrations and us from those we have need to believe are our friends. But as the statement goes, every day in every way the Negro is learning, and as he learns he must fortify himself in a position that will guarantee his safety and that of those he can trust and depend upon.

This is no new sentiment on the part of this publication nor any new view of its editorial staff. We have said many times that the Negro must in self-defense find solid ground on which to stand and stand there in defiance of all attacks.

We can no longer pursue the scattered and uncertain course we have been traveling and preserve our race importance and race dignity. As a distinct people we must make our distinctiveness as an economic, moral and intellectual group or forever take our place in abject subordination to all other groups. We have indulged in a degree of race pride, but we need to have more, a distinct race respect and race pride. We need to find a substantial ground on which to stand and a solid fulcrum in order to race lifting or race elevation. Our opportunity is not in doubtful labor unions. Our moves must be along the lines of certainties or at least in the channel of human possibilities.

Mobile, Ala., Register

SUFFICIENT LABOR TO HANDLE SHIPS, ASSOCIATION SAYS

OCT 4 - 1923

Marine Employers Report Additional Recruits for Ranks of Striking Longshoremen.

Recruiting for longshoremen to take places of the negroes, now on strike for higher wages, totalled more than double the first day, according to a statement last night of the Marine Employers' Association regarding activities of Wednesday. The association said the crew now is about one-half that of normal or its average requirement. Gulfport reported to the association every ship in port was working.

The statement said: "Five ships were at work today. One ship finishes tonight and sails Thursday morning. The Marine Employers' Association recruited approximately one-half its total labor requirements and more than doubled its first day's recruiting. Thursday, every ship in the harbor, ready for cargo, will be at work."

The Munson Line, loading the Norwegian steamer Nordsterjen, is working a full crew of 75 men and will have the steamer ready by Friday. On the other side of the pier is the Jacob Christensen, now idle, but only because the schedule calls for the earlier sailing of the Nordsterjen, as both vessels are bound for the north side ports of Cuba, it was stated.

Immediate neighbors of the Munson Lines, the Mallory Lines, is working a small gang on the Nueces, scheduled to sail today. In pier 2, north side, is the schooner Salem, unloading a coal cargo. This is being done by a Mobile Coal Company barge.

The steamer Sudurco, at pier 2, is being completed by the Transmarine Corporation. This vessel is being handled by a small crew, and is scheduled to sail Thursday.

Joining the steamer Saco, at Turner Terminals, the Jacona was shifted there yesterday afternoon. Loading operations began on the Honduran schooner Rubicon, and just below is the steamer Dictator. When the United Fruit Company starts loading its steamer Stavangeren labor difficulties are not among expected developments.

The white longshoremen are at present free from strike. They are almost exclusively cotton handlers and timbermen.

COAL MINERS' UNION OF ALABAMA IS OUT OF BUSINESS.

Birmingham Reporter 7-21-23

The Alabama coal miners have a history of many perplexing incidents which has cost that body much in money, confidence and has given the state at times unusual concern. The United Mine Workers of America is an institution of laboring men and believed to be an organization for the promotion of the best interests of its members. But sometimes an organization even with that desire can go wrong, injure its membership damage the state, lose confidence and become an annullity. Such failures are almost always because of radical, uncurbed and extravagant leadership.

Birmingham Age Herald

Alabama at one time was reported to have something more than twenty thousand union coal miners and they were under the direction of the United Mine Workers of America. Seventy-five per cent or fifteen thousand of this number were Negro miners. The leadership of the concern as of always, was in the hands of white men. This was a southern policy and adhered to because of southern custom, they say. Hundreds of thousands of dollars, yea, millions of them ,have been spent on the Alabama organization. As it regards the State unit, the Negro paid the larger amount of this sum. He was carried on the records as one of the brethren; his money mixed with the white members' money, and there was no objection. He could not hold important office, he need not aspire to executive place; it meant dethroning the institution. This was the excuse made by white leaders. And, but for the Negro membership, there could be no such movement and because of his lack of interest there is no miners' union in Alabama.

According to past experience it would be miraculous to hear of Negroes joining the United Mine Workers of America in this state. He has gained nothing and lost all.

It might be well for us to take stock of our location and surroundings, do so often, and place our interest and position within reach of constant and substantial forces; those whom we may with impunity depend upon, whose interest must be sustained by our faithful labor and whose interest can only be sustained continuously by expressing the proper conception of our needs, and desires. This can best be done, or it can only be done by those of power, influence and position. It cannot be done by fanatic and erratic, questionable labor agitators. We had well convince ourselves now while we are yet alive and in the graces and confidence of the forces and interests of Alabama if we are going to remain in Alabama. Not what somebody tells us of another field of labor, but what are we doing here—what are the advantages? Are they all they can be, if not why not? Have we exercised any efforts for the best possible results? Then, we can answer and not until then can we complain of a situation that we ourselves have not fully comprehended.

Our folks should go slow to sacrifice their accepted position in the laboring world for doubtful and unsuccessful labor unions.

—1923

United States Department of and the Negro.

See Also: Agents and Agencies.

Labor—1923.
United States, Department of, and the Negro.

Achievements Of Negro Labor Discussed At Big Employment Convention

Phil H. Brown, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Tells of Race Problems—Audience Moved by Logic.

9-8-23

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

TORONTO, Can., Sept. 6.—Accompanying Assistant Secretary of Labor Henning and bureau chiefs and officials of the U. S. Department of Labor, Phil H. Brown, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, delivered a notable address today before the International Association of Employment Services, which is closing a memorable convention in this city on employment problems and policies.

Traces Negro History

Tracing the advent of color prejudices forward from the days of Noah and the time when Simon, the Cyrenian, aided Jesus as He trod the path of agony to His crucifixion, the Commissioner showed that the old and this new civilization, alike, had treated color as an intricate problem.

"Emergency" Labor First

To meet the inexorable demands of Northern industries, the Commissioner showed how, as first, Negro migrants came North merely as emergency factors in turning out supplies for America's needs. Of the colored labor group the Comissioner said:

"He is drafted in the great industrial crisis as he was drafted in the war. He is sought to fill the unskilled functions of alien labor. At best, and without thorough thought he is classified as emergency labor, rather than preferred. To the industries the inclusion of his labor is an experiment; to him it is the realization of a century of dreams. The tolerance of one combined with the awakening of the other should render this labor permanent in the scheme of industry, but the failure of either to contribute its full share in essential co-operation will cause the great plan of absorbing one-tenth of the nation's population into its industrial life either to fall or be hopelessly deferred."

Asks for Equel Opportunity

Conciliator Brown concluded his address with the following significant utterance:

"I refuse to confess judgment that Negro labor is inferior. Inured to the language of our country, to its customs, ideals, and traditions, it should have priority over distinctively alien labor. The simon-purity of its loyalty, its cheerfulness, and its availability weigh strongly in its favor. It asks only an opportunity to show its fine points. The labor is not perfect. What labor is? It is striving to catch up with acknowledged standards and when it catches up I pledge you that it will keep up.

"As a sound economical proposition the industries should foster the improvement of the quality of this labor, not only for emergencies, but because one-tenth of our population must not trail behind nine-tenths, nor tarry along the fringe of our industrial progress. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The spirit of toleration and of the Golden Rule should prevail—the orthodox of human brotherhood and universal opportunity should inure. In short, civilization should loosen the reins on Christianity to the end that this great force may function for humanity and all of humanity, black and white, Jew and Gentile as conceived by the Master Mechanic of our Cre[redacted].

An apprec[redacted]udience, including the Pre[redacted] Labor of Canada, governm[redacted]fficials and labor experts f[redacted]ll parts of the world, gave clo[redacted]ention to Commissioner Brown's remarks.

Labor—1923.

General.

Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.

Negro Housing Facilities in the North

No little anxiety already is being experienced in Northern industrial centers to which thousands of Southern negroes have emigrated concerning the fate of the negroes when the cold weather sets in. While the summer lasts, the newcomers are able to put up with most any sort of quarters. The high temperatures that have prevailed in some of the Northern cities have not discommoded the negroes greatly. They are accustomed to enduring much heat.

It requires only a very little cold, however, to freeze out the average negro. He is not built to endure cold. Here in the South, during the occasional cool spells that blow in during the winter season, many negroes abandon their regular tasks and hug the fires in their homes. A stiff norther paralyzes the average negro almost as quickly as an overdose of "white mule."

The housing facilities in many of the industrial centers which are available to the negro newcomers are declared by investigators to be very inadequate. Such quarters as many of the negroes are being compelled to accept lack so many comforts that the health of the occupants is sure to be imperiled when the cold blasts sweep down from the North. If the usual shortage of coal comes and the usual "cold flat" results, the negro population will undergo intense suffering, and the mortality rate is certain to rise. And it goes without saying that employers are not likely to get much work out of the negroes when the mercury drops below zero.

If the negroes are going to stay in the North, it will be necessary for the public authorities to look into the negro housing situation, and to initiate some measure for relief. In the interest of humanity and the public health, the congestion in inadequate, insanitary and uncomfortable quarters will have to be abated.

Before this is done, however, in all probability many of the negroes will turn their faces homeward. Winter in the North will revive fond memories of the salubrious climate of the South. The North is warned that if it desires to keep the negroes, it must prepare to keep them warm.

ATLANTA, GA.
OCT 28 1923

Better Houses To Be Erected For Negro Labor

Important information with reference to the real estate, agricultural and industrial centers, comes through the announcement made in the columns of The Manufacturers' Record, of Baltimore, of the intention of one or more large industrial plants in the south to erect many modern houses for the negro laborers.

Specific information was given out with reference to the Industrial Housing corporation, which, it is declared, will be organized by the chamber of commerce of Suffolk, Va., and under the auspices of which there will be something like 200 modern homes erected for the use of negroes in the Virginia city.

The plans of the Industrial Housing corporation, which if carried out, are pointed out by real estate men as the answer to one feature of the problem confronting the southern people regarding the exodus of the colored laborer from the southern states to cities and towns above the Mason and Dixon line. "If the southern farmer and industrial operator will provide suitable houses in which the negroes may live in the south," said a prominent citizen familiar with agricultural and industrial labor, "there would be much less difficulty in keeping the colored man on the farms and in the manufacturing plants of the south."

Build Good Home.

That the above speaker is correct in his view of the question is evidenced by a large number of statements that have been made regarding this phase of the colored labor question. The good houses that the negro finds in the northern and western city, and the better living conditions that he finds away from the south, are said to form perhaps as potent an attraction for him to leave his natural habitat in Dixie for the northern cities.

"It is a well known fact," it was explained, "that the colored man much prefers life in the warmer and more hospitable southern states, and it is practically certain that they would hesitate much longer before consenting to take the train for the north at the bidding of the labor agent, despite the free (?) ride on the train and the higher wages dangled in his face, if he knew he would be permitted to occupy better lodgings and living quarters in the south."

The above question is being given much thought both by the real estate men and the employers of labor in the south, and it is believed that the example of Suffolk, Va., in founding a corporation for better negro housing will be followed by other cities and sections in an endeavor to keep the agricultural and industrial help at home in the south.

Another phase of the negro exodus that is drawing attention of the people in both sections of the country is the evident discontent of the colored man in his adopted northern home. A number of news stories have recently been printed in northern newspapers in which this question has been very frankly discussed, and aside from the expressed desire of the people in the north to rid themselves of the colored man and his dangerous competition to the white artisan and laborer, it has been stated that the negro himself in thousands of instances, is extremely anxious to return to his erstwhile home in Dixie Land.

Railroad Moves Negro.

A statement was recently quoted as coming from an official in the passenger department of the Illinois Central railroad, to the effect that this great trunk line running between the midwest and the southern states, has contracted for the removal of large numbers of negroes from Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and other cities of that section, back to their former homes and to the cotton fields of Mississippi and Louisiana. It was also stated that several large trains, running special, will be required to transport them to the southern cities.

Southern farmers, according to the plans announced by the Illinois Central passenger department, are asked how many colored hands they will require for the work to be done on their plantations, and from the many colored people standing ready to return to the southern states, these hands are selected and allocated to the applying farmers by the railroads.

"The railroads," it was stated by a southern citizen, "are doing much to cause the constantly increasing unsettled condition of negro labor, the roads getting revenue on the travel both coming and going, and when looking at the matter from that standpoint they can not be blamed for whatever encouragement they might give to the colored man in his efforts to find a location in the north, but if the negro could be shown the real truth of the situation—the attitude of the white people in the north toward him, the real industrial conditions as they exist, and other things, such as the more friendly feeling of the people south for the colored man, the question of deserted cotton fields, etc., would be much easier of solution."

Comfortable and Clean.

The plans of the Industrial Housing corporation for the proper housing of the colored laborer contemplate many comforts and conveniences for the black family that have never been enjoyed by the negroes before, especially as a general proposition. Not only will these houses be new and modern, but they will be erected with a view toward healthful and sanitary living. The houses will all be on lots measuring 50x150 feet, and will be supplied with front yards and rear gardens that can be kept in condition and beautified, giving the owner or tenant pride in his habitation and insuring him a cleanly place to rear his family.

"We propose to rent the houses," it was stated, "at $2 per week, and we will also inaugurate a plan by which they may be purchased on easy terms. One hundred of these houses already erected have been rented, 50 to the Planters Nut and Chocolate company and 50 to the Bell Hosiery mills. The dwelling will cost from $600 to $1,000 apiece, it was declared.

N. Y. WORLD
AUGUST 29, 1923

NEGRO HOUSING IS REGARDED AS SERIOUS ISSUE

Migration Northward Declared to Demand Official Action in Larger Cities.

Special Despatch to The World

KANSAS CITY, Kan., Aug. 28.—Unless steps are taken at once to distribute migrants from the South on a more equitable and systematic basis, an acute housing situation will arise in large Northern cities, Lester A. Walton of New York, a contributor to The World, said this evening in discussing the Negro exodus at the opening session of the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is being held here.

"'Where will they live?' is a question asked in the North to-day," declared the speaker. "The drift of Negro labor to Detroit, St. Louis and Philadelphia already has provoked intolerable conditions in these cities. Negroes are living in congested districts and paying exorbitant sums monthly for unsanitary and undesirable dwellings. It should not be forgotten that the shortage of houses was a contributory element to the Chicago race riot."

Mr. Walton suggested that in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and other large cities a housing commission be appointed by the Mayors to be made up of both white and Negro citizens with a view to studying and bettering conditions.

"The housing situation not only affects the Negro but has a direct and important bearing on the future welfare of the community," the speaker said.

Labor— 1923
Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.

Indiana.

STEERING COMMITTEE FOR NEGRO MIGRATERS ORGANIZED AT GARY, IND.

Prominent Citizens Pledge Themselves To Protect Influx Of Our Group From Unscrumulous Designers

Associated Negro Press.

CHICAGO, Ill., April 11.—The idea being "The Brother's Keeper" is at this time ruling full and wholesome expression at Gary, Indiana, and thruout the Calumet district, where the more progressive of your group have become thoroughly inoculated with the true spirit of "Home Development Week" idea, and the systematic arrangement for the care of that vast number of colored Americans who are fast leaving the Southland for industrial points in the North

The Gary program at this early stage not only involves individual development, but a steering committee headed by such men as William W. Cooke, W. A. Fuller, Atty. W. C. Hueston, Aldermon A. B. Whitlock and Dr. Samuel Blackwell have pledged themselves that the large influx of our group from the South will be protected against unscrupulous dealers, contractors, and merchants who have been known to prey upon the unsuspecting and uninformed. The above named gentlemen are not only known in Northern Indiana, but possess National reputations more or less.

Mr. Cooke, for twelve years designing and supervising architect for the United States Government, is an expert in his line—knows the construction game from start to finish, and his offer of services in advising and directing those interested in building or remodeling homes will doubtless be eagerly accepted.

A. B. Whitlock and W. A. Fuller are respectively Alderman an da head of a City Department, Mr. Whitlock being the first race man to serve as Alderman in Northern Indiana, while Mr. Fuller has a record of achievements in his line in other cities as well.

The name of Atty. W. C. Hueston, famous in the Bundy trial, needs only to be mentioned to assure and give full guarantee for the legal rights of our group. Dr. Samuel Blackwell, noted race physician and surgeon of that section, has willingly agreed to render every possible service to this influx in matters of sanitation and hygiene, as well as service incidental to his practice.

That Gary, Indiana should be one of the first of the industrial centers in the North to prepare for such group service is commendable in extreme, and might well serve as a lead for Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and other cities similarly affected.

Labor — 1923.

Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.

Maryland.

BALTIMORE MD MORN. SUN
DECEMBER 4, 1923

SAYS HIGH RENTALS CAUSE NEGRO CRIME

Colored Organizations To Name Group To Urge Reductions.

WHITE OWNERS ARE BLAMED

Minister Declares His Race Must Become Lawbreakers To Get Living.

Resolutions charging that high rentals in negro residential sections encourage crime in these localities and among negroes generally in Baltimore were passed last night at a meeting of executives of negro uplift and patriotic societies.

The organizations, the International Negro Knights of Justice, the Patriotic and Protective Society of the United States of America and the Colored Women's National Institute, called for a program to alter existing conditions.

The resolutions cited the "unjust, unbearable and unreasonable rentals, which make a decent living on small wages paid negroes an impossibility." They declared rentals now demanded by white property owners responsible for immorality, crime, disease and a high death rate among negroes.

Committee Will Be Appointed.

It was decided to appoint a committee of five, subject to enlargement, to formulate plans for a reduction of the rentals that "negroes may become better and more useful citizens."

"Many colored people," said the Rev. John W. Patterson, supervising president of the International Bible Society and a member of the committee of five, "have resorted to bootlegging, cheating, robbery and hold-ups. Policemen—and I say this with no reflection on their ability—frequently fear to enter some alleys without their hands on their pistols.

Says Rentals Are Jumped.

"Paid poor wages, they are unable to meet the exorbitant rentals. They resort to crime in order to obtain sufficient money to live. It is the opinion of the educated negroes of Baltimore that the high rentals are more responsible for crime among colored people than any other cause."

The clergyman cited the advance in rentals in small streets formerly occu-

pied by white people. In many instances rentals had jumped from $7 to $13 a week, he said. The three associations, he added, had been investigating the problem for the last year.

Labor — 1923.
Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.

Missouri.

MINISTERS TAKE ACTION TO ASSIST MIGRATORS

A Steering Committee Will Meet New Comers At Union Station. Churches To Open Doors. Urban League May Be "Clearing House."

LOCAL BRANCH N. A. A. C. P. PLEDGES CO-OPERATION

The ministers of the Colored Churches, located East of Grand Avenue, in a meeting last Tuesday decided upon a united effort to take care of the vast number of Colored people who are leaving the South-land and finding their way to St. Louis

The Argus, issue of April 13, called attention to the fact that 1500 strangers had arrived within three months and that St. Louisans had done nothing to welcome the strangers, most of whom may become victims of bad influences, unscrupulous dealers, contractors, and merchants. In an Editorial, the Argus advised that: Something should be done to help direct these people in the right channels. Something must be done. Where are the forces of righteousness? The churches, the social agencies, the benevolent and charities. Many of these new comers are crowding our jails and penitentiaries just because we have stood idly by and allowed the forces of evil to take hold on them.

Ministers Take Action

The ministers are planning to unite their forces to influence, if possible, all who come to the city. A steering committee will be appointed to meet the new comers at the station. It is hoped to have the Urban League act as a clearing house for directing them to the proper social centers, home, districts, employment and churches of their faith. Doors of the churches will be thrown open to all. The committee will work in co-operation with other welfare agencies now at the station.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
MAY 28. 1923

THE NEGRO HOUSING PROBLEM

It is gratifying to discover, from the annua address of President McCawley, that the St Louis Real Estate Exchange is working actively on the problem of negro housing in St. Louis On account of the steady arrival of negroes from the South, there is an increasing congestion in the sections now occupied by colored people, and a reaching out into districts which have contained white people only. One need scarcely say that an expansion of this kind is difficult to handle, and dangerous if not handled skillfully.

Estimates are made that more than 1,500 negroes have been coming into St. Louis every month for a long period. With business expanding, and unskilled labor in demand, there is no difficulty in absorbing these people into the ranks of the employed. They have come more in response to the demand for labor than on account of the restlessness which is found to some extent among the negroes in the South.

The negro organizations of St. Louis also have performed an excellent service in handling the arrivals. They have been given temporary quarters quickly, and have been helped in finding work. The difficulty is in getting them permanently established.

Both the colored and white races are benefited by a policy of unofficial segregation Mixed neighborhoods are dangerous. Race feeling runs high in them, and they are tinder for such racial conflagrations as Chicago had a few years ago. On the other hand, there is virtually no danger of trouble between the races in a city like St. Louis, if white and colored merely live near each other, but not in competition for the possession of housing districts.

Owing to the economic position of the two races, it happens inevitably that the colored people take over what have been white residence districts. Partly because these districts are getting older and their houses are beginning to run down, and partly because of the lower economic position of the negroes, the change from one race to the other is accompanied by falling real estate values. The drop is most noticeable just after the first colored families move in. Later, the congestion of negro population tends to send values up, but the economic disparity between the races prevents a full recovery of value.

Therefore, white property owners resist intrusion, both for financial reasons and because they or their tenants do not wish to live in mixed neighborhoods.

But it is perfectly obvious that all negroes who come to St. Louis because there is a place for them in the labor field, have a right to homes. Furthermore, the welfare of St. Louis as a city depends to a considerable extent upon improving the centers of negro population. The extensions of negro territory should be carefully supervised, with a view to wiping out the remnants of white housing districts, and preventing negro extensions which would be apt to lead to trouble. There should also be a definite program of improvement within the colored districts—with housing regeneration, playgrounds parks that can easily be reached, and community centers.

The earning capacity of the negro entitles him to a better home investment than he has Improvement can come about, only through cooperation between the leaders of the colored people — those who are ambitious for better homes — and the city authorities, the Real Estate Exchange, and other organizations devoted to the betterment of St. Louis.

"City Faces Housing Problem"

"Scarcity of Houses For Negroes," says Urban League Executive, "May Mean Suffering Here in Winter."

F. T. LANE
(Executive Secretary Urban League)

Where to live is perhaps the greatest problem which the colored citizen of Kansas City has to solve. It is exceedingly difficult at present to find a vacant house in any section of the Negro district. While the building program for the entire city is behind it is true that other factors than a shortage of houses influence the Negroes' welfare when it comes to finding a place to live. The difficulty of places for expansion is as grave as the congestion in insanitary quarters

Houses in Demand.

No one knows definitely just how short Kansas City is in providing for its present Negro population, and the migrants who are continually arriving. A broker on a house states that during the first eighteen hours his house stayed vacant, some twenty four persons applied to rent it. A social service agency tried in vain for a week to find even an ordinary dwelling for a client. A real estate firm put up over one hundred apartments, with rentals averaging nearly ten dollars per room, and the people were moving in before the buildings were finished.

While every month finds more buildings begun or completed for Negro families, it is probably true that seventy-five per cent of Negroes live in places far below any decent standard. It is very evident that any relief from the present situation will be in the apartment building. This is true because the tendency is to restrict Negro occupation to a very narrow section. With the exception of the neighborhood adjacent to 24th and Tracy and Paseo and 24th, Euclid and Michigan, it is almost a loss of money for a colored man to try to establish a nice home.

Shut in Negroes.

The present territory in which the majority of Negroes live is zoned for light factories and apartments. As to the possibility of pushing farther south, the following extract from a deed transferring property suggests what will be encountered.

"As a part of the consideration herein, it is agreed that....., nor shall it ever be sold to a Negro."

Further evidence is seen in this activity of certain white property owners: "A mass meeting to protest against the opening of an addition for Negroes near 30th and Bales avenue." He also finds that, "At a weekly meeting of the Greenwood Betterment League last night, property owners assured that they will seek to restrict Negroes from residing in the district."

Hemmed in betwen factories, disease and high rent on the one side and racial restrictions on the other it is a most discomforting predicament to be sure.

High Death Rate Results.

Science and history have prover that bad housing causes a higher rate of deaths and crimes. It is little won der that Kansas City ranked first ir the death rate from smallpox. Too it is not alarming when reliable sta tistics show that four Negroes in Kan sas City die to one white person, or that one-third of the criminals of Jackson County are colored, notwithstanding the fact that only one-ninth of the population is colored.

The bulk of Kansas City's 30,000 Negroes live in the heart of the "Heart of America," and with little or no garbage collection, prevalent privy vaults, and overcrowding in insanitary dwellings, it is remarkable that the death rate is not forty per cent higher and that there has not been a more serious "heart-ache."

If the shortage of houses is met, however, it will mean that in a very short time the majority will be living in apartments and some very serious educational work on the part of civic organizations must be conducted if this adjustment is made with the best results in health and morals.

Representatives of the various local civic bodies met at the Community Center recently and made a brief survey of the present situation. According to Dr. J. E. Dibble, who presided at the meeting, some construction plans are to be prescribed in the near future.

Labor -1923

New Jersey.

Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.

WISE FORESIGHT.

Word comes from Newark, New Jersey, that leading colored citizens of that town have formed an organization called the Newark Welfare Committee of One Hundred. The object of the Committee is to take care of an anticipated influx of 7,000 or 8,000 Negroes from the South. New York Age - 2-3-23

The Welfare Committee has taken a large building which will be fitted up as a temporary stopping place, where the migrants may store their belongings, cook their meals, and sleep, until work and housing are provided for them.

In taking this action the colored citizens of Newark have set an example which ought to be followed by every community in the North to which Negro migrants from the South are likely to come. In all such communities committees made up of representatives of all the colored organizations should be formed. Sone one should be employed to meet all trains and furnish information and direction to the new comers. Headquarters ought to be maintained at which such of these new comers as may find it necessary could register and receive the assistance they may need until they are adjusted to their new surroundings and conditions.

Negro migration from the South is one of the greatest forces now at work to better the condition of the race, but its highest benefits very largely depend upon the ease and quickness with which the migrants are able to become adjusted to their new surroundings, to get steady jobs, to become affiliated with the churches and other organizations, and in general, to become assimilated by the communities to which they have come.

NEWARK N J EVE NEWS
FEBRUARY 28. 1923

Welfare Association Has Jobs Ready for Workers from South

At a public reception tomorrow afternoon from 2 to 5 o'clock in Roosevelt Temple, Washington street, by the Negro Welfare Association to colored newcomers from the South and other parts of the country, thirty workers will be given jobs, Rev. S. L. Carrothers, head of the association, announced today. Speakers will discuss a program to reduce crime among young negroes. Colored men and women, including pastors of colored churches, have been invited to give their views.

Rev. Dr. E. A. P. Check, president of the North Jersey Baptist Federation of Colored Churches, will open the discussion and suggest remedies, and the reason why colored people are migrating from the South will be told by Rev. Charles S. Marsh of Bonton College, Va. Mrs. Carrie Bell of Montclair, president of a woman's Republican club there, will speak.

Labor—1923.

Welcare Work for Housing Conditions.

Greensboro, N. C., News

SEP 22 1923

THE HOUSING OF NEGROES—A W. C. A. FOR NEGROES.

Editor of The Daily News:

The character of homes provided for most of the negroes places a premium upon dirt and filth and lack of cleanliness of body and mind. Out of such homes it is well nigh impossible to expect that there shall come men and women of high moral standards or physical and mental cleanliness of life. The effort which has sometimes been made to keep negroes in back alleys of the larger cities and to discourage their movement into better homes is un-Christian and inhuman, for it inevitably tends to holding the race down, to a lack of cleanliness and to immorality and these things vitally affect the welfare of every home, of every white man and woman in the south, and indeed, even a very large proportion of other sections.

Mr. Cone has undertaken a work of very great importance in his plan to build suitable homes with modern conveniences, intended strictly for occupancy by negroes. The creation in the minds of negro men and women of a desire for better homes for homes with modern conveniences for homes where cleanliness can be observed, should be encouraged by every lover of the white race, if there are any so narrow-minded and un-Christian as not to believe in the betterment of the black race.

Out of the slums it is extremely difficult, whether the slums be in London, New York, or Baltimore, or elsewhere, whether they be slums occupied by whites or by blacks, to bring forth a harvest of honor and integrity and cleanliness and godliness. Many negroes, long accustomed to the conditions under which most of them have lived, do not yet appreciate the need of better homes, but there should be a definite aim on the part of the white people of the south to encourage negroes to own comfortable, attractive homes, with surroundings that would make them ennobling in character of mind and body.

You cannot bring the right ideas of cleanliness, the right ideas of healthy and character for the nursing of children, the right idea of cleanliness for maids and cooks, out of back alleys or slums, where these people cannot possibly have in their own homes the things which their white employers find necessary to their comfort. The health of the negroes of the south is essential to the health of the white children of the south, for the negroes are the nurses. The moral, spiritual and physical uplift of the negroes of the south is essential for the advancement of the whole south, the white race included.

Many years ago the writer listened to a marvelously eloquent address by the Rev. J. L. M. Curry, at that time one of the foremost ministers of the south and afterwards representative of this government in Spain, in which Dr. Curry, appealing to the great religious convention in behalf of the negroes of the south, warned his hearers that it was not possible for the two races to live side by side in the close intercourse in which the negroes and the whites in the south must live, without the whites uplifting the negroes or the negroes dragging down the white civilization. The intimate relation of the nurses to the children and to their future, of the cooks to the health and welfare of the millions of people in the south dependent upon negro cooks and all the relations of life between the whites and blacks, make essential to the best development of the white country the encouragement of negroes in having better homes where cleanliness and comforts would stimulate to better living.

On Monday night a group of colored men and women met at the East Market Street Baptist church for the purpose of organizing a club for the advancement of colored girls here in the city. Our girls have banded themselves together and for three years they have labored with the intention of establishing a Y. W. C. A. building. A. B. Campbell has held this club together so far, helping girls to find employment and homes and helping them also to find pleasure in games such as basketball, tennis and fire side stories. Now we are anxious to have all of the colored men and women to get behind this movement and help us to realize our dream. We want a centrally located building where these girls that work out can have clean surroundings to live in when they are not at work. We have on a membership drive and hope to have every man and woman in Greensboro, come out to East Market Street Baptist church Monday night, September 24, 8:30 o'clock, so that we can write the national association, and have them send us a trained worker to build up the work and assist us in our endeavor.

Greensboro. A. B. CAMPBELL.

PUBLIC PULSE

COUNTY THE BEST IN THE STATE.

Editor of The Daily News:

Guilford county easily leads the state in schools for its negro youth. As a whole it has the best school buildings, a more adequate teaching force and in my opinion, the best trained negro teachers in the state. This might be because it has more high schools and colleges than any other county in the state for negroes, but in my opinion, the credit is due Mrs. M. C. Falkner, senior supervisor of the state, and her excellent work, the liberality of the Guilford county superintendents, and board of education toward negro education, without which such a record could not have been possible. This is particularly true of our present superintendent, Prof. Foust, and his generous board of education.

I have just completed a tour though the county in which many of these beautiful school buildings for negro boys and girls, including the magnificent Guilford county high school near the A. and T. college farm. The Guilford county negroes have reasons to be proud of their public school system in this county. Some of the backward counties should send their superintendents to Guilford to see how Prof. Foust treats negro children; it is a credit to the state and assessing to the negroes in Guilford county.

Guilford county business men believe in making citizens as well as money. Mr. W. C. Boren and his company at Terra Cotta, near Greensboro, North Carolina, are clearly demonstrating this fact. It is worth any one's time and money to visit and study their methods of caring for their workmen, I spent a half day studying their plans and inspecting the school and homes of their employes. I was most highly gratified and greatly surprised to find them living in such comfortable homes, so well kept, many of their yards set with flowers and other ornaments that would make any home inviting. The dinner which I enjoyed in one of the homes was fit for a king, this home was gorgeously decked with growing flowers on the inside; one would hardly expect to find such conditions in a mill village.

The school, a beautiful building, with six class rooms and a large auditorium, is a credit to any community, there is an office for the principal and one for the social service worker, making a total of nine rooms. I inspected the classes and found some as good teachers as I have seen anywhere in North Carolina public schools. Each of them seem to possess the community spirit in that they were intensely interested in everything that pertain to the welfare of the people.

In this community Mr. Boren and his company employ a social service worker in the person of Mrs. Vina Webb, a woman of many fine accomplishments and splendid training, she seems to be the right person for this place. She showed me some of the homes in which she is assisting the mothers in the matter of better housekeeping, caring for their babies, cooking, sewing, etc., she has the young people organized in clubs for various kinds of work and amusements, they gave us some splendid numbers on our program the evening I was there, especially her choral club. It was surprising to see how neat and clean these people were after working all day and how they are responding to music and other features of entertainments that would do credit to any community. Mrs. Webb deserves a great deal of credit for the excellent work she is doing, and Mr. W. C. Boren, who was present at this program, and his company for their contribution to these people. Mr. Boren was well pleased and assured these people that he would gladly give them whatever they wanted if they would prove themselves worthy; he told Mrs. Webb in my presence that she could get anything she wanted to carry on her work, notwithstanding he had just made her a generous contribution to supply her reading room with magazines. Like the public schools, this plant is another lesson for the business men of this and other counties, these men are showing themselves to be good citizens as well as good business men, for this is a rich contribution to their business. Mrs. M. C. Falkner has a general supervision over this work also.

JOHN D. WRAY,
Farm Makers' Club Agent
Greensboro, N. C.

Labor—1923
Welfare Work for Housing Conditions

Pennsylvania.

Helping the Migrants.

The Philadelphia *Tribune*, which has insisted upon the duty of doing something for the Southern migrant, reports that several local agencies are at work in that city trying to formulate a practical program to assist the newcomers. It suggested that the best thing would be to unite these forces and form one agency to handle the situation, so as to save duplication of effort, it added.

Then, too, it would be a more representative body. Trains should be met so that those who come could be directed to the headquarters. Here they could be directed to some decent place to sleep maintained by people who are desirous of the greatest good. Information could be given as to doctors, lawyers, employment agencies, churches, real estate brokers and banks, for all of these people are not paupers. Talks on the need of vaccination. Tell them of the real conditions existing in the North. Advise those who have children to put them in school. These and many other things can be done and must be done to lessen the hardship of our southern brothers and sisters.

Charity should not be given except in extreme instances. The main thing to do is to see that they get employment and a place to sleep. Let them know that it is their business to hustle. Work hard and save something. After a job has been obtained, get there on time and make the employer respect you for your real value. To give a man those things which he should get for himself takes all the backbone out of him. Direct them, instruct them, but don't give alms.

This advice is preeminently practical and adapted to the emergency. It is the more significant coming from a long established race journal, published by a company of which the four principal officers and five of the directors, as well as the managing editor, are women. The injunction to make the migrant an asset, by directing all efforts at help to that end, is well conceived.

Other communities which have a similar situation to solve would do well to consider these suggestions in the way of helping the migrants to work out their own problem, as they must in the end. In Buffalo, where a considerable influx of workers from the South was experienced, the task of housing and locating them was undertaken by Dr. Carpenter of the A. M. E. Church. His efforts to secure suitable quarters for the workers have been hampered by the housing congestion, which obtained there as in other large cities. The establishment of a central agency to further his efforts along this line would do much to lighten his labors and thus relieve the situation. Concerted effort by the various churches and welfare agencies is essential to an effective solution of the situation.

The *Tribune* has pointed out the way.

Migrants From South Praise Hampton's Work

The Pittsburgh Courier 8-18-23

Workmen Employed at New Castle Given Every Aid for Advancing Selves.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Migrants from the sunny southland who come here in search of employment are unanimous in their praise of William Hampton, who, under the direction of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, is in charge of a number of labor camps. There are 22 in number and more than 800 men receive the splendid benefits of his electric lighted cottages and shower baths, as well as the educational advantages of a night school. He held a great meeting in Odd Fellows hall, New Castle, last Sunday, delivering a telling address of "Unharnessed Forces Harnessed." Rev. M. J. Horne, of Henderson, N. C.; Revs. Henderson and Pringle, Dr. E. T. Henderson, of Roanoke, Va., and C. C. Kittrell, worshipful grand master, Pennsylvania F. A. A. M., were among the other speakers.

Dinner was served to the large gathering. Miss M. Stevenson, of the Y. W. C. A., was in charge of the affair.

Mr. Hampton is doing a great work.

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Labor — 1922.
Welfare Work for Housing Conditions.
Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America.

PULLMAN MEN HOLD CONVENTION

Delegates and visitors to the convention of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America, which convened at the Wabash Ave. Y. M. C. A. Tuesday morning.

The officers seated in the front row from the left to right are S. J. Freeman, director; J. M. Sexton, director; R. L. Williams, director; S. F. Smith, director; T. R. Webb, comptroller; Perry Parker, grand chairman; T. A. Crenshaw, vice-chairman; O. E. Robinson, grand secretary; J. W. Duncan, grand treasurer; T. M. Blanton, director. Grouped about them are delegates representing every state in the Union.

PULLMAN PORTERS IN ANNUAL MEET

By Carl L. Cotton

Tuesday, Nov. 20, the Pullman Porters' Benefit association of America was opened in its third annual convention in the assembly room of the Wabash Ave. "Y," 38th and Wabash Ave. The grand chairman, Perry Parker, being unavoidably detained, the convention was called to order by T. A. Crenshaw of St. Louis, Mo. Prayer was offered by J. W. Willis of Atlanta.

George Arthur, secretary of the "Y," was introduced and made a very interesting address. He concluded his address by extending the delegates a hearty welcome to Chicago, and in turn introduced Hon. R. S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender.

Much applause was tendered Mr. Abbott as he rose to speak.

The need of an historian committee by this association was pointed out by Mr. Abbott in his address. "You should have a history of this body," said Mr. Abbott, "independent of the company's history. Some one should compile a book on the Pullman porters with pictures, etc., to show to the world that the Negro helped develop this wonderful country. Very few people know that a Negro helped Christopher Columbus land ashore. He told Christopher Columbus that this world was round and helped to work it out with him. He did not have the opportunity to go to the King and Queen of Spain, and Christopher Columbus sold his idea to the King and Queen Elizabeth of Spain. History speaks nothing of this. Ten, twenty or fifty years from now some smart white fellow will get up and say that white men in every detail built up this wonderful company. Make your own history, compile it, so that the future will not rob you of what you have done in the past."

Mr. Abbott paid his respects to a type of southern Pullman porters who think it their duty to insult Colored ladies and keep Colored gentlemen off Pullman cars. "Their days are numbered," he said, amid great applause.

"Look at the Irish," he said. "No Irishman ever goes back on his women under any circumstances for anybody. That is why Ireland is finally free. A manhood that turns its back on its womanhood is a slave manhood and cannot stand.

He urged the porters to be proud of their jobs. "You occupy high positions," he said, "now carry yourselves high."

The porters were told to send delegates to the countries of the world and learn more of the art of service and catering. "Go down in your pockets and send men out," he said, "and learn from France, England, Germany, Brazil and Chile, for these countries have much to teach you.

"Learn, even at your age," advised Mr. Abbott; "learn another language, because one-third of all travelers are foreigners. Learn Spanish and French and after awhile the Pullman company will send you higher."

Mr. Abbott made reference to the important part the Pullman porters had played in helping to make his paper what it is today, his struggles and rise in the newspaper world, the necessity of the men rendering service, compared the Pullman service of other countries with our own, and concluded his address by assuring the association of his being ever ready to champion their cause, and concluded with extending an invitation to the convention to inspect his plant. Mr. Abbott's address was enthusiastically received.

The grand chairman then called upon Mr. A. W. Jordan of St. Paul, who made a very able response in behalf of the association and referred to it as being a Christian organization.

Next to speak was Hon. George T. Kersey, representative Third district, Fifty-third General Assembly.

Perry Parker, the grand chairman, followed. He outlined the growth of the association and referred to it as being the greatest Negro organization of its kind in the country. There seemed to have been some question on the part of the public as to whether or not the association was really managed by men and for the benefit of those present, the grand chairman introduced the following in his pleasing manner: T. R. Webb, comptroller; J. W. Duncan, grand treasurer; O. E. Robinson, grand secretary; the board of directors, consisting of the following: T. M. Blanton, Philadelphia; T. A. Crenshaw, St. Louis; S. J. Freeman, New York City; Isaac F. Smith, Chicago; James Sexton, New Orleans, and R. L. Williams of Oakland, Cal. He also announced the presence of Mrs. Holloway, maid instructor of the New York Central, who had come to Chicago for the purpose of securing high class maids for service on the Twentieth Century Limited. The following porter instructors were introduced: S. Henderson of Detroit, W. P. Smith, St. Louis; Mr. Smith, Washington City. (Mr. Smith was one of the porters who was on the special train that carried President Harding on his last trip.) A. W. Jordan of St. Paul; Mr. Mitchell, New Orleans; V. D. Harris, Kansas City; L. A. Coffin, Los Angeles; Deacon Charles Jones, San Antonio; Charles E. A. Hunt, Cincinnati, and R. L. Williams, Oakland. Welfare workers were introduced as follows: Mr. H. A. Mebane, Buffalo; Mr. T. M. Blanton, Philadelphia; Mr. T. A. Crenshaw, St. Louis; Mr. Osborne, the delegate from St. Louis, was also included. Mr. T. H. Samuels, a member of the association and grand master of the Masonic fraternity of Illinois, was likewise included.

Remarks were then made by the grand treasurer, J. W. Duncan. A fitting tribute was paid to the memory of Treasurer Arthur Wells, whose unexpired time he is filling. The convention was favored with a vocal selection, "Lead, Kindly Light," rendered by Miss Emma Duncan, daughter of the grand treasurer.

Greetings from Local No. 11, A. Slaughter, chairman, and Local No. 26, G. W. Hubert, chairman, were read by the grand secretary. A communication was also read from the president of the Pullman Co., E. T. Carry. Mr. Carry has been ill.

Thomas H. Samuels, director of the Douglas National bank, extended an invitation to the association to inspect the bank. Mr. Samuels mentioned that with one exception all of the directors of this bank were ex-Pullman porters.

C. E. A. Hunt announced the presence of Mrs. Parker, wife of the grand chairman, and introduced her.

The election of officers will be announced in next week's issue. Delegates inspected the Defender plant Tuesday night. At the regular evening session the officials of the Pullman Co. addressed the meeting.